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Proceedings

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society

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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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Edward Channing.

Massachusetts Historical Society

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October, 1930—June, 1932

Volume LXIV

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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society

April 14, 1932

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Samuel Eliot Morison	*Boston*
Clarence Henry Haring	*Cambridge*
Frederic Winthrop [1]	*Boston*

[1] The Council, on June 9, 1932, appointed Clarence Saunders Brigham, of Worcester, to fill the vacancy in the Council caused by the death of Mr. Winthrop on May 6, 1932.

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October 1, 1932

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1923

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1932

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Francis Parkman, Ph.D.
Roland Gray, LL.B.
Stewart Mitchell, A.M.
Daniel Berkeley Updike, A.M.

Honorary Members

1919
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1921
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1923
Henri Pirenne

1927
Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, LL.D.

1929
George Macaulay Trevelyan, O.M.

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1901
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1905
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1927

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1928

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1929

Henri Hauser

1930

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William Scott Ferguson, LL.D.
Hon. Joseph Clark Grew, LL.D.
William Bennett Munro, LL.D.

1931

Frederic Logan Paxson, Ph.D.
Harold William Vazeille Temperley, Litt.D.
Herbert Putman, LL.D.
Allan Nevins, A.M.

1932

Arthur Stanwood Pier, A.B.

Changes in Membership

October, 1930—September, 1932

DEATHS

RESIDENT

1884, Edward Channing, January 7, 1931
1908, Frederic Winthrop, May 6, 1932
1909, William Coolidge Lane, March 18, 1931
1911, Richard Henry Dana, December 16, 1931
1911, George Foot Moore, May 16, 1931
1911, Gamaliel Bradford, April 11, 1932
1919, Robert Gould Shaw, April 10, 1931
1923, Henry Winchester Cunningham, October 27, 1930
1923, William Wallace Fenn, March 6, 1932
1925, Charles Edward Banks, October 21, 1931
1929, Henry Saltonstall Howe, March 2, 1931

HONORARY

1923, Jean Jules Jusserand, July 18, 1932
1924, José Toribio Medina, December 11, 1930

CORRESPONDING

1902, John Bach McMaster, May 25, 1932
1916, William Keeney Bixby, October 29, 1931
1920, David Jayne Hill, March 2, 1932
1924, Frederick Jackson Turner, March 14, 1932
1928, Harry Nelson Gay, August 13, 1932

MEMBERSHIPS CEASED

RESIDENT

1921, William Bennett Munro, October 9, 1930 [1]
1928, Arthur Stanwood Pier, March 10, 1932 [2]

[1] Elected Corresponding Member, November 13, 1930.

[2] Elected Corresponding Member, April 14, 1932.

Proceedings

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society

OCTOBER MEETING, 1930

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 9, 1930, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Recording Secretary, on account of illness, Mr. TUTTLE was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore.*

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Hon. Frederick W. Cook, photographic copies of the Charter of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, which passed the Great Seal of England on March 4, 1628/29.

From Mrs. George Livermore Fiske, of Arlington, a large Bible (Worcester, 1791), owned by Samuel Jenks (1766–1833), containing his family record and ancestry; and a smaller Bible (New York, 1819), owned by her grandfather, William Henry Jenks, given to him then by his uncle, the Reverend William Jenks, minister of the Green Street Church and later a member of this Society.

From Walter Eliot Thwing, of Roxbury, a record of attendance at the Town House School, 1830–1846.

From Frances W. Kittredge, by deposit, the Journal of John Winthrop, 1790.

By purchase, some papers of Abiel Smith, of Boston, 1684–1861; of the Brooks Family, Medford, 1743–1897; some relating to Weymouth, 1675–1847; and to Frederic Tudor and the ice-trade.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. William Lyman Underwood, in memory of her father, Edward Albert Kelly, a library desk, a cabinet, a fur rug, and six pictures: Seargent Smith Prentiss (1808–1850), of Mississippi; a photograph of Patrick Henry, 1904, from a painting by George Matthews; a photograph of James Russell Lowell; a lithograph of William Wirt, from a painting by H. Inman; an engraving of Washington Irving and his Literary Friends; and an engraving of Distinguished Americans, New York Historical Society, 1854.

From Mrs. Arthur Warren, of Richmond, Mass., a water-color portrait of her father James Gunnison, by Davenport, the elder, Boston, 1856; a certificate of membership to Mr. Gunnison, in the Independent Boston Fusileers, Dec. 1, 1854, bearing a lithograph, in colors, of the Company on Boston Common; and a lithograph, in colors, and further painted, after C. Hubbard's original painting on the standard which was presented to the National Lancers and Reviewing Officers on the Common by Gov. Edward Everett, August 30, 1837.

From Julius R. Wakefield, a photograph by Black and Case, Boston, of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1866, of which his father, Thomas L. Wakefield, was the member from Dedham.

From the estate of Frances M. Goold, a small mahogany tea-chest, containing three tea-caddies, said to have been emptied at the Boston Tea Party by one of Miss Goold's ancestors, carried away by him, and preserved as a relic in the Goold family.

From Edward Prentiss Freeman, of New York, a portrait of the Reverend Thomas Prentice, Minister of the First Church in Charlestown, 1739–1782, painted by Joseph Badger, 1755.

From Allan Forbes, a caricature of Gen. Elijah Crane (1754–1834), of Canton, going to the muster of the First Division, Massachusetts Militia, which he ordered to be held at Low Plain, Dedham, now Readville, and which greatly incensed the Boston troops.

From Joseph Dillaway Sawyer, of New York, a photographic collection, in two sheets, of portraits, sculptures, and monuments of George Washington.

From Stewart Mitchell, six lithographs: of the New State House; of Boston Common in 1804; of the cutting down of Beacon Hill; of the National Lancers, August 30, 1837; of the Whig Meeting on the Common, Sept. 19, 1844; and of the Water Celebration on the Common, Oct. 25, 1848.

From T. Julien Silsby, of Watertown, the Massachusetts Tercentenary Medal of 1930, and the medal badge of the 41st Annual Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution, at Asbury Park, New Jersey, June, 1930, in commemoration of Molly Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth.

From Grenville H. Norcross, several Tercentenary Medals; and the medal badge of the Massachusetts Bar Association struck in honor of the guests of the English Bar at the dinner and reception, September, 1930.

The President presented, in behalf of Mrs. George Wheatland, in addition to the gifts to the Cabinet, the engagement ring given by Benedict Arnold to Elizabeth DeBlois, inscribed "E D from Benedict Arnold 1778," which had descended to her as great-niece of Miss DeBlois.

The President announced the death of two Honorary Members of the Society, ADOLF HARNACK, senior member, on June 15, 1930, and EDUARD MEYER, also the senior member at the time of his death, on August 31, 1930.

Henry Adams, of Lincoln, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Joseph Clark Grew, of Hancock, N. H., was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT read a paper on

JOHN ENDECOTT AND JOHN WINTHROP [1]

It was on a lovely Saturday morning three hundred years ago that the good ship *Arbella,* Captain Peter Milborne, master, " passed through the narrow strait between Baker's Isle and Little Isle [now Misery Island], and came to an anchor a little within the islands." [2] The probability is that the *Arbella* first cast anchor off the Loring Place at Prides Crossing, where she remained until Monday, June 14. " In the morning early we weighed anchor, and the wind being against us, and the channel so narrow as we could not well turn in, we warped in our ship and came to an anchor in the inward harbour." [3] The final place of anchorage is a matter of diversity of opinion, but was probably on the North River near the present Beverly Bridge, not far from the place where Captain Endecott had landed nearly two years before.

John Endecott welcomed John Winthrop and his company to New England and entertained him and others, including Isaac Johnson and his wife, Lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, at his "faire house." In his *Journal* Winthrop says: "We that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women, and our captain, returned with them to Nahumkeck, where we supped with a good venison pasty and good beer and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind."[4] In those days "good beer" was apparently considered a necessity in the daily lives of the colonists, for the ship *Talbot,* of three hundred tons, had arrived the previous year from England with Mr. Francis Higginson, one of the ministers accredited to the new settlement, with forty-five large casks of beer aboard and only six casks of water.[5]

---

[1] First delivered as an address at the Tercentenary Banquet at Salem, June 12, 1930, to commemorate the arrival of Governor Winthrop with the Charter.

[2] John Winthrop, *The History of New England* (James Savage, Ed., Boston, 1853), I. 30.

[3] *Ibid.*, 31–32.

While the newly arrived Governor and other prominent people were being entertained by John Endecott, "most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near us, and gathered store of fine strawberries."[6]

. . . . . .

In the summer of 1623 the Dorchester Adventurers sent out a company of men directly from England to Cape Ann, in the *Fellowship,* of Weymouth, and established a trading and fishing post on the west side of Gloucester Harbor. Two years of losses and hardship had discouraged the men concerned when, in 1625, Roger Conant and John Lyford, who had left the Plymouth Colony for various reasons, joined them. After the collapse of the Dorchester Company Conant became the leader of the men who remained, and it was through his courage and indomitable will that they held together. In the late autumn of 1626 some of the "old planters" (as they later styled themselves), Roger Conant, John Balch, John Tilley, John Woodbury, William Allen, William Trask, Thomas Gardner, Thomas Gray, William

---

[4] Winthrop, *History of New England,* I. 30–31; see also *Proceedings,* LXII. 353.

[5] Alexander Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1846), 45. Until the eighteenth century clergymen were usually called "Master (abbreviated "Mr."), not "Reverend." Yet John White, in *The Planters Plea,* calls Endecott "Master," which would imply that he thought Endecott had taken his Master's Degree at some university.

[6] Winthrop, *History of New England,* 31. In the seventeenth century the coast as far south as the present site of Beverly was called Cape Ann.

Jeffrey, Walter Knight, Richard Norman, and Peter Palfrey, with others, moved to Naumkeag, though they had been urged to follow John Lyford to Virginia. Had it not been for Conant, all the old planters would have gone.

> But Mr. Conant, as one inspired by some superior instinct, though never so earnestly pressed to go along with them, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place where now they were, yea, though all the rest should forsake him, not doubting, as he said, but if they departed, he should soon have more company.[7]

His dream was realized, for Captain John Endecott sailed from Weymouth in the *Abigail,* Henry Gauden, master, on June 20, 1628, and reached Naumkeag on September 6 following. Authorities seem to differ as to the number of persons who came with Endecott. There may have been between fifty and sixty in all. Dr. Palfrey, in an address delivered at Danvers in 1852, says: "When the vessel which bore the first Governor of Massachusetts was entering the harbor of Salem, she was anxiously watched from the beach by four individuals, styled, in the quaint chronicles of the time, as 'Roger Conant and three sober men.'"[8]

On March 19, 1627/28, the Council for New England, established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, had granted to six original purchasers: "Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Knightes; Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Symon Whetcombe. . . All that parte of Newe England in America aforesaid which lyes and extendes [from three miles north of the Merrimack to three miles south of the Charles] from the Atlantick and westerne Sea and Ocean on the East parte, to the South Sea on the west parte," — more land than was realized at the time.[9] The original indenture has been lost, but the substance of its provisions is contained in the Royal Charter issued for Charles I on March 4, 1628/29 and authorized by Wolseley, which gives and confirms the extent of the purchase of March 19, 1627/28 and names the same northerly and southerly limits.

---

[7] Young, *Chronicles,* 27–28. See also S. E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), 28–30.

[8] *Account of the Centennial Celebration in Danvers* (Boston, 1852), 130.

[9] *Proceedings,* LXII. 252–253.

But the purchasers, anticipating a charter from the King, made haste to send an agent to New England. John White, the Puritan rector of Trinity Church, Dorchester, England, the author of a pamphlet urging men of wealth, social influence, and education to found a colony in New England, wrote: ". . . it fell out, that among others they lighted at last on Master *Endecott,* a man well knowne to divers persons of good note: who manifested much willingnesse to accept of the offer as soone as it was tendered."[10]

John Endecott was the first of the six original purchasers to migrate and alone of them figures conspicuously in the history of New England. By his contemporaries he is described as an able soldier who had served his King and Country in the Low Countries, and as a good man well fitted for wilderness work. In the two years previous to the landing of Winthrop the preparation of the ground, the building of roads and houses, and the allotment of lands by Endecott paved the way for the future and did much to establish a stable government before the Great Emigration. To take possession of the land which had been purchased in order to promote a plantation managed from London, seems to have been the chief end in view at the outset. There is no evidence that the major interest of the six purchasers of the soil of Massachusetts was religious. The transformation of a trading venture into the project for a Puritan Colony occurred some time during the summer of 1629, and the cause was probably primarily political. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that Endecott's part was important, too: in the first place, he was on the spot; in the second place, his connection with Cradock by marriage probably helped to draw into the Company the great wealth and influence of its first Governor.

On Endecott's arrival the old planters were at first inclined to dispute his authority, but they were soon reconciled to the new condition of things, and in token of an amicable adjustment of their affairs the Indian name of Naumkeag, "the place of eels," was changed to Salem, the Hebrew word for "peace."[11] The old planters moved across the river to the site of Beverly, the name of which Roger Conant petitioned the General Court in vain to change to Bass River.[12]

---

[10] Proceedings, LXII (*The Planters Plea*), 419.

[11] J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1858–1864), I. 289, translates Salem as an adjective — "peaceful."

The cold of the winter of 1628–1629 was severe, far greater than had ever been known in England, which led to much suffering and sickness and many deaths. Houses were few and badly built. Food ran short — supplies from England had failed — even Indian corn could not be had. The Indians themselves "were forced to lengthen out their owne food with Acorns." Edward Johnson, afterwards town clerk at Woburn, wrote of that time that those who survived,

> . . . made shift to rub out the Winters cold by the Fire-side, having fuell enough growing at their very doores, turning down many a drop of the Bottell, and burning Tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing betweene one while and another, of the great progresse they would make after the Summers-Sun had changed the Earths white furr'd Gowne into a greene Mantell.[13]

During this terrible winter there were no physicians at Salem and at the request of Governor Endecott, Governor Bradford of the Plymouth settlement sent up Doctor Samuel Fuller, a deacon of the Church there, to assist him with the sick. Fuller did much to alleviate the suffering, but he also had great influence with the settlers — from an Anglican point of view, a revolutionary one. The adherents to the Church of England were many, but he seems to have persuaded most of the people at Salem to adopt the Independent form of church discipline. When the great immigration under Winthrop came, the later arrivals acquiesced in this; so that afterwards it was almost impossible to establish a real distinction between the Non-Conformist churches in Massachusetts and the Separatist churches in the Old Colony of Plymouth. The ceremonies and traditions of the Church of England were quietly laid aside. Ministers were elected. The laymen laid hands upon them as an emblem of the authority given them. No Ecclesiasticism there!

But the change in discipline was not effected with unanimous consent. Samuel and John Browne, the one a lawyer and the other a merchant, had come over with Higginson and Skelton. Both devout men of substance, they objected to the lack of ceremonies in religious services and gathered together a company for worship at which they used the Book of Common Prayer. Endecott found out what they were doing and "convented the two Brothers before him." In short, these brothers accused Higginson and Skelton of being Separatists — which the ministers denied, "whereupon the Governor and Council decided in favour of the Ministers," and Endecott shipped the Brownes back to England.[14] As a result, the Company had to compensate both brothers and urged Endecott to be cautious, in a letter of shrewd advice rather than rebuke. For the next two years Endecott was the actual and undisputed leader in the administration of the affairs of the Plantation.

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[12] The petition, dated May 28, 1671, is printed in Frederick O. Conant, *A History and Genealogy of the Conant Family* (Portland, 1887), 116.

[13] Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence* (W. F. Poole, Ed., Andover, 1867), 20.

The dates of the assembling and the dissolution of the Third Parliament of Charles I almost coincide with two important steps in the founding of the Colony. On March 17, 1627/28, just two days before the date of the Rosewell Indenture, there met at Westminster a parliament composed of men bitterly antagonistic to the rule of the Stuarts, especially as practised by the Duke of Buckingham. On May 28, 1628, that Parliament passed the Petition of Right — the second Great Charter of English Liberty — to which Charles I gave his unwilling assent. Aghast at the audacity of his subjects, he immediately violated the provisions of the Petition. Especially in the interpretation of its terms was the attitude of the King offensive to Puritan statesmen. Yet at the very time Charles I was thwarting the advocates of free government on English soil, he signed the King's Bill (February 27, 1628/29) which authorized the issue of the Royal Charter to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, the very Charter that was later carried off to America, where it was to serve for over half a century as the written constitution of what was practically a free state. On March 4, 1628/29, the same day the Charter passed the Seals, Charles I published the proclamation dissolving his third parliament. This proclamation, signed in secret on the second and put into effect on the tenth of March, was followed by a period of autocratic rule. No parliament sat at Westminster until 1640.

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[14] Young, *Chronicles,* 287*n*; Nathaniel Morton, *New-Englands Memoriall* (Cambridge, 1669; Facsimile Edition, Boston, 1903), 76–77.

The Puritan minority had long been active in the life of the nation; now, during eleven years of oppression, dissatisfaction was to grow more acute, and men were forced either to fight for their rights, if they remained at home, or emigrate to New England in the hope of establishing a government of their own, free from the dictation of a Church and a State in the hands of their enemies — provided the laws they made were not "contrarie or repugnant" to those of the realm of England.[15]

The second great expedition (the first under the Royal Charter) occurred in the spring of 1629. Six ships with over four hundred people — 300 men, 80 women, and 26 children — and carrying also 140 head of cattle, 40 goats, and an abundance of tools and ammunition, sailed from England during the month of May 4–June 3. The *George Bonaventure* was the first to leave the Isle of Wight, having come around from the Thames during the previous fortnight. She crossed alone, a week ahead, with Samuel Sharpe, the agent of Governor Cradock, bringing to John Endecott the duplicate of the Royal Charter now belonging to the Salem Athenæum and deposited in the Essex Institute, one of the two new silver seals of the Company, the votes of the General Court, and a letter from the Governor and Deputy in London. Mr. Samuel Skelton, one of the three ministers selected by the Company to be sent out to the Plantation, accompanied Sharpe. The *George* reached Salem June 23, 1629.

The *Talbot* and the *Lion's Whelp* left the Isle of Wight just a week after the *George* (May 11), bringing Mr. Higginson and Mr. Bright, the other two clergymen. Francis Higginson, the leader of this expedition, had been educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, and had left his living in Leicestershire because of his Nonconformity. A copy of the journal he kept during the voyage of the *Talbot* exists to this day and may possibly have suggested the beginning of Winthrop's Journal the following spring. Higginson brought over a duplicate of the letter to Endecott, with a postscript dated April 21. The last three ships, the *Mayflower*, of Yarmouth, and the *Four Sisters* and the *Pilgrim*, of London, left the Thames June 3, 1629. The Company spent £2400 sending out these last three ships, and the total cost of their maintenance was £400 a month.[16]

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[15] *Proceedings*, LXII. 262.

By midsummer of 1629 the government of what was to be known as "The Gouernor and Councell of Londons Plantacion in the Mattachusetts Bay, in New England" was definitely established. The Company had voted that copies of all legislation for the Plantation should "from tyme to tyme bee sent the Company in London." [17] As yet there has been discovered no documentary evidence to show what meetings of the Governor and Council took place at that early period (1629–1630), or where the lost reports may be, save one small clew found in a letter written to John Winthrop, Jr., by Edward Howes (London, March 25, 1633) in which he says: "There was presented to the Lords lately, about 22 of C. Indicutts lawes." [18] The reference is probably to the "Lords Commissioners for Plantations in General," which Charles I appointed some time in 1633 under the chairmanship of Laud, the new Archbishop of Canterbury.

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The important points in the history of the Massachusetts Bay Company thus far, have been lightly touched upon. Meanwhile financial distress, particularly in the eastern counties of England, added to the social unrest in Church and State, encouraged men in the thought of going out to America. Three editions of Higginson's famous book, *New-Englands Plantation*, a skilful colonization tract, were to be published in London in rapid succession in the year 1630. Apparently such pamphlets sold well as early as 1602. These glowing descriptions of the possibilities of the New World undoubtedly exercised great influence on those men and women, who, surrounded with every luxury, may have hesitated to leave old England to brave the hardships of the new. Before long, the two chief actors in the drama, Endecott, the Governor of the Plantation, and Winthrop, the Governor of the Company, were to meet at Salem, to exercise thereafter a commanding influence on the life, the policy, and the future of the Colony.

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[16] *Records of Massachusetts*, I. 386–398; 398–407: especially 386, 393, 398, and 403–404.

[17] *Ibid.*, I. 38.

[18] 3 *Collections*, IX. 257.

John Winthrop came of the squire class in England, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, lived in a comfortable country house, and, for those days, was considered a man of wealth. Although his political and ecclesiastical surroundings were very distasteful to him, his willingness to leave England is an instance of the idealism which prompted most of his acts. During nearly thirteen of the nineteen years he lived in New England, he was called " The Right Worshipful John Winthrop Esquire Governor of the Massachusetts," and he served seven years as either Deputy-Governor or Assistant. His path was not an easy one. When he was impeached and acquitted in 1645, at a time when he became involved in a controversy with the deputies, who aspired to excessive power by the exercise of judicial authority, he rose above the ingratitude of his fellows and used the following words in regard to liberty:

> The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.[19]

As regards liberty exercised in " subjection to authority," the members of the Winthrop family today must be pleased that they are not called upon to drink healths, for John Winthrop was much opposed to the practice, and wrote of it as early as October 25, 1630: " The governour upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England, by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew, by little and little, to disuse."[20] Perhaps as a consequence of Winthrop's feelings, on December 10, 1639,

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[19] Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1869), II. 341.

> At the general court, an order was made to abolish that vain custom of drinking one to another, and that upon these and other grounds:
>
> 1. It was a thing of no good use.
> 2. It was an inducement to drunkenness, and occasion of quarrelling and bloodshed.
> 3. It occasioned much waste of wine and beer.
> 4. It was very troublesome to many, especially the masters and mistresses of the feast, who were forced thereby to drink more oft than they would, etc.[21]

His passionate devotion to his work as an administrator of the affairs of the colony was so great that he neglected his private business till his fortune, both here and in England, was greatly reduced. On February 2, 1640, Endecott wrote Winthrop a letter of condolence expressing his regret at hearing of the latter's loss of his property abroad through the misconduct of his bailiff.[22] John Fiske, in *The Beginnings of New England,* describes Winthrop as "a man of remarkable strength and beauty of character; grave and modest; intelligent and scholarlike, intensely religious, and endowed with a moral sensitiveness that was almost morbid yet liberal withal in his opinions and charitable in his disposition."[23]

The Winthrop papers, which have, fortunately, been preserved from generation to generation, are of enormous interest from an historical point of view, and have been called by a noted historian "the most important family collection in our colonial history."[24] Through the generosity of certain descendants these papers are now being published by the Society.

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[20] Winthrop, *History of New England,* I. 44.

[21] *Ibid.,* I. 390. See also *Records of Massachusetts,* I. (II) 271–272.

[22] 4 *Collections,* VI. 136–138.

[23] John Fiske, *The Beginners of New England* (Boston, 1889), 102.

[24] Samuel E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), 349. The Winthrop Papers were presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the late Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., his late widow, and their daughter, Miss Clara B. Winthrop, of Manchester, Massachusetts.

I have always been interested to discover anything relating to Endecott's early life in Salem, and especially to know about his public life while he was Governor of the Plantation. Unfortunately my ancestors never preserved a collection of family papers, and all the documents of the government of the Plantation, before the coming of Winthrop, have been lost. Much material has of late years been discovered in the Public Record Office in London and in private and state papers in this country. Until all this has been examined the story of his life must remain a meagre one.

Only recently he was supposed to have been born at Dorchester, Dorsetshire, but that is an error. He may have been a native of Chagford in the County of Devon, where Endicotts still reside and where the church records are full of men and women of that name. While he was a resident of London he married Anna Gower, a cousin of Matthew Cradock, soon to be Governor of the Bay Company, by whom he had no children. Roger Ludlow was his brother-in-law, having married the sister of his second wife. His first wife was probably in very poor health from the time of her arrival, for already on February 16, 1628/29, Cradock, in answer to the first letter from Endecott, writes: " and to heare [that] my good cozen, your wyfe were perfectly recouered of her healthe would be [ac]ceptable newes to vs all; which God graunt in his good tyme that wee may." [25]

During this first winter Endecott's wife died, and not long afterwards he wrote a touching letter to William Bradford at Plymouth in which he says:

> It is a thing not usuall, that servants of one m[aste]r and of the same houshold should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not, nay, to speake more plainly, I cannot be so to you. Gods people are all marked with one and the same marke, and sealed with one and the same seale, and have for the maine, one and the same harte, guided by one and the same spirite of truth; and wher this is, ther can be no discorde, nay, here must needs be sweete harmonie.[26]

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[25] *Records of Massachusetts,* I. 383. This letter of Endecott, dated September 13, 1628, can not now be found.

[26] William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (Worthington C. Ford, Ed., Boston, 1912), II. 90.

On "Thursday, August 18," 1630,[27] "Capt. Endecott and [Elizabeth] Gibson were married by the governour and Mr. Wilson," who was the noted pastor of the Church in Boston.[28] From this marriage two sons were born, John Endecott, Jr., who died childless, and Zerubbabel, who was the father of fourteen children, and from whom are descended all those who claim Governor John Endecott as ancestor. Apparently both sons of the Governor were trained in medicine, for the signature, "Jo: Endecott Cirurgion," on the bill for services submitted to the General Court, December 27, 1667, must be that of John Endecott, Jr. (1631 or 1634—1667/68), for the Governor himself was dead, and John Endecott III was still a boy.

The loss of all the letters and reports Endecott sent back to England, first as agent of the purchasers and then as Governor of the Plantation, leaves an important gap in the history of the founding of Massachusetts. His earliest letter to his associates was dated September 13, 1628, about a week after his arrival at Naumkeag on the *Abigail*. Exactly five months later this letter reached the hands of Matthew Cradock, who answered it on February 16, 1628/29, from his "howse in Swithens Lane, neere London Stone." A second letter to Endecott was sent out in duplicate from Gravesend (April 17 and 21, 1629) by Cradock and Goffe in their respective capacities of Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Company. This "First General Letter" announces the news of the granting of the Charter and the dispatch of a copy of it and the silver seal with Sharpe, the personal agent of Cradock. This letter states that Endecott has been "confirmed" as Governor of the Plantation and names seven members of a council of twelve to be associated with him in the management of the administration. Of the remaining five places, the old planters were to supply two from themselves. The first copy of this letter left the Thames with Sharpe on the *George* about April 17; the second copy, with a postscript dated four days later, left Gravesend with Higginson on April 25. But the dates of these letters are more than two weeks in advance of the actual sailings from the Isle of Wight.

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[27] Endecott was married either Wednesday, August 18, or Thursday, August 19, 1630. "Thursday, August 18" is an impossible date for that year. See *Winthrop Papers* (1931), II. 266*n*.

[28] Winthrop, *History of New England,* I. 35. The name Gibson, in the original text, is deciphered with difficulty. Some one, probably Winthrop himself, has retraced it. If the last name of Endecott's second wife was actually Gibson, then she must have been a widow, although she was only about sixteen, for it seems safe to assume that she was a daughter of Philobert Cogan of Chard, co. Somerset, whose will, proved April 12, 1641, mentions one son and six daughters, among the latter Mary Ludloe and Elizabeth Endecott. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register,* XLIII. 309–310.

The " Second General Letter," dated London and Gravesend (May 28 and June 3, 1629), shows that the confirmation of Endecott as Governor was only a temporary measure in anticipation of his election by the General Court of the Company, for Cradock writes as follows:

> Wee have, sithence our last, and according as wee then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, ellected and established yow, Captaine John Endicott, to the place of present Gouernour in our plantacion there, as also some others to bee of the councell with yow, as more particularly yow will perceive by an act of Court herewith sent, confirmed by vs at a Generall Court, and sealed with our common seal; [29]

There were really three " first Governors " of what was to develop into the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for Matthew Cradock was first and Charter Governor of the Company in London (March 18 to October 20, 1629); John Endecott was first and only Governor of " Londons Plantacion in the Mattachusetts Bay in New England " (April 30, 1629, to June 12, 1630, or even later), and John Winthrop was second Governor of the Company (October 20, 1629, to June 12, 1630) and first Governor of the Colony from his arrival at Salem on the latter date, until May 18, 1631, the date of the first election to be held in Massachusetts, when he was chosen to succeed himself.

Although it is often said that Winthrop's landing terminated the government of London's Plantation, this can not be quite accurate, for on April 30, 1629, Endecott was first elected, in London, to be Governor at Salem, to hold office for " the yeare to begin from the time he shall take his oath," which he could not possibly have done before the middle of

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[29] *Records of Massachusetts,* I. 383–385; 386–398; 398–407: especially 383, 387, and 399. See also I. 37^{1}.

July, 1629, the postscript to the letter containing this information bearing the date of June 3, 1629. The confusion of the transplanting of the Company seems to have made it inexpedient to conform to the express terms of the Charter, for Winthrop himself, when first elected Governor, in London, should have served only the remainder of Cradock's term, instead of "for the ensuing yeare, to begin on this present day." Yet even then, after the full year had elapsed, no election was held in the Colony in October, 1630, so that Winthrop's first term as Governor adds up to nineteen months, the last twelve of which he served without proper authority, according to the plain language of the Charter. All the Easter Term of 1630, it will be remembered, was spent at sea.

John Endecott was not a man to shirk responsibility. When he learned of the "ungodly" doings at Morton's "Merry Mount" where a "School of Atheism" had been established (in what is now the City of Quincy) he did not stop to find out if the settlement lay within the precise limit of his authority, but went at once to the scene of dissipation, cut down the offending Maypole, and "admonished them to looke ther should be better walking."[30] The act was characteristic, for in September, 1634, Endecott, while he was one of the seven military commissioners of the Colony, publicly defaced the royal ensign then carried by the militia company in Salem. There is no exact evidence as to just what he did on that occasion, but history has accused him of cutting out the cross (or part of it) from the flag because it represented to him both ecclesiastical and monarchical superstition. His act was considered by some in the light of an attack upon the authority of the King. Charles I, however, was otherwise occupied with his own affairs, and the incident passed un-

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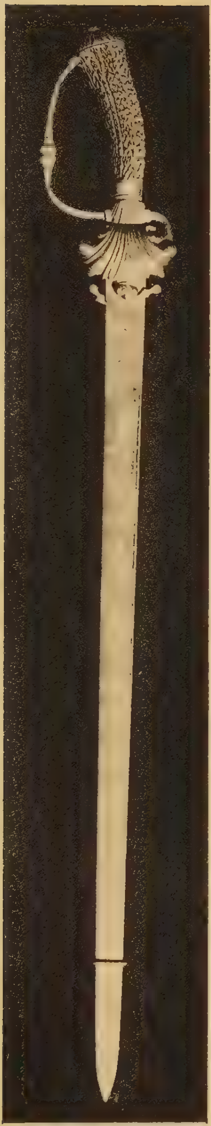
[30] Bradford, *History of Plymouth*, II. 50. The statement that Endecott, late in 1629, offered the old planters of Massachusetts a share in the official fur-trading monopoly of the Company, and that Morton refused to participate, would seem to rest on the unsupported word of the latter. Endecott had authority to make such an offer, and Morton's refusal would have made him an interloper on the land of the Company. But Morton implies that his subsequent difficulties sprang from his having stood out against Endecott in the conference called at Salem. See C. F. Adams, *The New English Canaan of Thomas Morton* (Boston, The Prince Society, 1883), 39 and 304–308; *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (Boston, 1892), I. 225–226; Morison, *Builders of the Bay*, 17.



Sword Owned by Governor Endecott

Now in the possession of William C. Endicott, Esq.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

noticed in England. But his rashness excited the colonists. In November, 1634, a complaint of Endecott's act "in altering the crosse in the ensigne att Salem" was made to the Court of Assistants.[31] The matter was referred for hearing and determination at the next Court, which on May 6, 1635, disapproved his act and forbade him to hold office for one year.[32] There would seem to have been no real desire to punish Endecott for his sentiments, for while the question was pending, the commissioners for military affairs gave orders that all ensigns should be temporarily laid aside, and in 1636 definitely decided that the cross should be left out of the flag. Until 1686 no Massachusetts military company ever carried the old ensign.[33]

When the late Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, British Ambassador at Washington during a part of the period of the Great War, visited Salem in 1888, and saw the sword, now in my possession, with which Governor John Endecott is said to have cut the red cross from the King's colors, he wrote the following sonnet:

> Beneath the cross that under Acre's walls
> flanked the winds of Paynim Palestine
> high over English Richard's mailed line
> one whom like him nor death nor hell appalls
> stands: — one like him a fiery summons calls
> across the seas — and filled with rage divine
> he lifts his hand — and lo! the crimson sign
> of ancient faith and scorned allegiance falls.
> Hew from St. George's banner — hew the cross —
> old symbols let them go, old signs decay
> old ties be severed — ties of law and name —
> not great thy loss if these be cast away
> if these alone be lost not great thy loss —
> so be the heart and will remain the same.

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[31] *Records of the Court of Assistants, 1630–1692* (Boston, 1904), II. 50. *Records of Massachusetts,* I. 137. Winthrop, *History of New England,* I. 174–175.

[32] *Records of Massachusetts,* I. 145–146.

[33] See Winthrop, *History of New England,* I. 186, 188, 215; II. 421. Also, Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem* (Salem, 1924), I. 259–263; Howard M. Chapin, *The New England Flag* (Providence, 1930). The same author's *Roger Williams and the King's Colors* (Providence, 1928), is an interesting treatment of the whole controversy, which really extended over more than half a century: 1634–1686.

John Endecott has always suffered, if I may use the expression, from a hostile press. Hawthorne, Longfellow, and Whittier have portrayed him as a proud, uncompromising, cruel man. Though he has been accused of being autocratic and irascible, of imposing his will upon others, the colonists elected him Governor fifteen times (oftener than they did any other man) and Deputy-Governor five times. Colonial authors could not have inspired the literary legends of the nineteenth century, for about 1650 Captain Edward Johnson, for instance, wrote of him as follows:

John Endicat *twice Governour of the* English, *inhabiting the*
Mattachusets *Bay in* N. England.

Strong valiant John *wilt thou march on, and take up station first,*
Christ cal'd hath thee, his Souldier be, and faile not of thy trust;
Wilderness wants Christs grace supplants, the plant his Churches pure,
With Tongues gifted, and graces led, help thou to his procure;
Undanted thou wilt not allow, Malignant men to wast:
Christs Vineyard heere, whose grace should cheer, his well-beloved's tast.
Then honoured be, thy Christ hath thee their Generall promoted:
To shew their love, in place above, his people have thee voted.
Yet must thou fall, to grave with all the Nobles of the Earth,
Thou rotting worme, to dust must turn, and worse but for new birth.[34]

In this connection it may be of interest to summarize the verdict of Palfrey, who writes of Endecott's death:

> Personally he [Endecott] was lamented with sincere affection. His honesty, frankness, fearlessness, and generous public spirit had won their proper guerdon in the general esteem. . . . In some sense, he might fitly be called the father of Massachusetts rather than any other man. He it was that first engaged, in England, to plant a colony of Englishmen within her borders. He conducted to her shore the first band of emigrants that numbered so many as three scores of men. He drove Episcopacy from her domain, when the harboring of Episcopacy might have been fatal; and he took a decisive part in the primitive arrangement of her ecclesiastical consti-

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[34] Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence,* 19. This book was first published in 1654; Mr. Poole believed Johnson could not have worked on it later than 1651, during which year Endecott was serving his third term as Governor of the Colony, having been elected for the first and second times in May, 1644, and 1649.

> tutions. . . . Undoubting in faith and heartily devout, but otherwise a man of action much more than of sentiment, his life-long purpose of unreserved obedience to God, and active usefulness to man, was vigorous and buoyant. . . . The difficulties of the last part of his public career were great; and he passed through them free from the reproach, not more of timidity, than of any other kind of selfishness. Neither the impetuosity of his character, nor any weak self-conceit, prevented him from securing the advantage of good counsel. He knew his place, and did not hesitate to claim it; but he knew it too well to be envious of a superior, or jealous of rivals. . . . New England, when she counts up the benefactors eminently worthy of her grateful and reverent remembrance, can never omit his name.[35]

On the other hand, students of history who are critical of Endecott may be discouraged to remember that their judgment of him concurs with that of His Majesty, King Charles II, according to the letter Mr. Secretary Morice sent to the Colony in February, 1665:

> . . . since his Majesty hath too much reason to suspect that Mr. Endecott, who hath during all the late revolutions continued the government there, is not a person well affected to his Majesties person or his government, his Majestie will take it very well if at the next election any other person of good reputation be chosen in the place, and that he may noe longer exercise that charge.[36]

This test of loyalty was avoided, for Endecott was dead at the time of the next election in May, 1665.

The King's distrust of Endecott at this time seems to have been provoked chiefly by the Governor's failure to lay hands on two regicides, for the legal murder of his father was one of the very few subjects on which Charles II felt strongly over any great length of time. Two former members of the High Court of Justice, General Edward Whalley, first cousin of Cromwell, and General William Goffe, who had married Whalley's daughter, arrived in Boston Harbor July 27, 1660. Under the assumed names of Richardson and Shepardson, they went to live in Cambridge, moving about openly among people who knew who they were. On August 9, 1660, copies of the official orders for the pursuit and capture of all regicides reached Boston; yet just a week later Goffe took supper with President Chauncy of Harvard, who was persuaded "the Lord had brought us to this country for good both to them and ourselves." The reception of the Judges in Massachusetts became something of a scandal in England, and matters were only made worse by what was quite accurately thought to be the connivance of the colonial government at their escape into Connecticut in March, 1661. By October 13, 1664, both Whalley and Goffe had reached their permanent refuge with the Reverend John Russell, in Hadley, to drop out of public sight for ever. Four months later, at the time King Charles sent out word of his desire for a new Governor in Massachusetts, he must have known that these two of his father's judges had escaped him — thanks to Endecott's failure to arrest them immediately.[37]

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[35] Palfrey, *The History of New England*, II. 598–600.

[36] Thomas Hutchinson, *A Collection of Original Papers* (Boston, 1769), 392. "Copy of a Letter from Secretary Morice to the Massachusets Colony." Whitehall, February 25, 1664/65, 390–392.

William Shirley alone, it is often said, exceeded Endecott's service as Governor of Massachusetts, having held that office, by appointment, just fifteen years. But of this term he spent three years and nine months on leave of absence in England and France; so the actual service of Endecott at the head of affairs is the longest on record. For continuity and variety of service, too, he is unrivalled. From June, 1628, until his death in March, 1665, he held at least one office, and sometimes three, year after year — with the exception of the one period (1635–1636) when he was deliberately passed over by the General Court because of his rash treatment of the ensign at Salem the previous autumn. He left England as the agent of the original purchasers; on April 30, 1629, the General Court of the Company elected him Governor of London's Plantation; on October 20, 1629, the day John Winthrop was first elected Governor of the Company, Endecott was elected an Assistant, the position he was to fill, off and on, for fifteen years. Five times he was elected Deputy-Governor, and for two years (1637–1639) he sat on the short-lived Permanent Council of 1636–1639. Four years he served as Major-General of the Massachusetts Bay (1645–1649); three years as Commissioner of the United Colonies (1646–1649), over whose governing body he twice sat as President (1653 and 1658). Besides acting as Governor of the Colony at four different periods totalling fourteen years and ten months, he commanded the Block Island Expedition against the Pequots in 1636, made one of the commission of four to draw the boundary line between Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay in 1640, served on a committee of three empowered " to dispose of all lands and other things at Cape Ann " in 1641, and as Overseer shared the responsibilities of Harvard College after 1642.

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[37] For a good account of the regicides in New England, see George Sheldon, "Introduction to the New Edition," in Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley* (Springfield, 1905).

While he was one of the Harvard Overseers, just after he had succeeded John Winthrop as Governor in 1649, Endecott, together with certain other distinguished members of the colony, issued the following order, which was twice inserted in the records of the College:

> Forasmuch as the wearing of long haire after the manner of Ruffians and barbarous Indians hath begun to invade new England contrary to the rule of Gods word which sayth it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the Commendable Custome generally of all the Godly of our nation, until within this few yeares Wee the Magistrates who have subscribed this paper (for the clearing of our owne innocency in this behalfe) doe declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long haire, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly whereby men doe deforme themselves, and offend sober and modest men, and doe corrupt good manners. Wee doe therefore earnestly entreat all the Elders of this Jurisdiction (as often as they shall see cause) to manifest their zeal against it, in their Publike administrations, and to take Care that the members of their respective Churches bee not defiled therewith, that so such as shall proove obstinate and will not reforme themselves may have god and man to bear witnes against them
>
> The third Month. 10. day 1649
> John Endicott Governor
> Thomas Dudley Deputy Deputy Governor
> Richard Bellingham
> Richard Saltonstall
> Increase Nowell
> William Hibbins
> Thomas Flint
> Robert Bridges
> Simon Bradstreet [38]

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[38] This order, dated May 10, 1649, is to be found in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts,* xv. 37–38; 197–198. Dudley's repetition of

Inasmuch as the original portrait of Endecott, painted in Boston in 1664/65 and now in my possession, shows him wearing long white hair, apparently he was of the opinion that rules of propriety for youth and old age were different.

Endecott was honored with extensive grants of land by the General Court: as early as 1632 he was given the Orchard Farm, three hundred acres "aboute 3 myles from Salem"; in 1639, another area of five hundred and fifty acres on the Ipswich River, near Rowley; in 1655, Catta Island, near Marblehead; and in 1658, a quarter of Block Island.[39]

In 1660 a deed of land by the Indians to John Endecott, Jr., led to a vote of the General Court by way of recognition, which was indirectly expressed in the following words:

> . . . considering the many kindnesses that were shewne to the Indians by our honored Gouernour in the infancy of these plantations, for the pacifying the Indians, tending to the common good of the first planters, in consideration whereof the Indians were mooved to such a gratuity vnto his sonne, [the General Court] doe judge meete to give the petitioner fower hundred acres of land. . . .

The Court, it is interesting to note, refused to "confirme the Indians deed" but granted the land in question on its own authority.[40]

While he was Governor, in 1652, the General Court authorized the setting up of a mint and the first coining of money. Massachusetts was the only colony ever to do this. The excuse offered for this unauthorized exercise of sovereignty was the influx of Spanish coins and counterfeit money. Again while he was Governor, in 1662, the issue of two-penny pieces began. The numbers on the dies were never changed from year to year, so that all the colonial money of Massachusetts is dated either 1652 or 1662.

Usurping the royal right to coin money became a serious offence after the restoration of the Stuarts in the person of Charles II. The Commonwealth and the Protectorate were

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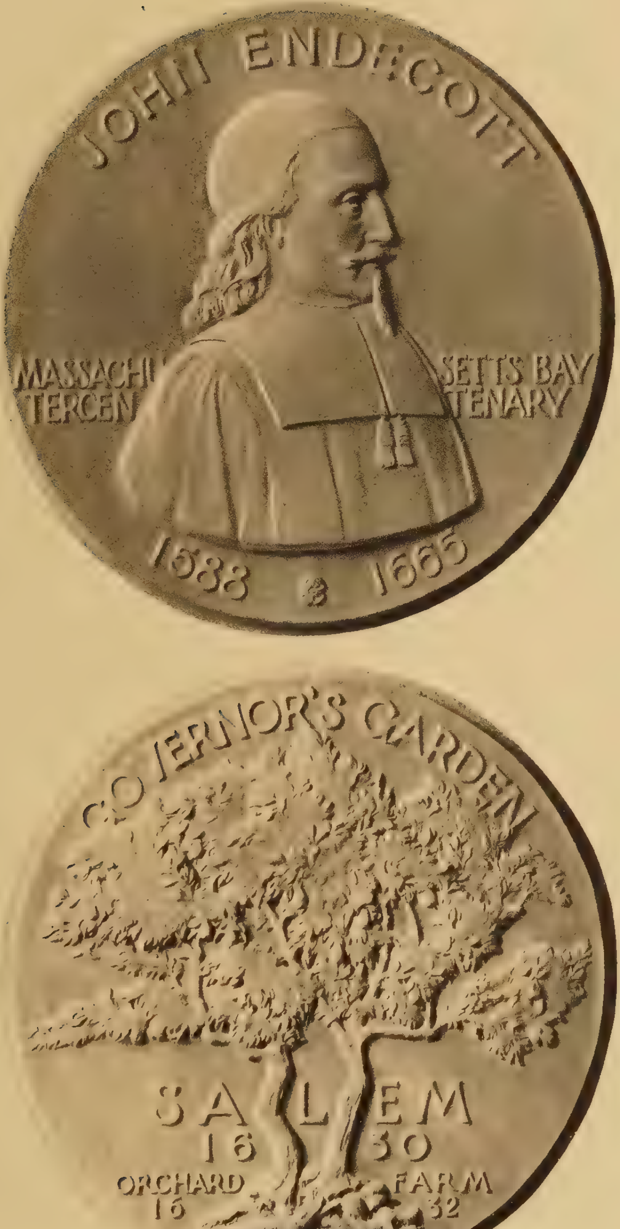
"Deputy" in his title must have been a slip of the pen. Public anxiety about the "lust" for wearing long hair at Harvard was alive as late as 1673, when a petition against it (signed, among others, by John Eliot) was presented to the magistrates. 2 *Proceedings,* IX. 98–99.

[39] *Records of Massachusetts,* I. 97, 277, 305; III. 389; IV. (1), 356.

[40] *Ibid.,* IV. (1), 427.


JOHN ENDECOTT
MASSACHUSETTS BAY
TERCENTENARY
1588
1665
GOVERNOR'S GARDEN
SALEM
1630
ORCHARD
16
FARM
32

Endecott Tercentenary Medal

Designed by Laura Gardin Fraser for William C. Endicott, Esq.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

none too eager to stir up questions of legality, and interfered with caution in colonial affairs. I am afraid that "The humble peticion and addresse of the Generall Court" sitting at Boston in New England "To the high and mighty Prince Charles II" and presented to "His Most Excellent Majesty the 11th day of February 1660 by John Endecott in the name and with the consent of the General Court" had been soon forgotten and that the colonists made up their minds to defy the King by continuing to coin money. It is said that Charles II was angry and intended to take drastic steps to stop this coinage, but Sir Thomas Temple[41] by a diplomatic ruse convinced His Majesty that the pine tree represented the honoured oak where Charles hid himself on his royal flight from Worcester — with the result that the penalty was postponed until 1684, when the Charter of March 4, 1628/29 was vacated in Chancery. In this process three usurpations were dwelt upon — coining of money, levying of taxes (which had been done as early as 1631 by the Court of Assistants), and requiring an oath of fealty to the Colony, a practice of the preceding seven years.[42]

One can not judge the character of men and women who lived in the seventeenth century by the standards of the twentieth. Toleration had no place in the lives of the Puritans. Whatever their defects — intolerance, bigotry, and other unlovely qualities — they did establish a government free from feudal or hereditary principles from the time of the granting of the Charter in 1629 until the order for its vacating in 1684. All pioneers in a new civilization combat anything which interferes with immediate plans. In doing so, they deal with those who do not have the same views and vision as themselves with a heavy and often with a cruel hand. Certain defects of Endecott's character — the less pleasant side, indeed, of two of his virtues: decision of judgment and vigour in action — showed themselves most noticeably during the persecution of the Quakers, without some mention of whom no sketch of Endecott could pretend to be completely frank. Governor Winthrop was blamed more than once for mildness by his contemporaries, but now their own descendants find it hard to forgive or forget the harshness of Governor Endecott. Yet all the right could not have been on one side, for the General Court itself became fiercely divided on the question of whipping, banishing, and hanging Quakers. Even the charitable inhabitants of Rhode Island found these Friends a bit difficult as fellow-citizens.

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[41] *Transactions and Collections,* American Antiquarian Society, III. 293. Note C. (281–306) is an excellent essay on the coinage of Massachusetts (1652–1684) by S. F. Haven.

[42] 4 *Collections,* II. 257–261.

Evidence as to what actually happened at the hearings is not always of the best — as, for instance, in the case of the story that Governor Endecott offered Mary Dyer the chance to escape death by means of denying her identity at her final appearance before the magistrates in 1660. William Sewel first printed this story in his *History of the Quakers,*[43] a book bitterly hostile to Endecott, and based his inference on the alleged circumstance of a second Mary Dyer's having come into the Colony between the banishment and return of the first. This interpretation of Endecott's attitude is suggestive, for it seems to show that Sewel, in order to magnify the courage of the martyr, allowed himself to assign to her prosecutor a generous motive utterly inconsistent with his own description of the Governor's character. To suppose, on the other hand, that Endecott asked his question, "*Are you the same* Mary Dyar *that was here before?*" with the deliberate intent to trap the devoted woman in a lie, is to twist a mere formality into an act of malice.

Endecott and Winthrop remained friends from the day they first met at Salem. As to character they were very different: Endecott, fearless, — not a politician in the true sense of that word — generally succeeded in accomplishing what he considered best for the colony. Winthrop was full of tact and wisdom with none of the uncompromising characteristics of Endecott, whose military training had much to do with his attitude towards life. The close of what was probably the last letter Endecott ever wrote to Winthrop is so typical as to deserve being quoted:

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[43] William Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers* (London, 1725), 226. See *Records of Massachusetts,* IV. (1), 419.

Good Sir let vs labour to loue [one] another and harbour the best thoughts one of another, we haue not longe to liue heere in this life, yet we shall heere remaine as long as our appointed times are sett. I cannot tell whither any expressions in my last lettre may trouble you. I did not (I ame sure) intend any such thing, and therefore I beseech you take all in good parte. And labour for chierfulnes of spiritt, you know who hath commaunded it. You serue a good Maister, and therefore reioice in him.

Orchard. 5. 1 mo. 1648.

[Orchard Farm, March 5, 1649.][44]

Both were educated gentlemen. The Winthrop *Journal* and the *Papers* and the few letters of Endecott still in existence prove this beyond question. When the great Jesuit priest, Father Gabriel Druillette, came to Boston, Endecott was the only man in the Colony who could speak French with him. With John Eliot and others he was obliged to talk in Latin.[45]

I see before me a long list of Puritan Governors who served the Colony well under the Charter: Matthew Craddock, John Endecott, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, Henry Vane, Richard Bellingham, John Leverett and Simon Bradstreet. These Puritans had used their Charter too well to suit the Mother Country, and fortunate it was that Endecott and Winthrop, who had established free government, free religion (at least from their point of view), and free schools in the wilderness, did not live long enough to see a governor from England land at Boston with all the pomp and circumstance of British royalty.

Fifty-two years ago, when my honored father delivered before the Essex Institute an address at the commemoration of the landing of John Endecott, he closed as follows:

The Province Charter and its royal governor did not destroy what the Puritan had done. Child of the century that preceded him, trained and educated for his great work, he had builded wisely and well. The town government and the town meeting which he had created proved indestructible, and the school-house, though built of logs, more enduring than castle or cathedral. All that was best in his principles of conduct and methods of government had passed into the life, the thought, the social habits of the people, and was stamped on the character of his posterity; from father to son, through successive generations, were transmitted a love of liberty, an obedience to law, a desire for knowledge, a reverence for the teacher and the teachings of religion, a faculty for understanding and dealing with public interests, a wise economy and thrift, a deep-seated belief that the general welfare was more desirable than private good or gain, and with all these a fervent love for the hills and valleys of New England.

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[44] 4 *Collections*, VI. 151

[45] Palfrey, *History of New England*, II. 307 *n.* I.

And so may it be to the end; and may your descendants who meet here, as fifty or a hundred years go round, to commemorate the landing at Salem, be true and faithful to the memory of their fathers, and stand for the liberty and truth which the Puritan taught, with the hazard not only of their goods, but of their lives, if need be.[46]

Mr. Stimson spoke of features of Calvinism in the 1800's, in presenting and reading to the Society a letter written by his great-great-grandfather, Jeremy Stimson, dated at Hopkinton, May 3, 1802, to the Reverend Nathaniel Howe of that place, disagreeing with views in his recent sermons.

Mr. Stimson also made brief remarks on the engagement ring of Betsy DeBlois, which he thought had been lost; and referred to the account in his book, *My Story: Being the Memoirs of Benedict Arnold.*

Mr. Norcross communicated copies of letters from his autograph collection: from Lord Cornwallis, October 7, 1786; from General William Howe, August 20, 1798; from John T. Kirkland, June 4, 1825; from Mayor Josiah Quincy, August 3, 1827.

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[46] *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute,* xv. 280.

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 13, 1930, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Estate of Helen D. Orvis, of Wellesley, letters written by her mother and other members of the Community at Brook Farm, 1843–1847.

From Stoughton Bell, papers relating to the Charles Eliot Memorial, 1897–1907.

From Miss Clara Bertha Dobson, of Los Angeles, California, the papers of her grandfather, Dr. Lemuel Shattuck, of Concord, which she had deposited with the Society on June 14, 1923.

From Albert Thorndike, a letter of Stephen Baker, written from Wilmington, North Carolina, on Nov. 25, 1817, to Albert Thorndike of Beverly, giving his impressions of that place.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From John H. Storer, the medal of the Pan-American Red Cross Conference, 1926; of the Red Cross meeting, Washington, 1926; and of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York.

By purchase, a daguerreotype view of Pearl Street, Boston, perhaps as early as the 1850's, looking up from Postoffice Square to the corner of High Street.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from HENRY ADAMS accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death, on October 27, 1930, of HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, Recording Secretary since 1923, the year of his election as a Resident Member, and expressed the deep appreciation of his service by his associates.

The Vice-President reported that the Council, in accordance with the By-Laws, had chosen our associate FRANCIS

Russell Hart as Recording Secretary of the Society to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Cunningham, until the next Annual Meeting. Mr. Hart then entered upon his duties.

George Hinckley Lyman, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and William Bennet Munro, of Pasadena, California, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. Claude Moore Fuess read a paper on

Daniel Webster and the Abolitionists

The object of this essay is to present a fair and accurate statement, free from rhetoric or special pleading, of the relations between Daniel Webster and the radical abolitionists represented by William Lloyd Garrison. I use the qualifying adjective "radical" because Webster was himself an abolitionist, if by that vague term is meant a person who believed that negro servitude should be eradicated as soon as a practicable way could be found.

The discussion must be prefaced by the declaration, seldom sufficiently emphasized, that Webster always hated slavery and was never, so far as I can discover, its apologist. Quotations from his speeches, ranging from the early nineteenth century until a few months before his death, show that he regarded it as an infamous institution. In December, 1819, his openly stated view was that "if the progress of this great evil is ever to be arrested . . . this is the time to arrest it."[1] On February 15, 1850, he wrote: "From my earliest youth, I have regarded slavery as a great moral and political evil."[2] During the thirty years separating these two unambiguous utterances, Webster's conduct had been consistently opposed to slavery and to its extension on this continent. Not a single phrase of his can be quoted in extenuation of human bondage.

But Webster's unconcealed aversion for slavery was restrained at times by other emotions arising from his temperament and his experience. His policy on national problems was determined not only by his inherited conservatism, but also by his respect for law and by his somewhat idealistic conception of the Federal Union. A moment's attention to these three motives may, perhaps, explain and even justify his attitude towards some of the highly controversial questions which he was obliged to meet.

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[1] *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (National Ed., Boston, 1903), xv. 55, 72*n.*

[2] *Ibid.*, xviii. 353.

First of all, then, conservatism was in Webster's very blood. His father, an uncompromising Federalist, once fell ill in a village which was notoriously Democratic. "Take me home," he begged. "I don't want to die in a Democratic town." Under the tutelage of a parent who had fought through the Revolution, the boy was brought up to reverence George Washington and to distrust Jefferson's passion for experimenting with science and society. Furthermore, he was, in physique and disposition, phlegmatic rather than nervous, so much so that some people regarded him as sluggish. Even as a youth he looked upon innovations with suspicion; and he hated to change his tailor or his hotel or his cook. Later he developed by a natural evolution into an institutionalist, swayed largely by tradition and precedent, and loyal to his family, his church, his party, and his country. No one ever accused Webster of rashness or indiscretion. His conservatism was instinctive and inherited, not the consequence of hardening arteries.

In the second place, Webster's training in the law, involving association with such reactionaries as Christopher Gore and Thomas W. Thompson, increased his respect for order and regularity. His profession slowly drew him into contact with the more prosperous elements in the community, the bankers and manufacturers and importers who had a stake in society and wanted to maintain the *status quo*. His own economic independence, like theirs, was based upon established institutions. In State Street and on Beacon Hill, Webster's theories were moulded into convictions. As he grew older, he probably tended to lay too much emphasis on the need of decorum and stability. But to his admirers he became a symbol of permanence. Whenever waves of popular unrest threatened to inundate the republic, he stood unyielding, as immutable as that Mount Kearsarge under whose shadow he had spent his childhood. It is not astonishing that bank presidents were glad to subscribe to funds which would keep Webster on the floor of the United States Senate. It was both impossible and unnecessary to bribe Daniel Webster. But the rich, the intelligent, and the well-born knew that he would not betray them.

Finally, Webster's radiant conception of a powerful and dominant Union affected his views on nearly every critical problem. A disciple of John Marshall, he had become the advocate of a broad interpretation of federal authority, and he later had stood shoulder to shoulder with Andrew Jackson in maintaining the preëminence of the national government. To the men of his generation he was the "Expounder of the Constitution" and the "Defender of the Union." He had so positively committed himself in favor of nationalism as opposed to state rights that he was bound to resist any movement which threatened federal supremacy. He had defended, indeed virtually created, among American citizens a conception of government which, while it may not have been in the minds of those who framed the Constitution, was, nevertheless, essential if the United States were to survive. For Webster, every current question, even in economics or morals, had to be considered with regard to its probable effect on the integrity of the Union.

As a thoroughgoing conservative, a legalist, and a Unionist, Webster, at least after 1830, was one of the most consistent of American statesmen. It is now essential to characterize the man who is usually assigned the position as leader of the radical abolitionists, William Lloyd Garrison. The abolitionists differed widely in their motives, in their intensity of feeling, in their methods, and in their sense of humor. To place Wendell Phillips and Henry Wilson and Joshua R. Giddings in the same category is to be unjust to each of the three. But historians of all types will doubtless concur in the opinion that Garrison was the most persistently vocal and the most uncompromising of the opponents of slavery.

He was, in temperament and in philosophy, the antipodes of Webster. Garrison was fundamentally an individualist, opposed in theory and in practice to anything vested or settled. Furthermore, he had an inordinate desire for change. The very fact that a policy was untried made it to him irresistible. Gullible and unsophisticated, he had faith in every latest nostrum and swallowed uncritically bottle after bottle of quack medicines. Once, when he had declared that an anti-scrofulous panacea had permeated his system "in the most delightful manner," a friend commented: "Why, it was the first time he had ever taken a glass of grog, and he didn't know how good it was."[3] So he was eager to apply to a diseased society all kinds of remedies, some of them efficacious, others the product of charlatanry, without being able to discriminate among them. Although he was mild and almost benign in appearance, he advocated reforms with such promiscuity that he was accused by one of his followers of picking up "every infidel nostrum afloat." He condemned the use of tobacco and alcohol; he objected to restrictions on women, to capital punishment, and to imprisonment for debt. With the best of intentions and the noblest of motives, he became a perpetual agitator; and perpetual agitation was what Webster hated most.

There is a further contrast which cannot be ignored. Except when goaded into a rage, Webster had a tolerant mind. He could not understand the religious bigotry displayed by some of the theologians of his generation. Warm-blooded himself and susceptible to tumultuous emotions, he could forgive sinners more easily than he could condemn them, and he could realize that "to step aside is human." Certainly he was never impelled to preach to his fellow-men or to deprive them of their "cakes and ale." It was easy for him to see the good in each of two conflicting points of view, and, perceiving this, to preserve a largeness of outlook. Like all sagacious opportunists — and the list includes Lincoln — he was content, if he could not get all his plan accepted, to accept part of it. Provincialism, complacency, and illiberality were distasteful to him. Above all, he was out of sympathy with a "one-track mind," which could recognize only one solution to a problem.

Such a "one-track mind" Garrison undoubtedly had. Whatever the reform which for the moment he was advocating, he could see only his side to the question. There were no shades in his thinking, only black and white, righteousness and evil. Opposed by the orthodox churches, he described them as " cages of unclean birds " and " synagogues of sin." Blocked by the Constitution of the United States, he referred to it as " a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and burned it publicly in Framingham. Naturally he had an extraordinary capacity for making enemies, and his violence of language alienated a large proportion of his early adherents. When Charles Remond, the colored orator, called George Washington a villain, Wendell Phillips said: " Charles, the epithet is infelicitous." But Garrison saw no infelicity in billingsgate when it was applied to slave owners.

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[3] *William Lloyd Garrison* (New York, 1889), IV. 323.

Lowell once said of the more radical abolitionists: " They treat ideas as ignorant persons do cherries. They think them unwholesome unless they are swallowed, stones and all." [4] Webster would always have thrown away the stones. Actuated in his conduct largely by common sense and a regard for probable consequences, he believed in adjusting policies to existing conditions. To sum up the contrast, Webster and Garrison displayed two antipathetic attitudes towards life, one practical, logical, and systematic, the other theoretical, impulsive, and idealistic. It was inevitable that they should clash on the question of negro slavery.

No one can deny Garrison the credit for keeping the campaign against slavery at white heat over a long period of years. From New Year's Day, 1831, when he printed in Boston the first number of his famous *Liberator,* until the Emancipation Proclamation, Garrison gave slave holders no rest. Again and again he declared: " I hate slavery as I hate nothing else in this world. It is not only a crime, but the sum of all criminality." But he inspired rather than led, and the actual freeing of the negro was accomplished by more practical men. It was characteristic of him that he offered no workable plan for exterminating slavery. Logically, it could be driven from the continent only in one of two ways: either by persuading slave holders through a process of education that the system was unprofitable and wrong, and thus inducing them of their own accord to abandon it, or by forcing them, either by the ballot or the sword, to give it up. Garrison would adopt neither policy. Through his unsparing and indiscriminate abuse of all slave holders, he merely infuriated them, thus ending the possibility of a peaceful and bloodless emancipation. At the same time, he disdained all legal methods for freeing the negro, refusing to vote or to ally himself with any political party. In addition, he was a philosophical non-resistant, with no belief in a resort to arms. Finally, taking the extreme position that the North must separate from the South, he became as zealous a secessionist as Jefferson Davis. How the breaking up of the United States would abolish slavery, Garrison never explained. His theories were those of the farmer who wanted to burn down his barn in order to get rid of the rats.

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[4] *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (Charles E. Norton, Ed., New York, 1894), I. 125.

When Webster delivered his Reply to Hayne, in 1830, Garrison was in harmony with him. Later, when Webster opposed both the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, Garrison and he were in substantial agreement. But after 1840, when the Liberty Party nominated its first candidate for the Presidency, Garrison gradually lost control of the anti-slavery group, many of whom had begun to realize the futility of his methods. He still continued his vituperative agitation, but his influence perceptibly declined. His followers suspected him of leaning towards communism and free love. He drew to himself many people described by Thomas Wentworth Higginson as "unbalanced and crotchety," and he became absorbed in clairvoyance and spiritualism. He was followed wherever he went by a little group of what Colonel Higginson called "professional lunatics," who not infrequently tried the patience of the abolitionists severely.

Webster's course, meanwhile, had been marked by complete consistency. In 1819, he said of slavery: "Circumstances have entailed it on a portion of our community which cannot be immediately relieved from it without consequences more injurious than the suffering of the evil." [5] From this doctrine he never deviated. He continued to hate slavery; he himself purchased and freed at least two negroes in Washington; and he did not hesitate, even in the South, to condemn slavery as an institution. But he declared in 1840 that we "must wait for the slow progress of moral causes." With characteristic common sense Webster could not be oblivious of the practical difficulties of emancipation. He could not forget that the Constitution of the United States, ratified by all sections, had tolerated slavery in the South, and that, under the Constitution, Southerners had certain rights which ought not to be disregarded. A contract had been entered into, and the abrogation of it was sure to precipitate a catastrophe. Much as he wanted slavery exterminated, Webster could not see how splitting the Union asunder would bring about the desired result.

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[5] *Webster*, xv. 72.

It was largely a matter of proportion — or emphasis. Garrison, ignoring all the facts except that slavery was wrong, wanted it abolished at any cost. He was ready to wrest from thousands of plantation owners property which to them was legitimately acquired and had been held over a long period. He was prepared to abandon the Union, so carefully built up by compromise and mutual concession. And, although theoretically loathing war and bloodshed, he did not shrink from a policy which could end only in an internecine conflict.

To Garrison's clamorous fanaticism Webster replied in substance as follows:

> Slavery is wrong, and we must do all that we can to restrict it to one section and to prevent it from spreading. We hope that, even in the South, it will, through a gradual evolution, eventually disappear. For the present, with passions running high, it cannot be wiped out except by arraying brother against brother in a horrible civil war. Let us, then, try every reasonable plan for preserving the Union and averting a stupendous disaster.

This was the counsel of a practical statesman who loved his country and kept in mind the diverse elements of which it was composed.

Webster had plenty of faults both as man and as political leader, but inconsistency was not one of them. It can be demonstrated, I think, that he was the most independent statesman of his generation. Again and again he came out courageously and forcibly on issues which most of his contemporaries were eager to evade. One of the most significant decisions of his career had to be made in 1848, when he was being pressed by the Free Soilers to become the candidate of that young and enthusiastic organization. He himself, it will be remembered, had hoped to become the Whig standard-bearer but had been rejected in favor of Zachary Taylor, who had little but his military prestige to recommend him. In a disgruntled mood Webster had declared that the nomination of Taylor was "one unfit to be made." At precisely that moment came the voice of the tempter suggesting suavely that he ally himself with the Free Soil Party. He would have been welcomed by the group of constitutional abolitionists who then controlled its destinies, and he could have joined them without renouncing any of his more cherished convictions. But again Webster's basic conservatism kept him faithful to the Whigs, even though he was disgusted with their candidate. He was fearful lest the Free Soilers might eventually be dominated by the Garrisonians, and he had no inclination to lend his name to the furtherance of radical ideas. When the Free Soilers nominated his old political rival, the canny veteran, Martin Van Buren, Webster laughed out loud. The late Senator Lodge was very hard on him for not assuming the leadership of the Free Soilers in 1848. But Webster was not the kind of man to betray his friends and the party which he had helped to form.

Until 1850, the *Liberator* did not single out Webster for any special abuse. I have recently completed reading the pages of that periodical during the thirty-five years of its publication; and, although some references may have escaped me, I am sure that from 1830 to 1850 Webster was not by any means a conspicuous object of Garrison's vituperation. When Webster, in 1840, declared at Richmond that Congress had no power over slavery in the South, Garrison did unvial his wrath. Again, when Webster was about to speak in Faneuil Hall on September 30, 1842, Garrison wrote:

> It is the last day of September, and therefore he [Webster] will not be called to "look an *October* sun in the face" — but the man who has gone to Virginia, and there in the presence of a crowd of slaveholders has vowed fidelity to their infernal slave system, and who has prostituted his intellect as he has done in the case of the Creole, ought to be ashamed to look even a dog in the face.[6]

But this was mild language for Garrison, whose vocabulary could be, on occasion, vitriolic. During the period covering the acquisition of Texas and the Mexican War, Garrison had no cause for denouncing Webster, who, like him, was opposed to both. It was not until after the Seventh of March Speech that Garrison, and with him his followers, showed the full extent of his vituperative vocabulary.

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[6] *The Liberator*, Sept. 30, 1842.

This is obviously not the moment for discussing the motives or the consequences of those Congressional measures which have come to be known as the Compromise of 1850. Webster did not originate them, and he accepted one of them, the so-called Fugitive Slave Act, with reluctance. But he saw that both radical abolitionists and slave holders were calling for the break-up of the Union. He was convinced, as the spring of 1850 drew near, that the Southern extremists, alarmed at the prospect of the admission of California as a free state and maddened by the attacks of such abolitionists as Garrison, were on the verge of secession. Evidence recently accumulated proves conclusively that there was imminent danger of the formation of a Southern Confederacy.[7] At precisely that moment, in the midst of a winter storm, the venerable Henry Clay called upon Webster to propose a plan of compromise, and won him over to his scheme.

For a few weeks Webster kept his own counsel, and even Boston newspapers were in doubt as to the policy which he would follow. The *Liberator*, although it criticised Clay and his Compromise very severely, hardly mentioned Webster during January and February, 1850. When Webster stood up in the Senate on the morning of March 7, only a few of his closest advisers knew what he was going to say.

Because the speech has received the closest scrutiny of historical scholars, there is nothing to be gained by repeating its arguments. Webster himself considered it to be the " greatest effort " of his life. The occasion was dramatic, and the orator made the most of it. His appeal was directed, not to the extremists — nothing could move them — but to the multitude of average Americans who felt that every possible attempt at reconciliation should be exhausted before the Union should be abandoned. The effect of the speech in mollifying the violence of the Southern leaders was immediate and decisive, as Professor Herbert D. Foster has shown.

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[7] Herbert D. Foster, " Webster's Seventh of March Speech and the Secession Movement, 1850," *American Historical Review*, XXVII (Jan., 1922), 245–270.

Some historians, especially those with abolitionist prejudices — and most United States history, until recently, has been written by such men — have conveyed the impression that the Seventh of March Speech was almost universally condemned in the North, and by none more heartily than by Webster's supporters. This view has, in my opinion, almost no foundation. The Seventh of March Speech was approved by thousands of good citizens who were weary of disunion agitation and who received it as the utterance of a prophet "lifted above the mists of passion, prejudice, and faction." It actually converted thousands of voters, North and South, and brought about a reversal of editorial policy in several influential newspapers. A careful examination of the fluctuation of public opinion in various quarters of the United States leads to the conclusion that the Seventh of March Speech probably postponed civil war for a decade.

But Webster's critics were more noisy than his supporters. On March 15, the *Liberator* printed one-half of the speech, and said: "The remainder of this indescribably base and wicked speech must be postponed till our next number." From that moment, the attack was on. Those who have felt that some recent election campaigns in Boston have been scurrilous should turn the yellowing pages of the *Liberator* during the weeks following Webster's oration. On March 22, there appeared an eight-column review by Wendell Phillips, and in each succeeding issue Webster was scathingly denounced. In his desire to discredit his opponent, Garrison declared that Webster kept a harem of colored women, some of them "big black wenches, as ugly and vulgar as Webster himself"; and he alleged that, because of remorse, Webster's face had become "sallow and shrunken, and his eyes languid and glazed." Repeatedly Garrison styled him "the great slave-hunter and brazen advocate of slave-catching." There was reason for Garrison's bitterness. Webster, by his one convincing utterance, had averted the dissolution of the Union which the Garrisonians so passionately desired; and they, aware that it was Webster who had thwarted their hopes, took their revenge on him. It was because he was powerful that they abused him so vehemently.

It is to Webster's credit that he did not retaliate in kind. Once, stung by some exceptionally malignant calumny, he burst out: "Northern abolitionists, and free soilers, and Southern disunionists are the most reckless men, I think, I ever met with in public life"; [8] and he described the abolitionists as made up of "silly women and sillier men." But, so far as I can discover, he never indulged in personalities, even against Garrison, and contented himself by stating: "I am against agitators, North and South." [9]

Time takes strange revenges! Edmund Quincy, one of the sincerest and ablest of Garrison's followers, wrote in 1852: "Indeed it is curious to consider how inconsequential the forty years of Mr. Webster's public life have been . . . Mr. Webster has nowhere impressed himself upon American history." Half a century later, when ballots were cast by electors for the Hall of Fame, in New York City, George Washington, with 97 votes, stood first, with Lincoln and Webster tied for second place, each with 96. This was posterity's answer to Garrison's characterization of Webster as "an enemy of the human race" and "the personification of all that is vile." Garrison has not yet been elected to our Hall of Fame.

Garrison was not, of course, the only abolitionist to denounce Webster. Emerson, who had praised him so sincerely in 1834, now damned him in the epigram,

Why did all manly gifts in Webster fail?
He wrote on Nature's grandest brow, *For Sale.*

Whittier wrote his *Ichabod,* a poem which has unfortunately survived the refutation of its slanders. And there were others. I never walk up Beacon Street past the State House without looking up at the two bronze statues on the terrace, one of Horace Mann, the great educational reformer, and the other of Daniel Webster, and imagining what each would exclaim if he could be brought to life, like Galatea, and glance across the granite steps to the other. Mann, who was, in 1850, a somewhat violent abolitionist, published two letters severely castigating Webster and styling him "Lucifer descending from Heaven." Webster responded with a calm justification of his position, and the Boston journals were for some weeks filled with echoes of the controversy. And now these two antagonists stand in close proximity, their old differences long since forgotten.

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[8] *Webster,* XVI. 561.

[9] *Ibid.,* X. 117.

Of all Webster's detractors, the most malicious and unfair was a clergyman, the Reverend Theodore Parker, the eloquent iconoclast who had been swaying large audiences in the Melodeon by his sensational addresses. On a Sunday evening in late October, 1852, when the bells for Webster's funeral at Marshfield had barely ceased to toll, Parker preached a sermon which, as an exhibition of bad taste in pulpit oratory, has never been paralleled. In substance, it was a review, covering two hours, of Webster's career, in which all the baseless slanders of forty years were revived. Quincy and Wendell Phillips had said nothing about Webster's private life. But Parker was a scavenger. In the manner of a stump speaker, he stated rumors as if they were facts; he used casual and whispered gossip as if it were irrefutable evidence; and he displayed throughout a spirit which was partisan and unchristian. Among the choicer epithets which he applied to Webster were "keeper of slavery's dogs," "ally of the worst of men," "assassin of liberty," and "tool of slaveholders." He said of Webster: "No living man has done so much to debauch the conscience of the nation;" and he asserted that the dead statesman had a besotted moral sense, little courage, and no decency. All this unrestrained abuse was the consequence of Parker's disagreement with Webster over the problem of slavery.

Much of the criticism of Webster emanated from men of literary gifts, who were able to put their emotions into winged words. Emerson, Sumner, Lowell, and Whittier acquired the habit of referring to him as to an angel fallen or a god defiled; and what they said found its way to the printed page. For this reason the situation has not always been properly interpreted. Rufus Choate's splendid *Eulogy on Webster,* probably the noblest of American memorial addresses, was delivered at Dartmouth College in the late summer of 1853 and, when published, helped to counteract the impression made by the chorus of denunciatory voices. Furthermore, the sentiment of Union, thanks to the inspiration of Webster's phrases, grew stronger and stronger among people who, though inarticulate, had opinions and votes. Beveridge told the truth when he said that "the vast majority of people remained calm, accepted the Compromise, sustained the law, remained faithful to the Government and devoted to the Union." Among this majority was Abraham Lincoln, who, in his letter to Greeley, said: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery." It was in the Civil War that the principles which Webster had so staunchly advocated had their vindication. James Ford Rhodes, who certainly had no prejudice in favor of Webster, admitted that, in the War of the Rebellion, Webster's doctrines were "mightier than those of Garrison."[10]

After the Emancipation Proclamation, Garrison, his battle against slavery having been rendered unnecessary, became absorbed in other reforms, and, although he lived until 1879, had little more to say about Webster. But the campaign of detraction did not cease. A journalist and biographer named James Parton carried on the anti-Webster tradition and, in a volume called *Famous Americans of Recent Times,* pictured him as a man "of admirable genius and deplorable character," who fell before the "seductions of place." Next in order came Hermann Eduard von Holst, the German historian, whose *Constitutional and Political History of the United States* was infected by abolitionist prejudices and who revived all the old malicious gossip regarding Webster's private affairs. Von Holst had formed his estimate of Webster from the columns of the *Liberator.* One might as well try to build a "psychograph" of Woodrow Wilson from evidence furnished by Henry Cabot Lodge.

The present-day student of Webster's career, wishing to make a dispassionate effort to ascertain what the real man was like, soon finds it necessary to be on his guard against both Webster's defamers and his too extravagant eulogists. But a younger generation of scholars, aloof from the violent controversies engendered by the question of slavery, have been able to survey impartially Webster's doctrines and conduct. The late Professor Herbert D. Foster, after exhaustive investigations, completely justified Webster's policy in 1850. Such thorough historians as Rhodes, Beveridge, and Channing have concluded that in the Seventh of March Speech Webster displayed the most sagacious and far-sighted statesmanship. Southerners now admit that he did try to give the South a "square deal," and that he regarded slavery from a national, not from a sectional, point of view. The judgment of those most competent to decide praises the idealism of Garrison and Wendell Phillips, but rejoices that they did not have their desire in 1850. But, whether or not one agrees with Webster, one should not question either his sincerity or his consistency. He may have been wrong, but he had no regrets. He may have been mistaken, but he was not an "apostate."

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[10] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1893), I. 161.

It is almost impossible, however, to kill a libel. Deep-seated prejudices outlive the centuries and persist long after they have been completely disproved. During the autumn of 1929, following the appearance of a new biography of Webster, the Boston *Herald* published many letters from correspondents reviling that statesman in the true Garrisonian spirit and resurrecting the same old slanders. Respectable men and women, driven by an implacable animosity, rushed into print with a stanza from Whittier's *Ichabod* or a sentence from Theodore Parker's sermon. It was as if a snake, thought to be dead, were to show signs of vitality.

Such ebullitions will not, of course, damage Webster's fame; nor will they affect the place which he has been given among our men of genius. He was neither god nor devil, but a hero not exempt from human frailties, who had his weaknesses and made his blunders. All he would have asked of posterity would have been a judgment by fair-minded critics. There is always something romantic in the spectacle of a dashing knight in shining armor charging impetuously at the foe, as Garrison did. The more practical work of compromise and reconciliation is neither dramatic nor inspiring. But, over the long sweep of years, a lofty opportunism may represent the most useful statecraft. It will probably be the verdict of history that Daniel Webster, in 1850, was wiser than his defamers.

Mr. French spoke about his experiences in the use of a special camera for photographing documents for study. This he used in the summer of 1930 when privileged to work among the American documents of the Earl of Dartmouth, at Patshull House, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire. The Leica camera which he used was fitted with an extra lens and placed upon a special stand which straddled the document to be photographed. Aperture and focal distance could be determined by consulting tables issued by the Leitz company, makers of the camera. In this case the difficulty lay with the lighting. Though Mr. French had provided himself with electric bulbs and reflectors, he found that they could not be used because of the low voltage of the house-current. Ordinary daylight was used, very variable because of showery weather. Nevertheless, by the aid of a local photographer (who developed each night what was photographed by day) a successful system was found, and some three hundred exposures made. Each picture was about the size of a special delivery stamp, and could be enlarged indefinitely. Mr. French found post-card size enlargements most convenient, and used a magnifying glass when necessary. His films having some thirty-five films to a strip (standard moving-picture film size) he was able to bring some to the meeting, and by aid of a lantern throw his photographs on a screen, to show the result of his method. He recommended the process for use in places where documents could not be photostated, as it is much more quick than copying, and perfectly accurate.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Morse, Minot, Frothingham, Rogers, Schlesinger, and F. R. Hart.

DECEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 11, 1930, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the late Miss Elizabeth Gardner Wheelwright, of New York, through Samuel Riker, a volume of letters, once owned by Samuel G. Drake, and bought by her at the Brinley Sale, No. 1329, March 13, 1879. Most of these letters, 1759 to 1785, were written by the Reverend Samuel Mather at Boston to his son Samuel, Commissary at Fort Edward and at Quebec, and later living in England and South Wales as an American refugee. They give an intimate account of such affairs in Boston as the fire of March, 1760, the visit of Whitefield, May and June, 1764, the Stamp-Act effigy in August, 1765, news of the repeal, May, 1766, the repairing of the Hutchinson house in August, 1766, and the disturbances following the seizure of the sloop *Liberty* at Hancock's Wharf in June, 1768. In the collection there are also several letters of Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., to Mr. Mather in South Wales, 1783–1784; two letters of Judge Samuel Sewall, 1689 and 1713; Cotton Mather's letter to Samuel Vaughan, Agent of New Hampshire, March 3, 1708–9, concerning the Wheelwright deed of 1629; a letter of Col. Edmund Quincy to Judge Sewall, 1722; and one from Gov. William Burnet to Sewall, 1728.

From Miss Eliza Myrick Hussey, of Nantucket, a photostat of her ancestral chart now on deposit in the Nantucket Historical Association, prepared by Miss Julia M. Maynard.

From Wilbur Macey Stone, of New York, the notice of a parade of George W. Ford's company in Wilmington, September 29 and 30, 1813, sent to David Hidden, and signed by Richard Upton, sergeant.

By permission of George Frederick Robinson, of Watertown, a typewritten copy, fourteen pages, of a sermon preached there on September 8, 1728, by the Reverend Seth Storer, from an original written in an abbreviated form and a very fine and not easily decipherable hand on four small pages.

From Albert Thorndike, a photostat of a letter written by George Washington at Fort Cumberland, Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

From LeBaron Russell Briggs, a record book, 1838–1891, kept by his father, the Reverend George Ware Briggs, minister of Plymouth, Salem, and Cambridge, containing entries of ordinations and installations attended, and of marriages and funerals.

By purchase, a volume of Notes of Sermons, June 21, 1730, to May 2, 1731, mostly preached at the Old South Church by Joseph Sewall and Thomas Prince, and taken down probably by Edmund Quincy.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the late Miss Elizabeth Gardner Wheelwright, an old silver tankard made by Daniel Henchman of Boston, engraved with the name "Wheelwright," and above it the crest of the family; and a mug engraved on the bottom with the initials "W" and "S S," both of which pieces were owned by her ancestor John Wheelwright.

From Thomas J. Whelan, Inc., of Philadelphia, a photograph of the bronze bust of Washington, from the statue by Bailly which stands in front of Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

From L. McCormick-Goodhart, of the British Embassy, Washington, D. C., four medals of Admiral Vernon for the capture of Porto Bello, 1739.

From Miss Agnes Caroline Storer, of Newport, R. I., a lock of hair of George Washington, the medal of the birth of the Cubasch twins, Austria, 1890, and five gold rubles, Russia, 1756.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from GEORGE HINCKLEY LYMAN accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and from JOSEPH CLARK GREW, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

Philip Putnam Chase, of Milton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Colonel BANKS read a paper on "How Massachusetts Stretched Herself into Maine," in which, beginning with the conflict between the original Gorges patent of 1622 and the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, he traced the various steps by which the colony extended its jurisdiction northward, culminating in the purchase of 1677.[1]

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[1] The death of Colonel Banks on October 21, 1931, prevented him from completing the preparation of his paper for publication.

Dr. Allen read some notes and statistics about the Massachusetts privateers in the Revolution:

In 1927 the Society published a volume of *Collections* (Vol. 77) containing a list of Massachusetts privateers of the Revolution. This list comprises 1554 items, or commissions, but many vessels were commissioned more than once, some of them several times. By making a study of the list and excluding duplicates, doubtful cases, etc., figures are arrived at which it seems worth while to put on record. It would appear that Massachusetts sent out altogether, during the Revolution, approximately 958 different vessels mounting 7817 guns and 792 swivels, and carrying 34,095 men, not including officers. The estimates of vessels and guns may be considered conservative and not far out of the way, but in view of the numerous reënlistments there must have been, the total number of individuals must be placed at a lower figure not to be accurately stated, yet doubtless large.

The vessels may be classified as follows:

Boats and galleys	34
Sloops	111
Schooners	263
Snows	7
Lugger	1
Polacre	1
Cutters	2
Brigantines	253
Brigs	55
Bark	1
Ships	204
Unstated	26
	958

1775	7
1776	69
1777	98
1778	100
1779	185
1780	128
1781	174
1782	169
1783	15
Unstated	13
	958

Boston	349
Salem	293
Newburyport	112
Beverly	39
Marblehead	31
Gloucester	25
Plymouth	8
Others in Massachusetts Bay	5
Cape Cod and Southern Massachusetts	21
Maine	22
Unstated	53
	958

Mr. Norcross communicated copies of letters in his collection, written by Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton; also of a document signed by Hamilton.

JANUARY MEETING, 1931

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 8, 1931, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the December Meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Matt B. Jones, a letter from Thomas Lothrop, dated at Plymouth, June 22, 1775, and written for the Committee of Correspondence of that town to the Committee of Inspection for the town of Providence, Rhode Island, expressing the impracticability of complying with its recommendation to fit out an armed vessel or vessels in pursuit of provision cargoes; and telling of the erection at Plymouth of a battery for defence, which fact became known to the enemy at Boston, leading to a threat by the Admiral that the town would be " battered about." This was all the more exciting as Plymouth's men were away " on an expedition to Cape Cod after a quantity of flour, secured at that place."

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the family of the late Charles Eliot Norton, the cane carried by their ancestor, the Reverend John Norton, minister of Hingham from 1678 to his death in 1716.

From Captain Thomas G. Frothingham, a photograph of the St. Lawrence Church, Frodingham, Lincolnshire (Frothingham Rectory instituted A.D. 1236).

From Fairfax Harrison, the Southern Railway Centennial Medal, 1830–1930, by Paul Manship, bearing the words " South Carolina, 1830, Virginia, 1831, Alabama, 1832," and on the reverse, " A Century of Service carrying to Market the Fruits of the Earth, Corn, Cotton, Tobacco."

From Grenville H. Norcross, some badges of the campaigns of Hoover and Smith, and several coins and medals.

From Miss Katharine H. Andrews, of West Roxbury, by deposit, fourteen colored prints, showing the dress of women from 1809 to 1858.

By purchase, eight impressions in lead of medals of the Boston

Police Pistol Championship, Annisquam Yacht Club, Eel River Beach Club, American Canoe Association, 1930, Harvard-Yale Freshman Dual Meet, Camp Devens C. M. T. C., 1929, Societatis Harvardianae Phoenixis, S.K. and Hatherly Country Club, North Scituate, 1899.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE, accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The chair announced the death of EDWARD CHANNING on January 7. Elected a Resident Member of the Society on December 11, 1884, he had been second in seniority since the death of Winslow Warren in April, 1930.

William Hovgaard, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member, and Frederic Logan Paxson, of Madison, Wisconsin, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. O'BRIEN read a paper entitled "As Russia Looked in 1930," in which he gave his impressions of the Soviet régime, acquired at first hand in his recent visit to that country.

Mr. FUESS presented a note on

DANIEL WEBSTER AND THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Robert C. Winthrop, speaking in October, 1889, mentioned with pride the names of "illustrious statesmen" like John Quincy Adams, Josiah Quincy, and Daniel Webster as members of this Society. Webster was elected a Resident Member in August, 1821, at a time when the foundations of his reputation as a statesman and constitutional lawyer had been securely laid. But his relations with us, although presumably friendly, were never precisely intimate.

Until very recently I had assumed that Webster was at least an intermittent attendant at the meetings. But, after diligent research, I cannot discover that he was ever recorded as being present. The only "Webster" included among those in attendance during the period from 1820 to 1850 was Dr. Redford Webster, a Resident Member from 1792 until his death in 1833, who, estimable though he was in his generation, now rests safely in oblivion. On June 26, 1834, March 31, 1836, and January 26, 1843, the Librarian announced donations from Daniel Webster, but I have been unable to ascertain their nature. On April 29, 1847, the Treasurer had the painful duty of reporting that Daniel Webster and Francis Baylies were more than three years overdue on their annual assessment of three dollars and thus, according to the Laws and Regulations, were no longer to be considered members; but this indebtedness was discharged by Webster before January 27, 1848, and the statesman was thus relieved of at least one of his financial obligations and reinstated to membership.

After his death, the Society which had seen so little of him during his lifetime passed, on December 9, 1852, some appropriate resolutions, and requested George Ticknor to prepare a Memoir. Ticknor, who together with Edward Everett, Cornelius C. Felton, and George Ticknor Curtis, had been named by Webster in his will as his literary executors, had already begun to gather material for a Life, but he never completed this larger project or the Memoir for the Society. The data which he collected were in time turned over to Mr. Everett, on whose death they passed to Mr. Curtis, who published a two-volume biography in 1870. In this way, though belatedly and indirectly, Ticknor may have felt his obligation to the Society had been discharged. Thus no formal memoir of Webster was ever read before the Society. When, however, the second volume in the first series of our *Proceedings* was prepared for publication, the editors drew up a short "Notice," which was inserted in the record of the Annual Meeting, 1853.

At a special meeting on April 16, 1874, Peter Harvey, Webster's Boswell, in a speech before the Society, presented the famous Washington medals, still in our possession. Their story is not uninteresting. These medals, eleven in number, had been struck in Paris, under the superintendence of Lafayette, as a gift to George Washington, and were silver duplicates of originals in gold made in honor of various Revolutionary characters — Washington, Gates, Greene, Morgan, Howard, William Washington, Wayne, de Fleury, and Major Stewart. They were engraved by such eminent artists as

Dupré, Du Vivier, and Gatteaux. After General Washington's death they were auctioned off by Judge Bushrod Washington to the heirs-at-law, and were purchased by Lawrence Lewis. His son, who eventually inherited them, became financially embarrassed and pawned the medals in Washington. Unable to redeem them, he authorized the pawnbroker to dispose of them. One morning in 1824, Webster's eye fell upon the advertisement for the sale of the medals, and he promptly went to the pawnshop and purchased them. They remained in his possession until his death, when Peter Harvey bought them from the Webster estate. They are today among this Society's most precious relics.

The Society has acquired in various ways certain highly important and significant Webster holograph letters. These, together with a beautiful miniature portrait of him as a young man, presented to the Society in 1864, are sufficient, perhaps, to preserve the memory of the only Resident Member who never attended a meeting over a period of thirty years.

Professor Merriman exhibited photostat copies of three documents in the British Museum, showing the income and expenses of Philip II of Spain during the years 1561, 1562–65, and 1577. He spoke at some length about the proportion of Philip II's revenue received from the New World.

Mr. Norcross communicated copies of a group of letters in his autograph collection written by Edward Everett during the years 1833–1862.

WINSLOW WARREN · A MEMOIR

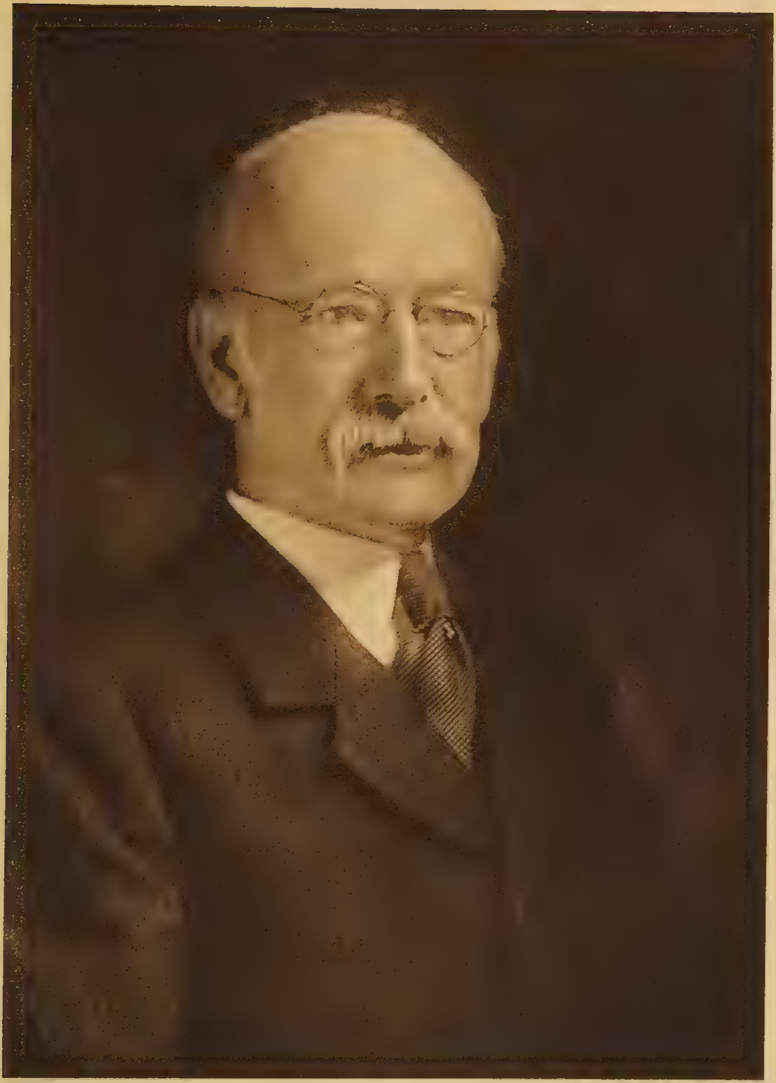
BY

WILLIAM V. KELLEN

WINSLOW WARREN, for fifty-seven years a member, and for many years a Councillor and Vice-President of the Society, died on April 3, 1930, in his ninety-third year. He was born on March 20, 1838, at Plymouth, Massachusetts. A brief outline of his lineage will show how nearly he could claim that he was of unmixed Pilgrim blood.

Richard Warren, the immigrant ancestor, was of the *Mayflower* Company; his wife Sarah, left behind in Greenwich, England, followed him to Plymouth in 1623, in the *Ann.* He was described as "active in the business affairs of the colony, and respected as a reliable and courageous man of very sound judgment." Nathaniel, the elder of the two sons of Richard and Sarah, born in Plymouth in 1624, married Sarah Walker, and had four sons; James, the youngest of these, born in 1665, married Sarah Doty of Pilgrim descent, and had three sons; James the Second, eldest of these three, born April 14, 1700, married Penelope Winslow, granddaughter of Governor Edward Winslow, and also had three sons. These three descendants of Richard Warren were also respected men of high character, and among them contributed ten sons to the male strength of the feeble colony.

And now there appeared in the Warren line a man of real force and of widespread influence, both in political and military circles, made doubly effective by the comradeship and encouragement of the wonderful woman who became his wife. General James Warren, the eldest of the three sons of James the Second, and Penelope (Winslow) Warren, a distinguished Revolutionary patriot, married the equally famous Mercy (Otis) Warren, historian, poetess, playwright, and letter-writer. General Warren held high political and military of-



MHS

Sincerely yours
Winslow Warren

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

fice continuously both during and after the Revolution. Among other positions of trust and responsibility, he was President of the First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1775, Paymaster-General of the Continental Army in 1776, Member of the Navy Board for the Eastern District from 1771 to 1781, and Member of the Continental Congress in 1782. Both General Warren and Mercy Warren were the trusted friends of George Washington, as well as intimates of the Adamses, Elbridge Gerry, and other political leaders of the time. Their voluminous correspondence with Washington and others was fortunately in large part preserved, and much of it has been published by the Society. Their comfortable and hospitable home at Main and North Streets in Plymouth was the constant meeting place of the leaders of the Revolutionary party. Mercy Warren was as devoted to her family, consisting of her husband and their five sons, as she was successful in her literary work and in her political activity. Henry Warren, the next to the youngest of these five, born March 21, 1764, married Mary Winslow, also a *Mayflower* descendant, and they had two daughters and seven sons.

Dr. Winslow Warren, the eldest of these seven sons, was born on January 14, 1795, and married Margaret Bartlett, born January 17, 1810, the direct descendant of Robert Bartlett, who came over in the *Ann* in 1623, and who married a daughter of Richard Warren. Margaret Bartlett's father, Zaccheus, was a graduate of Harvard College, class of 1789, and became a physician. Dr. Bartlett was not only " a scholarly man, famous for his wit and strong common sense," but a successful practitioner. He married Hannah Jackson, a woman of strong character and fine intellect. Among their children, besides Margaret, was Sidney Bartlett, a distinguished lawyer, whose reputation became nation-wide and who died with undiminished mental powers, still active in his profession, in his ninety-first year. Dr. Winslow Warren was graduated from Harvard College in 1813, and, after a course in medicine at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, practised his profession in Plymouth.

Winslow Warren, the subject of this memoir, was the only son of Dr. Winslow Warren and Margaret (Bartlett) Warren.

In some brief reminiscences, in which he describes fully his ancestry as outlined above, Winslow Warren wrote: "From this description, one can see that I have in my veins the blood of the Winslows, the Warrens and the Bartletts; and in each line there were strongly marked characteristics." While "the Winslows were all famous for their wit and gaiety," the "Warrens were much more prosaic and practical men, but of sterling character and with a good deal of ability. The Bartletts too were practical people, but with much wit and great force of character. The various strains are sufficient to account for whatever diverse opinions and characteristics I may have displayed in the course of a long life, and I hold my ancestors responsible for all my good or bad qualities."

Young Winslow, in his early childhood, was a delicate lad, but, thanks to the care of his mother, he "gradually grew in health and strength." She was described "as a woman of very strong character with a good deal of humor, which she derived from her father, and was richly endowed intellectually. She lived to an advanced age, and was much beloved and respected by all who knew her." After attending dames' schools of sorts, Winslow went first to a public grammar school, and then to the Plymouth High School, where he began seriously to fit for college. "It had early become a tradition," he says, "that Plymouth boys should be educated at Harvard, and the girls at the best private or public schools; and this gave an unusually intellectual flavor to a town of the size of Plymouth." While thus getting ready for a college training, he was strongly tempted to accept an offer from his uncle, George Warren, to go into business with him in New York. "I was convinced," he wrote, "that my bent was not that way, and hoped to continue my studies for Harvard, but I knew that my parents were in straitened circumstances and that it would be a burden for them and a struggle for me, if I went to college. After much consideration, however, and to the satisfaction of my parents, I declined the offer, thus changing the whole course of my life." And so it turned out that in the summer of 1854, young Warren with other Plymouth boys went up to Cambridge, passed the entrance examinations with credit, and was duly enrolled as a member of the class of 1858 in Harvard College.

Dr. James Walker was the President of the Harvard College of that day, " able, learned, and shrewd and tactful in his dealings with the students." The Faculty was adorned with such men as James Russell Lowell, Francis Bowen, Martin Lane, Francis J. Child, Joseph Lovering, Josiah P. Cooke, and Henry W. Torrey. The last-named was a cousin of Warren, and made it pleasant for the youthful student while in Cambridge, remaining his life-long friend. Attendance at morning and evening prayers in the College Chapel and church on Sundays was compulsory. Students were still required to wear black coats. " The Harvard training," he notes, " was, of course, less thorough and less advanced than now, and there was very little intercourse between students and instructors. There were very few elective studies and the range of prescribed studies was very largely classical and historical, with a few courses in Mathematics, Chemistry and Natural Philosophy," but, he adds, " the instruction was a valuable one and enriched by the painstaking and earnest efforts of the teachers." Henry Adams, a member of the class of 1858, in *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography,* spoke slightingly of the Harvard College of his student days and alluded rather contemptuously to his class. Referring to these strictures, Warren comments: " Adams never in College availed himself of his opportunities and rather prided himself upon his aloofness, and assumed a disdainful tone towards his associates and towards everything connected with the College. With everything in his favor, he failed then as later to use wisely the undoubted intellectual power he possessed." The class thus scornfully spoken of by Henry Adams, at whose hands he did not disdain to accept the honor of representing it as Orator on Class Day, was fully up to the standard of Harvard, and contained several men who attained distinction as well as he. Warren ranked in the first quarter of the class and, besides other college honors, was assigned at graduation a Commencement part on " The Character of the Slave in the Roman Empire." When an octogenarian, Mr. Warren, in commenting on his college course, was inclined to think that " with the narrow course of instruction, then in vogue, went a greater atmosphere of study than at the present day, when athletics and social life and gaiety do so much to divert the mind and absorb the student's time." Mr. Warren was a loyal son of his college throughout his long life, and was enabled to repay in some measure the debt he owed his *alma mater* by service on the Board of Overseers for two terms from 1898 to 1910.

After graduating from college, young Warren went back to Plymouth for his usual summer vacation. He continued for many years to spend his summers in Plymouth or on Cape Cod until the infirmities of age prevented his doing so. His pride in his birth-place never lessened — but rather his love for it increased as the shrine of the Pilgrim Fathers and his ancestral home. In the autumn of 1858, after an ineffectual attempt to get a position as teacher, he decided to study law, and proceeded to pass a year in the office of Sidney Bartlett, living at the same time in the home of that eminent lawyer. After this preliminary training, upon obtaining the position of proctor in Harvard College with a room in Hollis Hall, he entered the Harvard Law School, taking his meals at the home of his cousin, Professor Torrey, and "enjoying there the invaluable privilege of the society of the professor and his sister, and of the many accomplished visitors in their pleasant home." In 1861, having been graduated from the Law School, he was admitted to the Suffolk Bar without examination, on the strength of his degree and his year's experience with his uncle, whose office was in the building in which he established his own. He could not have begun his professional career under better auspices. Besides the countenance and good will of his uncle, Sidney Bartlett, other lawyers took an interest in him and helped him on. William G. Russell, who came from Plymouth and succeeded Bartlett as the leader of the Suffolk Bar, was especially kind and helpful to him. William Whiting, a great patent lawyer, with whom Mr. Russell was associated, upon going temporarily to Washington during the Civil War as Solicitor-General to the War Department, gave the young practitioner the use of his office during his absence. Mr. Warren may be said to have showed his appreciation of the help received by him from older lawyers during his early professional struggles by the many acts of kindness and substantial encouragement extended by him to younger brethren associated with him in litigation or in his office and gratefully remembered. After an interval, as his practice grew, Mr. Warren moved to better quarters at 42 Court Street, and there was fortunate in sharing a suite of offices with Stephen B. Ives, Solomon Lincoln, and Henry M. Rogers, a brilliant, forceful, and successful trio. The last named, accomplished lawyer and charming gentleman, remained his intimate friend through life, and as nonagenarians the warm friendship of their early days at the Bar continued unabated. Francis E. Parker, another noted member of the Bar, occupied a neighboring office, and to him also the young lawyer owed much " in the way of aid and encouragement." As showing the position he was gaining at the Bar, early in his legal career he was offered the lucrative and care-free position of Clerk of the United States Circuit Court. With great good sense he argued that acceptance would be equivalent to shelving himself for life, and he refused the tempting offer. He was, however, appointed United States Commissioner, an office which brought to him in the aggregate considerable business. When later the French Spoliation Claims, so-called, came to be paid, involving proof and settlement before such a Commissioner, his office buzzed with counsel and claimants and became a veritable hive of industry.

The most important event in his legal career came to him from his appointment as Clerk of the Boston and Providence Railroad Company through Charles H. Warren, the President, his father's brother. This office secured for him from time to time considerable practice in the way of real estate matters and varied railroad litigation. In March, 1887, occurred the Bussey Bridge disaster on the Dedham Branch of that railroad. Through the giving way of a bridge over a street near Roslindale and the consequent wrecking of an early morning train crowded with " commuters," several passengers were killed and hundreds were more or less seriously hurt or their belongings damaged. The railroad company, with good sense and judgment, having little to expect from the hands of juries in these circumstances, turned over to Mr. Warren the settlement of all these cases, thus tacitly admitting liability. The claimants were said to have exceeded the number of passengers on the train, and damages claimed ranged from thousands of dollars for death, or severe or incurable injuries, to the price of a new hat. Mr. Warren had able assistants in adjusting these claims, so far as bodily injuries were in question, in Dr. Maurice H. Richardson, the brilliant surgeon, and Dr. George L. Walton, a noted neurologist and an authority on "railroad spines." The hundreds of claims, involving millions of dollars, were eventually passed upon and settled by Mr. Warren to the reasonable satisfaction, at least, of every claimant, for not a single case, of all those upon which suits were brought, was pressed to a trial or submitted to a jury. It may be said in passing, as showing the ingratitude and soullessness of corporations, that Mr. Warren's very reasonable and (judged by modern standards) ridiculously small bill for his services, was the only one the railroad company protested before it was paid.

In 1867, Mr. Warren married Mary Lincoln Tinkham, a daughter of Spencer Tinkham of Boston and a great-granddaughter of Major General Benjamin Lincoln of the Continental Army. After living for a time in Boston, the young couple chose for a permanent home the peaceful village of Dedham, which might well have retained its original name, Contentment. There Mr. Warren eventually built a comfortable house on a site overlooking the Charles River meadows, and there he lived for the rest of his long life amid his literary treasures, surrounded by congenial friends and neighbors, universally respected and esteemed. From the first, he had identified himself with every good cause that affected the well-being and prosperity of the town and its people. He played a part in all town meetings, often serving as moderator, active in shaping the budgets and business affairs of the town. He took the initiative in supplying the town with pure water. As early as 1872, he was chosen a trustee of the Dedham Institution for Savings, and served as such through life, filling from 1904 to 1911 the office of President. He also acted for many years as a trustee of the Dedham Public Library. In 1886, he performed acceptably the duties of chairman of the committee on the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town. He was an interested member of the Dedham Historical Society, and contributed papers at its meetings.

He was also one of the founders of the Fisher Ames Club, a social organization.

From earliest boyhood Mr. Warren took the liveliest interest in politics and public affairs. When only twelve years old he heard Robert C. Winthrop, on August 1, 1850, deliver the oration at Plymouth at the celebration of the two hundred and thirtieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims; seventy years later he listened to the Plymouth Tercentenary oration of Henry Cabot Lodge. At the home of his Grandmother Warren, who had inherited the " wit and gaiety " of the Winslows, together with their " taste for politics," he " heard much political talk and in a small way took part in it." With his family he aligned himself as an ardent Webster Whig. It is related that some of the family were so disgusted with the Whig nomination of General Winfield Scott in 1852, that they voted for the electors for Daniel Webster, although the latter had died before the election. Mr. Warren recalled with pride his attendance at the last public reception given to Webster, at Kingston in September, 1852, when the great man still retained his " magnificent and commanding presence."

As a very young man Mr. Warren attended as a delegate from Plymouth the last Whig Convention held at Worcester, and this very nearly cost him his first vote in a presidential election, that of 1860, as will presently appear. With the passing of the Whig party, " deeply interested as he was in the political movements of the day and well versed in the political history of the country," Mr. Warren finally joined the Democratic party, although it did not entirely satisfy him; actually he was always an Independent. His first introduction to Dedham, so long his home, was in 1860, as a marcher in a Bell and Everett torchlight procession which paraded through the streets of that village and wound up with a lunch for the weary paraders in the old Agricultural Hall. In 1860, he claimed residence in Cambridge as a Law School man, and sought to have his name put on the voting list. Partisan politics ran high, and objection was made to his registering — among other things, because he was a Whig, as evidenced by his attendance at the Worcester Convention. The aldermen were tied on the question, but his name was enrolled by the deciding vote of the mayor. He cast his first ballot for Bell and Everett, for neither of the Democratic platforms was to his liking. During the Civil War he became and remained a War Democrat. The sole occasion when Mr. Warren was a candidate for an elective office was in 1876, when he ran for the General Court from Dedham on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated by a narrow margin in a town overwhelmingly Republican.

In 1882, Mr. Warren took an active part in the independent movement of that year, which resulted in the election from his district of Colonel Theodore Lyman to Congress. From this time on, as a nominal Democrat, he became an effective force in Massachusetts politics, wearing his party ties lightly, as ever, and retaining the right to act, as he often did, independently of that party. He was early interested in Civil Service Reform and other similar movements, which led to the founding, in 1885, of the Massachusetts Reform Club, of which he was president from 1900 to 1902. He was one of the leaders of the Mugwumps in 1884, thus helping in the election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency. As a result of his participation in the two elections of Cleveland, he became a close friend and trusted adviser of that great American. After his re-election to the presidency in 1892, Grover Cleveland, as a token of regard and confidence, appointed Mr. Warren Collector of the Port of Boston, thus making him the political representative and mouthpiece of the President in New England.

He held the position for four years, performing its varied duties so impartially that he was allowed by President McKinley to serve out the remainder of his term during the incoming administration. In the conduct of that difficult office, at once political and commercial, he won the good will and respect of merchants and politicians alike. He was popular with the customs officials and employees because of his uniformly fair treatment, his urbanity, and his protection of their interests under the Civil Service Law. He became popular with the merchants of Boston because he succeeded in speeding up the delivery of imports by the cutting of red tape. He was called upon to interpret and enforce three different tariff laws as enacted in the McKinley, the Wilson, and the Dingley

Bills, and did so to the satisfaction of all concerned. He was a graceful speaker and during his incumbency, at public dinners and other gatherings, he represented the President and his administration with force and dignity. He so administered the practical details and routine of his important office as to win the gratitude of the commercial public and the warm appreciation of his successor as Collector, who was of an opposite political faith and whose path to success in his new position he helped to smooth. On Mr. Warren's retirement from office, the *Boston Herald* voiced the opinion of the general public in an editorial headed "An Excellent Record," adding, after a complimentary *résumé* of his career:

> He retires from public service, deserving and, as we believe, carrying with him the best wishes of all classes of our people without regard to political distinction. The reputation thus acquired is one of which any citizen would have the right to feel proud; and the highest hope, that could be held out to his successor in office, is that at the end of his term of service, he can retire into private life with as admirable and unsullied a record as that made by Mr. Warren.

Upon the death of his father in 1870, Mr. Warren became a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. He was singularly attached to this — the earliest and the most honorable, in prestige and the character of its membership, among the military societies in the United States. He filled every office in the State Society acceptably from Assistant Secretary to President, and finally as President-Emeritus until his death. In 1902, he was chosen President-General of the General Society, a position he held through life. In June, 1929, after he had passed his ninety-first birthday, he presided over the Triennial Meeting of the General Society held in Boston, with alertness, with unfailing suavity, and with obvious enjoyment. His last work was the supervision of the re-issue of the history of the General Society in 1929. The Massachusetts Society at its usual meeting on the Fourth of July, 1930, in expressing its sense of Mr. Warren's worth, influence, and character, felicitously summed them all up in these words:

He presided over the deliberations of the Society with ability, courtesy and impartiality and his rulings were never challenged. He brought to each meeting his best thought expressed in simple language by a mind schooled in the best University training, and a broad culture gained through long intercourse with men and women prominent in the various walks in life. While he never failed to express himself in no uncertain terms on questions of state and public welfare, yet he was tolerant of the opinions of others and granted to all the rights he claimed for himself. This Society was honored through his long life in his unfailing attention to his profession as an attorney, in the faithful discharge of the duties of the high offices in State and Nation to which he was called, and in his loyal discharge through fifty years of every civic duty in the town of his residence. But most of all we are honored in his high accomplishments in the General Society of the Cincinnati and in the honor, love and esteem, in which he was everywhere held by his associates.

The Massachusetts Historical Society elected Mr. Warren to Resident Membership on January 9, 1873, and from that time on he was an effective force in its varied work. He wrote papers, he served on committees, he was a councillor for two terms, from 1877 to 1880 and again from 1898 to 1900. He was chairman of the finance committee from 1917 to 1921. During his six terms as Vice-President, from 1915 to 1921, he presided over many meetings so satisfactorily that when he asked to be relieved, the following vote, offered by James Ford Rhodes, the historian, was passed unanimously at the Annual Meeting of April 14, 1921:

> Whereas Mr. Winslow Warren, the senior member by priority of this Society, has seen fit to decline a re-election as Vice-President, the Society desires to thank him for his able conduct of the meetings for the last six years. The presiding officer of the Massachusetts Historical Society is necessarily impartial, but it makes a vast difference whether a proper vigor is given to the proceedings. The quality of making things go, Mr. Warren possessed. Whether it came from his rare knowledge of men and things, so much in evidence in his various contributions to the Society, or whether it is innate, he had it; and the Society will miss him from the chair he so worthily filled.

Mr. Warren served on the various publication committees in charge of the eight volumes of the *Collections* devoted to

Revolutionary Papers, Washington Letters, the Trumbull Collection, General Heath's Papers, the Bowdoin and Temple Papers, and the Warren-Adams Correspondence. He spoke and submitted communications at various meetings of the Society. His comments on the Warren and Winslow Papers, on the danger to historical documents involved in the process of manufacturing paper from manuscripts imported from England and the Continent, on the Pitt Monument in Dedham, on Age as an Element in Political Revolution, on the feeling in England towards the United States, and on Jefferson's Letter on the University of Virginia, were invariably interesting and valuable. He read important papers at various meetings of the Society: "The History of the Customs-Service" (April, 1897); "The Loss of the Boston Custom-House Records in March, 1776" (March, 1910); "The Colonial Customs Service and the American Revolution" (June, 1913); "Contemporaneous Opinion" (May, 1916); "Governor Edward Winslow" (June, 1919); "Recollections of Fifty Years" (January, 1925); and "Massachusetts Oratory" (December, 1926).

Mr. Warren frequently paid tributes to deceased members of the Society: in January, 1876, to Governor John H. Clifford; in 1877, to Edmund Quincy; in September, 1881, to Charles W. Tuttle; in January, 1884, to George Dexter; in June, 1889, to Henry W. Foote; in March, 1891, to Samuel C. Cobb; in May, 1895, to Leverett Saltonstall; in January, 1897, to Henry L. Pierce; in February, 1900, to the Reverend Edward G. Porter; in October, 1909, to John Noble; in March, 1914, to Don Gleason Hill; in April, 1917, to Richard Olney; in January, 1918, to Leverett W. Spring and Arnold A. Rand; in February, 1918, to Thomas L. Livermore and Henry M. Lovering; and in May, 1925, to Arthur Lord. He prepared memoirs of Charles H. Warren (October, 1882); Henry W. Foote (May, 1893); William G. Russell (April, 1900); and Charles P. Greenough (May, 1925).

Mr. Warren made many gifts to the Society, including articles belonging to Governor John Brooks — from Elizabeth W. Burnap of Baltimore (June, 1900); and a silver medal of the Society of the Cincinnati, commemorating the dedication of the Washington Monument in Philadelphia in 1897 (November, 1924). In March, 1882, he subscribed to the Robert C. Winthrop portrait for the Capitol at Washington, and in the same year shared in the transfer of the Winslow portraits from the Society to Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth. In November, 1891, he communicated the unpublished letters of Daniel Webster and later bequeathed to the Society a collection of Warren Papers.

At the January Meeting, 1923, when Mr. Warren completed his fiftieth year of membership in the Society, Mr. Arthur Lord, said, among other things: "On December 5, 1918, Mr. Warren became the senior member of the Society, 'thus to his other titles has been added that of *Dean of the Society,'* as Mr. Adams described it," Mr. Lord adding: "To-day the Society formally recognizes the ninth of the semi-centennialists and extends to him its cordial greetings, hearty congratulations, and best wishes for many happy years. We have the good fortune not only of welcoming him here to-day but of listening to his "Recollections of Fifty Years," which I may add were fifty years of continuous, useful, and honorable service." At this meeting Mr. Warren had the rare privilege of witnessing the nomination (and at the next meeting the election) to the Society of his son, Charles Warren.

Mr. Warren was an ardent Unitarian, born and brought up as he was in the First Parish Church of Plymouth, the Pilgrim Memorial Church of the present day, which adhered to that form of religious belief in the cleavage of 1800. When he took up his residence in Dedham, he and his wife joined and worshipped in the First Parish Church of that town and so continued during their lives. He served for several years as President of the Unitarian Club of Boston and was actively interested in the American Unitarian Association, presiding on several occasions with dignity over its annual spring festival in Boston. He summed up his personal belief — once when he was interrogated on the subject — in a form so simple and cogent as to merit preservation:

> I am a Unitarian, because I believe in the utmost freedom of religious thought and in an open mind, in no set and unchangeable creed, in one beneficent God, in a Christ inspired the same way as other great Spiritual teachers, in a Bible to be interpreted and criticized like any other human book, that immortality must rest

on faith alone and not upon a knowledge vouchsafed us, and that no one Church can claim any superior knowledge or authority.

His active interest in religious and denominational affairs led to his membership in the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, of which he was President from 1911 to 1926, and in the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, which he served as President from 1910 to 1919. In 1919, Mr. Warren was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Mr. Warren was prominent in other forms of social, business, and professional activity. He was naturally a trustee of the Pilgrim Society, a member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants, and of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, of which last named he was the President from 1897 to 1905. He delivered two valuable addresses before that Association: on "The Declaration of Independence," 1904, and "The Struggle of the Thirteen States for Thirteen Years to create a Government, 1776–1789."

He was also a member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, to which he contributed papers on "The Pilgrims in Holland and America" (December, 1915) and "The Pilgrim Spirit" (February, 1920). Mr. Warren was an active founder of the Columbian Life Insurance Company and served as a director of the Boston Storage Company. He was also President of the Economic Club of Boston. He was an incorporator and took the greatest interest in the growth of the University Club of Boston, of which he was President from 1905 to 1908.

In the legal profession he won the confidence of his clients and the beneficiaries of the trusts placed in his hands; he gained also the respect of his professional brethren. If he had devoted his powers to the more active practice of the law, his industry, his learning, his powers of persuasion, his forceful expression, his tact, and his genuine human sympathy must have carried him far. He led a happy, breezy, and joyous life. He was fond of the out-of-doors whether roaming in the Plymouth woods (so little changed from Pilgrim times) or walking or riding through the delightful rural surroundings of his adopted town. He played golf with keenness until late in life. He died at Dedham, retaining his keen interest in all matters, private and public, nearly to the end.

Winslow Warren and Mary (Tinkham) Warren, who died on March 14, 1924, had four children: Charles Warren; Margaret Warren; Winslow Warren, Jr., who died on November 13, 1927, and Mary Lincoln Warren, who married the Reverend Alfred R. Hussey, minister of the First Parish Church in Plymouth.

On April 4, 1930, the day after Mr. Warren's death, the *Boston Transcript*, in a leading article, under the caption "Winslow Warren," voiced the feeling of the community and paid his memory high tribute, in saying that "the State of Massachusetts, by the passing of Winslow Warren, has lost one of the men most responsible, in times past, for this Commonwealth's reputation as a stronghold of moral integrity and political honesty;" that as "A man of exceptionally firm and positive convictions, he could in no way be turned from a judgment once he had formed a clear opinion, but, at the same time, no man was more insistent than he upon every individual's right of independence in seeking truth, and upon the State's duty to demand light on moot questions of public policy from every possible source;" that "Society might function none too well if all men were of this type of independence in thought and action;" and that the "possession and use of these qualities by men of such breadth and knowledge as Mr. Warren possessed, are of the highest order of service to the well-being of the Commonwealth."

In every walk in life as friend, neighbor, and citizen, in every distinctive position he was called upon to fill, in all movements looking to the betterment of his fellows in town, state, or national affairs, Winslow Warren measured up fully to George Bernard Shaw's recent definition of a gentleman: "as one who tries in one form or another, to put into social life at least as much as he takes out of it." Dean Inge, in quoting this definition with approval, says that it embodies "a very sound application of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount." When in his eighties, in completing his reminiscences, Mr. Warren could write that his life had been "fairly successful" but that, "if no one deems the career important, it has at least been a happy one, and the world is no worse for my existence in it." In brief, it may be said with entire truth that Winslow Warren took Plymouth Rock for the corner stone of his character and was guided in all the acts of his singularly useful life by the promptings of the Pilgrim Spirit.

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 12, 1931, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Thomas Amory Lee, of Topeka, Kansas, a letter written by J. Lothrop Motley, from Austria, Sept. 5, 1865, to Thomas Hughes, covering thirteen closely written pages, about the heroes of our Civil War.

From S. E. H. Whitlock, of New Haven, Conn., the certificate, by Col. Solomon Robbins, of the Fifth Regiment of Militia, to Samuel Carington, of Sandisfield, Mass., a surgeon's mate, dated Dec. 19, 1793.

From the grandchildren of Nathaniel Brackett, several music books, in the 1820's to '40's, used by him while a member of the Handel and Haydn Society.

From the children of Nathaniel Brackett, Jr., a map of Newton, drawn by George Brackett, his brother, with pen and ink about 1830.

From Edward Brooks, of Brookline, photostat negatives of letters, journals, and other papers of Major John Hawks, 1755–1758, showing his service in the French and Indian War.

From Mrs. Frederic Cunningham, of Brookline, a number of books from her library, including *Collections* and *Proceedings* of this Society.

By purchase, a copy of the Boston *Evening Post* of Jan. 1, 1750; several papers of the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman, 1724–1789; and a few of Paul D. Sargent, 1788–1826.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Merrimount Press, reproductions of sketches by Rudolph Ruzicka of the House of Seven Gables, Salem, 1925, and of some old gardens on Beacon Hill, Boston, 1930.

From the Estate of George F. Fabyan, through Dr. Marshall Fabyan, of Boston, a gold dollar of 1854, a gold quarter of 1864, some fractional currency, and various tickets.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from WILLIAM HOVGAARD, accepting Resident Membership in the Society, and from WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO, and FREDERICK LOGAN PAXSON, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Reverend Robert Howard Lord, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. FRENCH raised the question as to whether the Society should take any formal notice of the celebration in 1932 of the 200th Anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

Professor SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read a paper on

WILLIAM PYNCHON
THE FOUNDER OF SPRINGFIELD[1]

The homeland of the New England towns, the section in which you will find a majority of their namesakes, and from which many if not most of their pioneers started, is a very small section of a small country. Take your map of England, and lay out a right-angled triangle with the right angle at Cambridge, with two legs fifty miles long, sloping to Ipswich on the east and London on the south; from London to Ipswich by a hypothenuse about sixty-five miles long. Within this section of East Anglia you will find Cambridge, which sent over one hundred of her alumni to leaven New England with the learning of the Old; and within the area are Groton, Braintree, Sudbury, Dedham, Haverhill, and Hadleigh, all of which have left their names on the map of Massachusetts. On the western leg, between London and Cambridge, are Enfield and Hertford; if you bow that line out a little you may take in Hatfield. On the middle of the base line, where it is crossed by the river Chelmer, is the shire town of Chelmsford where Thomas Hooker, founder of Connecticut, acquired his great reputation; and two miles downstream is the village of Little Baddow, where he and John Eliot kept school together. A mile west of Chelmsford is Writtle, the ancestral home of the

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[1] Read at Amherst College in October, 1930, as one of the lectures on the Henry Ward Beecher Foundation. The writer is indebted to Mr. H. A. Wright, of Springfield, for valuable assistance.

Pynchon family; and two miles to the northeast of that, just across the river from Chelmsford, set in a pleasant gently rolling country, is the village of Springfield, with its ancient Norman church crowned with a low square tower, on which is inscribed "Prayse God for all the good Benefactors."[2]

During the ten years that Hooker was at Chelmsford, the squire of Springfield was a quiet country gentleman named William Pynchon. The Pynchons were a Norman family, who after long eclipse had risen in the world during the prosperous reign of Queen Bess. William's grandfather, John, though the son of a yeoman, is described as "gent." in his will; for he had greatly increased the family property and prestige by marrying a wealthy heiress, daughter of Sir Richard Empson, who lost his head for "constructive treason" in the early part of Henry VIII's reign. They left three sons.[3] John, the second son, inherited the family property at Springfield, resided there after he had taken his bachelor's degree at New College, Oxford, and there married Frances Brett, and brought up two sons and six daughters. The eldest of this moderately large family was our William Pynchon. John died in 1610, leaving all his "houses, lands and tenements in Springfield" to his wife, and after her death to his son William — "My said wife to keep, maintain, and bring up all my six daughters decently in good education," and each of the daughters to have £200 for a marriage portion.[4]

William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, Massachusetts, and the eldest of this family, was born at some time between September 1, 1589, and the end of 1590.[5] Of his early life and education we know next to nothing.[6] Not long after his father's death he came of age and inherited the Springfield property. He married Anna Andrews, daughter of a squire in a neighboring county. Like all country gentlemen of the day, he took his part in public affairs by serving as churchwarden of the parish, and as justice of the peace. In preparation for that important magisterial function, he must have read a certain amount of law, as his later letters and judicial records prove. If it was no longer true in the early seventeenth century that gentlemen learned the rules of law "as they learned the rules of sword play," [7] the law was far from being the professional subject that it is today, and it was still true "that every man who had property to protect . . . was perfectly well versed in the ordinary forms of legal processes." [8] Where Pynchon obtained that training or aptitude for business which marks his American career, we are totally ignorant.

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[2] Henry F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (Boston, 1901), II. 850. The Pynchon wills and genealogies here printed by Mr. Waters supersede all earlier writings and speculations on the Pynchon family.

[3] William Pynchon the elder inherited the Writtle estate of his father. He married Rose Redding and built a handsome mansion at Writtle. To their eldest daughter Elizabeth, Rose gave £1000 "towards her advancement in marriage," which was used to such good purpose that for husband she acquired the worthy knight of the shire, Sir Richard Weston, who later became Earl of Portland and King James's Chancellor of the Exchequer. A little later, Elizabeth Pynchon's younger brother, Edward, married the knight's sister; he too was knighted, and at his death she erected a noble monument to him in Writtle church. Sir Edward bequeathed a piece of plate worth £10 to his first cousin, William Pynchon of Massachusetts. There was also some connection, probably through the Empsons, with the Osbornes of Chicksands, but too remote to justify the assumption that William Pynchon ever knew or even saw Dorothy Osborne. Waters, II. 853–55; 864–65 ("Pynchon Pedigree").

[4] Waters, II. 854–55.

Indeed, so prominent were Pynchon's economic activities in America, and so secular was his point of view on matters of business, that one will naturally enquire whether he was a Puritan at all. Was he not one of Mr. J. T. Adams's "four out of five" New Englanders who were anti-Puritan? No, Pynchon was a Puritan. He took a leading part in organizing two Congregational churches, at Roxbury and Springfield. He was a member of the ruling class in Massachusetts Bay, one of the little oligarchy of Assistants which usurped the supreme governing power and shared it with great reluctance. He took part in all the early colonial legislation establishing the Church and enforcing the moral code of Puritanism. He had the typical Puritan's interest in theology; and it was on a small point of theology, not on a fundamental of Puritan belief, that he fell out with his fellow-magistrates. The recreation of his declining years was the writing of theological pamphlets.

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[5] Inscription on his portrait "Anno Dom. 1657, aetat 67"; and his father's will, dated August 29, 1610, describing him as not yet of "lawful age." Waters, II. 854.

[6] Of the various little Pynchons matriculating from Hart Hall in the University of Oxford about this time, none fits our William; the nearest one of that name matriculated in 1596, aged 11; but in that year our William could not have been over seven years old.

[7] Holdsworth, *History of English Law* (ed. 1923), II. 416; cf. 556.

[8] Gairdner, in introduction to *Paston Letters* (London, 1904), I. 118.

Was there, however, some personal force in addition to Puritanism which brought Pynchon so early and so prominently into the Massachusetts Bay enterprise? I have not considered economic motives, simply because we have no knowledge of Pynchon's English business affairs or property interests, except that he was a large landowner. He must have taken over with him considerable capital, but so, for that matter, did John Winthrop, who admitted that the high cost of living and the cost of high living had a good deal to do with his decision to emigrate. Pynchon's social and economic position, so far as we know, was very similar to that of Winthrop.

Pynchon for many years was a near neighbor to Master Thomas Hooker, the celebrated Puritan divine, who induced many persons to emigrate to New England. We would not be justified in assuming that the unpleasant relations between Hooker and Pynchon went back to the period when they both resided in or near Chelmsford. Conversely, there is no evidence that the parson had any influence on Pynchon's emigration. Hooker's friends and parishioners, who preceded him to New England, settled first at Braintree and then moved to Newtown (Cambridge), and finally to Hartford; Pynchon settled first in Dorchester, then in Roxbury, and finally founded Springfield. While this divergence of paths should not necessarily be construed as a desire to keep out of Hooker's way, it certainly indicates that a desire to live under Hooker's teaching formed no part of Pynchon's emigrating motives.

I believe that Master John White, of Dorset, rather than any East Anglian, was the personal influence that brought Pynchon into the Massachusetts Bay Company. The elder Pynchons were lessees and probably stewards of New College estates about Writtle. In one of their buildings there was a room called the "Warden's chamber," where the Warden of New College presumably lodged when he visited that part of the country. The Warden from 1553 to 1573 was Thomas White. John Pynchon, William's grandfather, left to his "singular good Master Doctor White, warden of the new College

. . . my best gelding, I mean that he make his choice, or else ten pounds in money," and begged him to continue friend to his widow and children. John Pynchon, William's father, obtained his education at New College. Shortly after he went down, John White of Stanton St. John, great-nephew of Warden White and, like John Pynchon, born on a New College estate, came up to Oxford from Winchester. It seems reasonable to suppose that the friendship between the White and the Pynchon families continued to the second and third generation, and that when the Reverend John White was seeking new blood and support for his project of a colony in New England, William Pynchon would have been the natural person for him to seek out in East Anglia. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that after the emigration it was William Pynchon, rather than any West-Countryman, to whom White wrote on matters of business; and that Pynchon first settled in New England with the West-Countrymen at Dorchester, and chose a former member of John White's congregation as second wife.[9]

Whatever the cause, William Pynchon became one of the founders of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Together with Cradock, Johnson, Bellingham, and Saltonstall, he was one of that group composed of London merchants and East Anglian country gentlemen who obtained a royal charter on March 4, 1629, as the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. Pynchon is one of the patentees and assistants named in the charter; and the original receipt for his subscription of £25 to the joint stock is now preserved in our cabinet.[10] With Winthrop, Saltonstall, and others, he signed the Cambridge Agreement of August 26, 1629, binding himself to emigrate to Massachusetts Bay if the charter and government could be transferred; and he was present at the discussion of that momentous question at Thomas Goffe's house in London on July 28 and August 28–29, when it was decided. We may fairly assume that a regular attendant at company meetings, such as he was, would have played an active part in the preparations for the voyage. It is probable that his Springfield estate was sold, since on returning to England he lived elsewhere, and in his will mentioned no property near his old home.

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[9] Waters, II. 851ff.; Frances Rose-Troup, *John White* (New York, 1930), 215, 463.

[10] Reproduced in J. T. Adams's *Founding of New England.*

With his wife, five-year-old son,[11] and three young daughters, William Pynchon sailed on the ship *Ambrose*,[12] "rear admirall" of the Winthrop fleet. Leaving Cowes with the *Arbella*, the *Talbot*, and the *Jewell* on March 29, 1630, she managed to keep within sight of the "admirall" or flagship during most of the voyage. Winthrop's Journal tells how one day when the fleet was about half way across, and the wind blowing a small gale, Captain Milborne of the *Arbella*

> putt forthe his Auncient [ensign] in the poope, and heaved out his skiffe, and lowred his topsayles to give sign to his Consortes that they should come a board vs to dinner [and how at six bells the Captain] sent his skiffe, and fetched aboard vs the masters of *the other 2: shippes*, and mr. *Pincheon*, and they dined with vs, in the *rounde house*, for the Lady [Arbella] and gentle women dyned in the great Cabbin.[13]

Although Winthrop and Dudley wished everyone who came over that summer to settle in one town, most of the immigrants very sensibly refused, and formed groups which made the several settlements in and about Boston. "This dispersion troubled some of us; but help it we could not," wrote Dudley.[14] William Pynchon first settled in Dorchester with the West-Countrymen who came over in the *Mary and John*, but shortly after moved to the adjoining settlement at Roxbury. During the great sickness which carried off Isaac Johnson and the Lady Arbella, Mistress Pynchon died, leaving four young children for her husband to bring up. He did not remarry immediately, possibly because suitable unmarried women were scarce in this frontier community; but "after some years," says the Reverend John Eliot, "he married

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[11] Not included in list of passengers printed in *New England Historical Genealogical Register*, LXXV. 236, but included by C. E. Banks, *Winthrop Fleet* (Boston, 1930), 88, supposedly on the authority of John Eliot's record of Roxbury church-members. *Report of the Record Commissioners* (Boston, 1881), VI. 73.

[12] Or possibly the *Jewell*, but not the *Talbot*.

[13] *Winthrop Papers*, II. (Boston, 1931), 249.

[14] Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in Alexander Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1846), 314.

Mistress Francis Samford, a grave matron of the church at Dorchester."[15] Frances Sanford had already buried two husbands. Her son Henry Smith by her first husband married Pynchon's daughter Ann by his first wife; a very comfortable arrangement. William Pynchon's name stands first on the roll of members of the First Church of Roxbury, which was gathered in 1631 when John Eliot arrived to be their minister. Most of the Roxbury people were from the neighborhood of Chelmsford, where John Eliot had taught school and made many friends.

Pynchon was present at the first Court of Assistants and the first General Court held on Massachusetts soil; and after being fined a noble (6*s*. 8*d*.) for cutting one meeting, he attended regularly. He was annually reëlected assistant and magistrate until after he had settled on the Connecticut, and for two years, 1632–34, served also as treasurer of the colony. He must have brought over considerable capital with him and at once embarked on a course of fur-trading; for Governor Winthrop records in his Journal for October 30, 1631: "Mr. Pynchon's boat, coming from Sagadahock, was cast away at Cape Ann, but the men and chief goods saved, and the boat recovered."

Although the peltry trade did not have the same relative importance in New England as in New France and New Netherland, it was a much heavier factor in the economy of our region than has generally been admitted. The Pilgrim Fathers, after some initial errors due to their inexperience, and after the Dutch had taught them the use of wampum, became expert fur traders. In the years 1631–36 they collected and shipped to England 12,530 pound weight of beaver which enabled them to get clear of debt;[16] and it was doubtless their trading post on the Sagadahoc River that attracted Pynchon's boat. In the original area of the Bay Colony there was relatively little peltry to be had, since the rivers were short and the Indians few; but Thomas Morton of Merrymount records that beaver skins, bringing 10*s*. a pound in London, were an immensely profitable export, one servant of his having cleared £1000 from that commodity in five years. The Company, when transformed into a political rather than a trading organization, had no time to handle the trade itself, and so adopted the method of farming out rights to individuals, giving them a monopoly over definite areas for so much a year or at the rate of one shilling in every pound weight of beaver collected. Thus William Pynchon in 1632 was granted the fur trading privilege at Roxbury for one year for the sum of £25.[17] In rendering his accounts as Treasurer, however, he credited the Colony with £20 only, on the ground that they had broken the agreement by admitting others to trade at Roxbury.[18] The General Court accepted this composition, but at the same time got the full amount out of Pynchon by dint of fining him £5 " for refuseing to pay his part of the last rate for Rocksbury . . . because, as hee alleadged, that towne was not equally rated with others." Pynchon and Thomas Mayhew, the future founder of Martha's Vineyard, were also fined £5 each for the dangerous practice of employing Indians " to shoote with peeces." [19]

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[15] *Report of the Record Commissioners,* VI. 73.

[16] William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (Boston, 1912), II. 226–30; cf. 172–73; it sold from 14*s*. to over 20*s*. a pound.

As treasurer of the colony, Pynchon had to be at once storekeeper, wholesale merchant, and private banker, for the colony fines and taxes were mostly paid in commodities which had to be sold in order to provide funds for public expenses. These were of the most various nature: salaries to the two military captains, Underhill and Patrick; bounties for killing wolves, messenger service, lumber for a public wharf; work on the fort; witness fees; £2 to Samuel Maverick, ship's husband of the pinnace sent to capture Dixie Bull, the pirate; £13 2*s*. 6*d*. for provisions and £7 for two fat hogs " for to victual the pinnace for the taking of Dixie Bull." In addition Pynchon had to distribute an arsenal of assorted cannon, powder, match, shot, priming irons, sponges, muskets with rests and bandoliers, carbines, swords, and " wolfhooks," which arrived in the *Griffin*.[20] These were the gift of Dr. Edmund, brother of the Reverend John Wilson, in order to protect the colony from wolves, Indians, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

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[17] *Records of the Court of Assistants* (Boston, 1904), II. 27.

[18] 2 *Collections*, VIII. 231–32. Pynchon explained that he " made allowance at the rate of 12*s*. per lb. as others do." Hence he must have taken 400 pounds of beaver.

[19] *Massachusetts Bay Records*, I. 118, 136, 141.

[20] 2 *Collections*, VIII. 228–35.

As a fur trader Pynchon must have been one of the first in the Bay to hear of the Connecticut River and its wonderful resources in peltry. If he remained at Roxbury, he must content himself to be a middleman, but by locating nearer the source of supply he could obtain furs directly from the Indians. Competition for the Connecticut River fur had begun in 1633. John Oldham went exploring by the Indian trail; the Dutch established their hopeless "House of Hope" at the site of Hartford; the Pilgrims located a trading post on the site of Windsor; the Governor's bark, *Blessing of the Bay,* bearing a committee of discontented Newtowners, tried the river and found it good. How hazy were the current views of geography is shown by an entry in Winthrop's Journal the same year. Following a tradition which came from the imperfect accounts of the Great Lakes which explorers had obtained from Indians in the previous century, the Governor imagined that there existed somewhere in the interior a vast lake surrounded by swamps, from which issued the Connecticut, the Potomac, and the St. Lawrence, and which was the source of all the peltry that the Indians brought to Quebec, Virginia, and the lower Connecticut. He supposed that the upper Merrimac lay within a day's journey from the upper Connecticut; hence the game for Massachusetts was to tap the Great Lake by the Merrimac-Connecticut route, and cut off the Pilgrims' as well as the Dutchmen's source of supply.[21]

If this charitable design was called to the attention of Pynchon, he wisely rejected it; for in 1630 the Laconia Company, an English organization formed to exploit the mythical great lake, had sought it in vain.[22] Pynchon's plan was a much more practical one: to found a settlement at Agawam, an Indian village on the further bank of the Connecticut, only a few miles above the head of navigation for sea-going vessels, and at the exact point where the principal trail from Massachusetts Bay to the Berkshires crossed the river. We may suppose Pynchon's plan to have been formed as early as May, 1634, when he resigned his treasurership of the colony to the same General Court in which the Newtown people were pressing for permission to remove.[23] But as magistrate of the colony, Pynchon could hardly leave until his colleagues on the Board of Assistants decided no longer to oppose what they could not prevent — the migration to the Great River.

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[21] John Winthrop, *History of New England* (James K. Hosmer, Ed., New York, 1908), I. 109–110.

[22] A. H. Buffinton, "New England and the Western Fur Trade," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts,* XVIII. 164–65, and references there given.

During September, 1635, Pynchon and a few of his followers visited the site of his proposed settlement, made a verbal agreement with the Indians to sell the land, and erected a house on the west bank of the Connecticut where it is joined by the Agawam or Westfield River. Whether or not any white man passed the winter there is not known, and the first certain trace of a permanent settlement by Pynchon is in May, 1636.[24] Romance has been as industrious with the Pynchon migration as with that of Hooker; purple paragraphs will be found in all the local histories about Pynchon and the men of Roxbury pushing through the "trackless forest" guided by a friendly Indian, or only by the compass needle; and, not to be outdone by the Hartford historians, Mr. Mason A. Greene in his otherwise excellent *History of Springfield* has a wood-engraving depicting the party. One of the women wears a sunbonnet of the "covered wagon" era, and Madam Pynchon, not to be outdone by Mistress Hooker, is riding in the latest model horse-litter. But Mr. Harry A. Wright of Springfield, a life-long student of the local history, believes that Mrs. Pynchon certainly came by sea, in Governor Winthrop's *Blessing of the Bay,* which sailed from Boston on April 26, 1636; and there is every reason to suppose that the rest of the party chose the same conveyance. Presumably the *Blessing* landed them at the foot of the Enfield Falls, whence there was already a well-beaten path to the site of Springfield.

Pynchon soon decided that the Agawam side, the west bank, where he had erected a house, was so "incombred with Indians" that he would "loose halfe the benifit."

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[23] William Coddington was elected treasurer for the balance of the year on May 14, 1634. Pynchon was "discharged" after his accounts had been examined, May 6, 1635. *Massachusetts Bay Records,* I. 118, 148.

[24] Henry M. Burt, *The First Century of the History of Springfield* (Springfield, 1898), I. 156.

It was decided, therefore, to "plant on the opposite side to avoid trespassing" on the Indians' cornfields.[25] Hence, unlike the other early river settlements, Pynchon's was founded on the east bank. Until 1641, when the name was changed to Springfield, it was known as the "plantation at and over agaynst Agaam,"[26] or simply the "plantation of Agawam."

The first settlers included only seven men besides William Pynchon. Yet it was a corporate enterprise of the same nature as Thomas Hooker's. The agreement, dated May 14, 1636, that the eight men drew up on the spot suggests that Pynchon did not aim to establish a mere trading post for his personal benefit; that his purpose was to plant a regular New England town, with a sufficient population of independent farmers to support a church and a local government. The leading spirits of the enterprise, who "have constantly continued to prosecute this plantation when others fell off for feare of the difficultys, . . . at greate charges and at greate personall adventures," as states the agreement,[27] were Pynchon, Henry Smith, his stepson-son-in-law, and Goodman Jehu Burr, an illiterate member of the Roxbury church whose chief title to fame is through his descendant Aaron. The agreement declares that the eight men "intend by Gods grace" to procure a minister and form a church, that their town shall be composed of not less than forty nor more than fifty families,[28] and that every inhabitant shall have a ten-acre house lot, a portion of cow pasture, a share of both the "hasokey Marish" and the meadow or planting ground of Agawam on the opposite side of the river, and, if needed, of the "long meddowe lyinge in the way to Dorchester." The Nayas meadow is to go to those who will undertake to improve it for tillage and pasture, and so relieve the other pasture grounds. All rates are to be in proportion to the amount of land. Pynchon was granted a twenty-acre house lot and half the meadow which is now Hampden Park, the other half being divided between Smith and Burr, in consideration of their special pains and expenses. All agreed to divide the meadow and planting ground on the principle of giving a man as much as he could use: two acres of mowing for every head of neat cattle and double for every horse, "because estate is like to be improved in cattell, and such ground is aptest for theyr use"; but no man, even if without cattle, should have less than three acres besides his house lot. These house lots were laid out between the river and a road (the present Main Street) running parallel to it. Across the river, opposite his house lot, each man had his strip of the planting ground.

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[25] *Proceedings,* XLVIII. 39.

[26] *Ibid.*, 45*n.*

[27] Burt, I. 156–58.

[28] This limitation has been construed by several writers as indicating a selfish intention of Pynchon to keep out competition. If Pynchon had wished to keep out competition, he would have established a mere trading post, which the Bay authorities would have been more willing to permit than an agricultural settlement. I think that this limitation was simply a natural caution against overcrowding on the Connecticut, which had caused discontent on the Charles. The first comers, I should say, estimated that the available land was enough for the cattle of fifty families and no more.

The next step was to extinguish the title of the Indian proprietors. This was done in a deed dated July 15, 1636, by which certain meadows which the Indians did not value, certain planting grounds which they did not use, on both sides of the river, were sold by the local sachems for 18 fathoms of wampum, 18 blanket-coats, 18 hatchets, 18 hoes, and 18 knives. It was agreed that the Indians should continue to enjoy hunting and fishing privileges on this land, to gather groundnuts, walnuts, acorns, and wild pease; and that no hogs be placed on Agawam side until acorn time. This was to guard against the well-known skill of hogs in getting through fences and at the Indian corn. Pynchon, in the meantime, started his trading operations, and built a warehouse at the lower end of the Enfield Falls,[29] to which he hauled or boated his peltry for transference to sea-going vessels. As early as June, 1636, we find him exchanging pointers on the Indian trade with John Winthrop, Junior, who was in charge of the colony and fort at Saybrook, established by Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook. The Saybrook people were long on wampum, which was made from sea-shells; but short of peltry and goods, which Pynchon had in abundance; hence a profitable exchange was made.[30]

[29] The place is still called Warehouse Point at Winsor Locks.

[30] 4 *Collections,* VII. 53.

By the end of 1637 some of the eight men had left, but others had come in, with wives and children; probably there were no more than ten families in all. True to the agreement of 1636 they now took measures to procure a settled minister. As Harvard College had not yet begun to produce parsons, their choice was restricted to graduates of the English universities. Fortunately there was living in Dorchester, with his wife and children, George Moxon,[31] a young Cambridge B.A. in holy orders, who was looking for a pastorate. Pynchon persuaded him to take a sporting chance with his little frontier community; and as long as Pynchon remained there he served it well.

In January, 1638, the plantation taxed itself £40 for building the minister's house, and the same amount "For Mr Moxons maintenance till next michaellmas."[32] The £40 house seems to have been ample: two stories and a cellar, with two rooms to a floor, a double clayed chimney with oven, and a projecting square turret with the front door below and the minister's study above. Jehu Burr charged £18 for thatching the house; the rest of the expense was for labor (Henry Smith did the chimney and the "daubing" or plastering); the lumber seems to have been given. For several years services were held in Pynchon's house, but in 1645 a meeting-house was built by each inhabitant contributing 28 days' work, while Thomas Cooper received £80 from the plantation for overseeing the work and providing the materials — lumber, iron, nails, stone sills, and glazed windows. Agawam was evidently eager to establish its reputation as a proper godly plantation, the same as Hartford or Roxbury, and no mere trucking post. John Matthews received sixpence in wampum or a peck of corn from every family in town for beating the drum for meeting: at 9 A.M. on the Lord's Day and 10 A.M. on weekly lecture days.

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[31] George Moxon, the son of James Moxon, a farmer of Wakefield, Yorkshire, was educated in the public schools there, and at the age of eighteen, on June 6, 1620, entered Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, as a poor scholar. He took his B.A. in 1623/24 and was ordained in 1626. John and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1924), III. 225. Sidney Sussex Admission Book (MS).

[32] Burt, I. 161. The quotations which follow from the town records will be found in Burt, I. 145–81.

We are fortunate to have unusually complete town and plantation records of Agawam and Springfield. These records relate mainly to the allotments of land and the regulation of its use. In accordance with the strong community spirit of early New England towns, the land titles to the allotments were not finally confirmed to the grantees for a number of years. A quick abandonment of the plantation meant return of the grantee's land to the town; or if after a few years' trial he wished to sell out, his "chapman" or purchaser had to be acceptable to the community; and "no man that is posessed of a lott by the dispose of the Plantation, shall after sell it to another, of the plantation." Like other early settlers of New England, the Springfield people were not land grabbers. They took every precaution to prevent a few people from monopolizing the land, and to reserve enough of it for later comers, and for their descendants. Land was a socialized commodity.

The use of the land was also regulated. Cattle could be pastured in the tilth and mowing only between the first of November and the fourteenth of April — in Old England the usual dates had been from Michaelmas to Lady Day. There was trouble about the plowing teams breaking into the green corn in spring; so it was agreed that the plowing oxen must "be kept in some house or yeard." John Leonard was appointed to see that the highways be kept in repair and cleared "of all stubs sawpitts or timbyr." William Pynchon erected a grist mill on the Mill River, and a bridge was built leading to it, at town expense. Maximum wages and hours of labor were fixed — that of "husbandmen or ordinary laborers" at 18*d.* for an 8-hour day in winter and 20*d.* for a 10-hour day in summer "besides eatinge and sleepinge"; carpenters to have 20*d.* and 2*s.*, mowers to have 2*s.* a day, but tailors to receive only 10*d.* for a 12-hour day. These rates were lowered as the plantation became more populous.[33] All towns in Massachusetts had been delegated this power to regulate wages and prices by the General Court, which had failed in trying to enforce a uniform wage scale for the entire colony. But as William Pynchon was the only inhabitant of Springfield in a position to hire labor, the regulation by the town meeting was in fact a wage agreement between him and his fellow townsmen.

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[33] Burt, I. 168, 171.

Canoes were very important to a river town, especially to Springfield where the planting lots were across the river. Any inhabitant could fell a "canoe tree" — a great white birch — on the common land, and make canoes for his own use or that of his fellow townsmen; but no one might sell or give a canoe out of the plantation until it was five years old — a wise measure for the conservation of birches. Three men who "sold or pawned away theyer cannoes" in the winter of 1640 were ordered to redeem them by spring or forfeit 20*s*. each.

Undeniably, all this has a democratic flavor. The town was the New England institution where democracy seeped in and leavened the rest; and although until 1647 only freemen of the colony were supposed to take part in town meetings, Springfield paid no attention to the requirement. All admitted inhabitants voted in town meeting and were fined one bushel of corn for failing to attend. Yet even at the earliest date Springfield was not a social democracy. William Pynchon paid about half the town taxes, and had the most land. He was the only trader. His son John, his sons-in-law Henry Smith and Elizur Holyoke, and his friend the minister formed with him a little local aristocracy of wealth, piety, and talents, commanding a weight of moral and material influence which would have made short shrift of a local opposition. And, most important, William Pynchon was the local magistrate and judge, invested with power to probate wills, hold petty sessions, and try all causes not involving loss of life or limb. In other words, the squire of Springfield in Essex had become the squire of Springfield in Massachusetts.

In the early years of the plantation it formed part of the same government as the River Towns, and might well have become permanently attached to the Colony of Connecticut, but for the failure of William Pynchon to get along with Thomas Hooker. The circumstances form quite an interesting little chapter in New England politics, diplomacy, and economic thought.

Agawam was first included with Windsor, Hartford, and

Wethersfield under the governing commission of eight appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts on March 3, 1636; [34] and William Pynchon was one of the commissioners. During the ensuing year the commissioners held several courts, or meetings, in the three River Towns; but only one of these was attended by the founder of Springfield. After the term of the commissioners expired on March 3, 1637, the people of the River Towns set up what amounted to an independent government by electing a new set of magistrates, including Pynchon, and sending " committees " of three deputies from each town to join with the magistrates in a General Court. It was the first court so composed which declared " offensiue warr against the Pequoitt." [35] There was no one from Springfield at this court; and apparently the Connecticut authorities agreed that if the ten or twelve men at Springfield would take care of themselves, nothing more would be expected of them; [36] Pynchon nevertheless was taxed for his Agawam property by Massachusetts Bay. His friend and fellow-magistrate Roger Ludlow wrote to him from Windsor on May 17, 1637, to be careful and watchful of the friendly Indians, to keep his powder dry, and trust in God, for however pressing the danger, it would be impossible for the River Towns to come to his assistance.[37] Accordingly Pynchon and his little band of pioneers kept strict watch against surprise. Some unpleasantness was caused by the River authorities impressing one of Pynchon's boats with her crew into the public service without asking by-your-leave; and relations were not bettered when despite the agreement to let Agawam alone they levied a war tax of £86 16*s*. on the little plantation, and summoned Pynchon to Hartford to answer for non-payment.[38] He wrote to Ludlow in January,

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[34] *Massachusetts Bay Records,* I. 171. It is now generally recognized that the appointment of this commission by the Massachusetts authorities did not indicate an assertion of jurisdiction on their part, which belonged to the " Lords and Gentlemen " who held the Warwick patent, and for which John Winthrop, Jr., was agent; in fact the commission expressly states that the General Court is acting " on the behalfe of our said members, and John Winthrop Junior Esquire, Governor, appointed by certain noble personages," etc.

[35] *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (J. H. Trumbull, Ed., Hartford, 1850), I. 9.

[36] *Proceedings,* LVIII. 387–88.

[37] 2 *Collections,* VIII. 236.

[38] *Proceedings,* LVIII. 387–88; *Conn. Colony Records,* I. 12.

1638, that it was impossible to go down-river — snow was up to a man's middle at Agawam and his people could not even get out to cut paling. At the next court, on March 8, 1638, Pynchon appeared; and, from absence of any record to the contrary, it is likely that he paid the tax out of his own pocket.

At this same General Court the River colony conferred upon Pynchon a benefit that he did not ask, and a responsibility that he did not seek. It adopted the Massachusetts system of granting exclusive rights in the beaver trade to one or two men in each town in return for a tax of one shilling per skin; and Pynchon was given the monopoly for Agawam.[39] Having already experienced this system in the Bay and found that it could not be enforced, Pynchon protested to Ludlow:

> I cannot see how it can well stand with the public good and the liberty of free men to make a monopole of trade. I have often heerd this very thing in agitation in the Bay and yet it could not be brought to passe: I hope the Lord in his mercy will keep me from coveting any unlawful gaine: or [consenting to] any man's hindrance where God doth not hinder them.[40]

Although the tone of this letter is certainly generous, it should be remembered that a man with Pynchon's capital and shrewdness was likely to monopolize the beaver trade at Agawam in any case, and would not care to be taxed a shilling a skin for the legal privilege. Business men in the seventeenth century were moving away from monopoly and finding free competition more profitable; but the little medieval state on the River naturally preferred the old, tried methods.

More serious trouble developed out of Pynchon's contract for supplying corn. The corn crop of the war summer, 1637, proved insufficient; and by the middle of a severe winter it was clear that if a supply were not imported, there would be a famine next spring in the River Towns. Here was a case when a monopoly was wise, as our recent war experience has proved. Free trade in corn with the Indians would have resulted in the natives being robbed and cheated, and the people being charged famine prices by speculators. Hence the General Court on March 8, 1638, "ordered with the consent of Mr. Pincheon" that he should purchase from the Indians and deliver to the three River Towns 500 bushels of corn at 5*s*. per bushel — or a penny or two more if he had to pay as much as "sixe sixes of Wampom a pecke."[41] Private persons were forbidden to trade, unless in case of necessity and upon order of three magistrates. On returning a few days later to Agawam and finding the Indians determined either to get more than the contract price or to hold their corn for a rise, Pynchon wrote back to Hartford that he feared he could not carry out the contract at the price fixed.[42] The Connecticut authorities, fearful at the approach of famine, lost no time in sending Captain John Mason up-river to procure the necessary corn. It was but a few months since Mason had earned the name of a mighty warrior by leading the devastating slaughter of Pequots at Mystic fort, and obviously sending out such a man on such an errand was disturbing, to say the least. The Indians at first refused to trade with Mason. A conference was held between him, Pynchon, Moxon the minister, and a Nonotuck Indian in Pynchon's house at Agawam. Here it appeared that Mason wished to pay the Indian in advance to go up to Woronoco and bring down corn. Pynchon advised him that it was fatal to pay Indians in advance, they always skipped to the woods with the wampum and never delivered the goods; and Moxon chimed in with a homely simile: "An Indian promise is noe more than to have a pigg by the taile."[43] Mason finally agreed to pay no money until he saw the corn; but little or none was forthcoming for the price he offered; and the hot-tempered Captain returned down-river, convinced that Pynchon was thinking only of his own profit and prestige, and trying to hold up Connecticut for higher prices.

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[39] *Conn. Colony Records*, I. 20.

[40] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 388.

Within a month the Connecticut General Court summoned Pynchon to Hartford and placed him on trial for "unfaithfull dealing in the trade of corne" and for breach of his oath as a magistrate. The particular charges were that he had obstructed the Mason mission, both by forbidding the Indians to trade with the Captain, and by refusing to procure a canoe that they needed for transportation. In defense he alleged that he acted as Mason's interpreter and "took off the fears" of an Indian reluctant to do business with the warrior; that, when his own plantation was in dire necessity, when the beer had given out and he himself had less than half a bushel of corn on hand for his family; when the neighbors were begging him to raise the price so that the Indians would sell, he refused to exceed the maximum limit allowed by his instructions. In the matter of the canoe, it appears that there was only one in Agawam which the Indians would use; and the owner refused to lend it because he needed it for the planting season.

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[41] *Conn. Colony Records,* I. 13. As wampum passed at three beads a penny, this expression meant 12*d*. a peck or 4*s*. a bushel.

[42] *Conn. Colony Records,* I. 16.

[43] Mason A. Green, *Springfield,* 26; chapter II. I have followed in this controversy Mr. Green, who makes liberal quotations from the sources, unfortunately without reference to their location. Those of them which are in our own cabinet are printed in *Proceedings,* XLVIII. 35–56.

The court, before coming to a decision, sent for Masters Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, respectively pastor and teacher of the Hartford Church, to express an expert opinion on the ethical question involved. As usual it was Hooker who did all the talking. He accused Pynchon of holding off buying "that he should have all the trade to himselfe, and have all the corne in his owne hands, . . . and so rack the country at his pleasure."[44] "He then delivered his iudgment peremptorily that I had broken my oath," says Pynchon. "To this I was silent, being grieved at so hard an answer."[45] Upon Hooker's opinion the Court fined Pynchon forty bushels of corn for "unfaithfulness." Two months later Captain Mason was sent north again, with a squad of soldiers and a threatening message to the Indians to deliver corn, or they would regret it. Even at that, Mason had to pay 12*s.* a bushel, more than double the price allowed Pynchon by the Court. This fact alone seems a complete justification of Pynchon's policy.

Naturally a gentleman like Pynchon would not tamely submit to imputations on his good name and faith. He prepared and circulated in manuscript an "Apology" or defense of his conduct throughout the transactions.

> I conceive [he protested to the General Court] . . . that either you will see mr Hooker mak it [his charges] good or acquit me of

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[44] Green, *Springfield*, 33. [45] *Proceedings*, XLVIII. 47.

> the guilt: for if mr Hooker do not mak it good many wronges will follow. 1. his credit is wronged by vndertaking to mak that good which yet he hath not don in a long distance of tyme. 2ly. I am wronged in my Cause and made a grieved magistrate vniustly. and 3ly the general Court are wronged to ground their censure vppon his judgment. But I must expect to see this Charge demonstrated by positive proofe such as may stand with the just censure of a Court of equity, for certaine punishment must be grounded vppon certaine proofe, and not vppon surmises or preiudice. . . .[46]

In the matter of the canoe, Pynchon's words are even stronger.

> I was charged with neglect of my duty and breach of my oath because I did not presse the cano for the Indians vse: A strange reason to prove the breach of my oath: If magistrates in N. E. should *ex officio* practise such a power our [over] mens proprieties, how long would Tyrany be kept out of our habitations: Truly the king might as legaly exact a loan *Ex officio* of his subjects by a distresse on mens proprieties (because he pleades as greate necessity) as to presse a Cano without a legall order. The lawes of England count it a tender thing to touch another mans propriety and therefore many have rather chosen to suffer as in a good cause then to yeeld their goods to the king *ex officio:* and to lose the liberty of an English subject in N. E. would bring woefull slaviry to our posterity: But while governments are ordered by the lawlesse law of discretion, that [which] is transient in particular mens heades may be of dangerous consequence. . . .[47]

Thus was turned against Master Hooker, and in a concrete case, the protest he had made to Governor Winthrop against the discretionary power of magistrates. Pynchon was defending not only his personal honor but the traditional liberties of an Englishman against the arbitrary judgment of an irritated and possibly hungry clergyman.

There was more to this case, it seems to me, than a personal dispute; it was really the clash of paternalism with *laissez faire*. Hooker doubtless believed in the same economic principles as did Cotton, Winthrop — and for that matter, St. Thomas Aquinas.[48] That is to say, he believed in the medieval figment of a "just price," of the unlawfulness of usury, or of raising prices to meet a brisk demand. Corn was scarce and Connecticut in danger of starving; *ergo*, argued Hooker and the General Court, the Indians should charge them even less for corn than in normal years. And if Pynchon did not see eye-to-eye with them, he must be a usurer, a profiteer, an evil person. Pynchon, on the contrary, represented the instinctive theory of the seventeenth-century business man, impatient of ecclesiastical and political trammels. Observe the conclusion of his letter to Ludlow: ". . . I cannot see how it can well stand with the public good and the liberty of free men to make a monopole of trade." Nor will he consent to "any man's hindrance when God doth not hinder them."[49] Even the Indians had a more exact appreciation of economic laws than did the Reverend Thomas Hooker and the General Court; for they observed that having obtained "eight sixes" of wampum for a peck of corn the year before, when corn was plenty, they would certainly not sell it for "six sixes," when corn was in brisk demand.

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[46] *Proceedings,* XLVIII. 47.

[47] *Ibid.,* 47–48.

[48] See Winthrop, *History of New England* (1908), I. 315–18, on Cotton's principles in the dispute between the Boston Church and Keayne; and see E. A. J. Johnson, "The Economic Principles of John Winthrop," *New England Quarterly* (April, 1930), III. 235–50.

Moreover, the Connecticut authorities followed up the case in a petty and persecuting manner, writing to the Church at Roxbury that Master Hooker regarded their distinguished brother Pynchon to be a profiteer and an oath-breaker, and that they ought to proceed against him "in a church way" — i.e., to censure or excommunicate him. Although the Roxbury church eventually gave Pynchon a clean bill of health, his defense cost him much trouble, journeying, and anxiety, and was not concluded for three years.

After this it is not surprising to find that Pynchon preferred to live under some other government than the "democratic" one at Hartford. Six weeks after he had been condemned and fined, he was appointed one of a Connecticut commission of three to treat with the Bay authorities about a confederation. During the conference Massachusetts claimed that Springfield came within her line. Pynchon readily accepted this claim as an excuse for seceding from Connecticut, "and that motion by Mr. Pincheon," declared Connecticut at a later date, "arose (as is verily conceived) from a present pange of discontent vpon a sensure hee then lay vnder by the Gouernment of Conectacutt." [50]

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[49] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 388.

Massachusetts refused to confederate unless Agawam were admitted to be hers. It is rather difficult to see why, if it were moral for Thomas Hooker and his congregation to secede from Massachusetts, it should be immoral for Springfield to secede back; but Master Hooker thought otherwise. In an angry letter to Governor Winthrop he passed this pungent sentence on William Pynchon:

> If Mr. Pyncheon can devise ways to make his oath bind him when he will and loosen him when he list: if he can tell how, in faithfulness to engage himself in a civil covenant . . . yet can cast it away at his pleasure before he give in sufficient warrant, more than his own word and will, he must find a law in Agaam for it; for it is written in no law nor gospel that ever I read. The want of his help troubles not me, nor any man else I can hear of. I do assure you we know him from the bottom to the brim and follow him in all his proceedings, and trace him in his privy footsteps; only we would have him and all the world to understand, he doth not walk in the dark to us.[51]

There is no record of Pynchon or of Agawam taking part in the government of Connecticut after April 5, 1638. Early the next year the Fundamental Orders were put into effect without any reference to Springfield; and Pynchon's court record opens as follows:

> February the 14th 1638 [–39] We the Inhabitantes of Agaam vppon Quinnettecot takinge into consideration the manifould inconveniences that may fale vppon vs for want of some fit Magistracy among vs: Beinge now by godes prouedence fallen into the line of the Massachusete Jurisdiction: and it beinge farr of[f] to repayer thither in such cases of iustice as may often fale out amonge vs doe therefore thinke it meete by a generall consent and vote to ordaine (till we receiue further directions from the generall court in the Massachuset Bay) mr William Pynchon to execute the office of a magistrate in this our plantation of Agaam viz.[52]

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[50] *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XII. 70. In this article by Simeon E. Baldwin the relations between Pynchon and the Connecticut colony, subsequent to 1637–38, are fully explored.

[51] *Ibid.*, XII. 73.

[52] Manuscript record, Harvard Law Library. This election of Pynchon to the local magistracy by the town was irregular, as Pynchon himself evidently recognized. It does not appear to have been confirmed by the General

Massachusetts Bay was apparently willing to leave the question open pending a final agreement on the subject with Connecticut. It was not until 1642 that Pynchon was elected to his former chair in the Court of Assistants; and until 1649 Springfield was not represented in the General Court. Rival surveys of the boundary line were made by the two colonies, appeals to the King were threatened on both sides; and Connecticut attempted to prejudge the case by authorizing her then Governor, Edward Hopkins, to purchase Woronoco (Westfield) and erect a trading-house there. Connecticut attempted to tax exports down-river from Springfield, and Massachusetts proposed to retaliate on imports from Connecticut. In 1650, the Commissioners of the United Colonies washed their hands of the question, declaring their "desire to bee spared in all further agitations concerning Sprinkfield."[53] And from that time the incorporation of Springfield in Massachusetts was never seriously challenged.

Undeniably, with three days' marches of wilderness between him and the capital, it was much easier for Pynchon to do business under the Bay jurisdiction than under Connecticut. It was not that the Bay was any less paternalistic than the River, but that Boston was far away and Hartford only a short distance downstream. Pynchon's palisaded storehouse "over agaynst Agaam" was the business center of the Upper Valley. Indians came down the Great River and its tributaries, bringing packs of beaver and other furs to exchange for wampum, blanket-coats, bright-colored cottons, axes, knives, and trinkets. These furs were bundled up into hogsheads, which were teamed to Pynchon's warehouse at the site of Windsor Locks, together with pickled beef and pork, Indian corn and wheat, and other agricultural products of the Valley. At Warehouse Point the hogsheads were transferred to a coasting vessel which took them to Boston, whence they were forwarded by sailing packet to London, the great fur market of Europe. The provisions were more apt to be transshipped at Hartford to a West India trader. Back from London came

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Court, but on October 7, 1640, Pynchon was named among those propounded to the towns for magistrates (*Mass. Bay Records,* I. 308), and again in 1641 (I. 345).

[53] *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts,* XII. 82.

all manner of textiles and manufactured goods, and from the West Indies, sugar, molasses, and rum, which were sold both at wholesale and retail to the growing white population of the Valley, in return for more furs, meat, grain, and wampum.[54] Governor Stuyvesant of New Netherland complained to the New England Confederation in 1650 that Pynchon had monopolized the fur trade of the Connecticut,[55] leaving nothing for the Dutch trading post in Hartford; and the Mohawks called New Englanders "Pynchon's men."[56]

Unfortunately none of William Pynchon's account books have been preserved; but those of his son John, who began business with his father and carried it on for fifty years after his father's return to England, are in the safe keeping of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society. There is no reason to suppose that John Pynchon made any essential change in the manner of doing business before his father's death. In any case, there is a precious record for the decade 1650–60. In transactions involving values of hundreds of pounds hardly any specie passed hands; even the humble pine-tree shilling seems to have been a rarity at Springfield. Accounts were invariably squared in commodities such as beef, corn, and fur; wampum passed current for small change at two a penny for the blue and four a penny for the white.

For several years before 1660, William's son and partner, John Pynchon, consigned a hogshead of peltry annually to Thomas Mainwaring, merchant, of London, and another to Henry Ashurst and Nicholas Griggson. Most of these were on his own or his father's account; but Mainwaring and other London merchants sent "adventures" of their own in the shape of cloth and hardware, the proceeds of which were laid out in fur. A sample hogshead, sent in 1658, contained 184 beaver skins weighing 279 pounds, 18 otter and 12 fox skins, 4 "nottamags"[57] and 43 "musquash" (muskrat) skins; wildcat, marten, and "woodshaws"[58] are occasionally mentioned; and Pynchon also did a considerable trade in moose skins, which were in much demand in London for making stout leather.

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[54] I am here reading back into William Pynchon's time the economic activities recorded in the account books of his son John, before the death of his father.

[55] *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth* (David Pulsifer, Ed., Boston, 1859), IX. 172–73.

[56] Waters, II. 867.

[57] Mink.

[58] Fishers.

Other parts of the beaver were valued for making musk, and those were packed separately. John Pynchon paid from 9*s*. 6*d*. to 11*s*. a pound for good winter beaver — less for "summer bever." Some of it was procured directly from Indians, who are named; some was "Mohock bever," procured from a Dutch trader; but a great deal of it came from English middlemen. Of these the principal was Joseph Parsons of "Nalwotogg,"[59] who kept store there and took beaver in trade. An astonishing variety of goods were sent to this small frontier town in the year 1657: for textiles there were red shag cotton, pink penistone, blue duffield, Devonshire kersey, coronation tammy, "sad-colored" and black serge, holland linen. With these were "notions" such as tape, binding, thread, points (garters), pins, needles, children's hats, "silk flagon coat buttons." The hardware included knives, scissors, awls, axes, "mackhooks," and burning-glasses for lighting fires. The presence of inkhorns shows that the Upper Valley was not illiterate; while the large variety of articles such as looking-glasses, ivory and bone combs, rings, and gilt boxes in nests, shows that even primitive Northampton was no stranger to the feminine graces. Altogether £615 worth of goods were sent to Joseph Parsons in 1657, and nearly the entire amount was paid in peltry.

Besides these wholesale accounts, John Pynchon carried retail book accounts with almost every family in Springfield. Seldom was any part of these accounts discharged in money. A domestic servant, for instance, was credited with £6 for a year's wages; she spent more than this on clothing and furbelows. Other citizens were furnished with everything from a Bible and a pair of spectacles to read it with, to wine, rum, and tobacco. They paid mostly in grain and provision — a bushel of wheat paid for three quarts of rum — or by hauling goods from Warehouse Point, trimming the Pynchon orchard, and doing odd jobs about the Pynchon house. Indeed there could have been very few people within thirty miles of

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[59] One of the many synonyms of Nonotuck (Northampton); see H. A. Wright, *Indian Deeds of Hampden County* (Springfield, 1905), 28–29.

Springfield whose labors, wants, and appetites did not contribute to swell the fortunes of the Pynchon family.

There is no reason to suppose that this great power wielded by the Pynchons was abused. New Englanders with a sense of grievance were not slow to make their grievances vocal; and after the corn case of 1638 I have discovered no charges against the dealings of Pynchon in the records of River or Bay. The records of Pynchon's own court of petty sessions at Springfield, kept in his own hand, are still extant; and give the impression of a conscientious magistrate who respected the English traditions of justice, and who denied it not to the poorest and most pestiferous man under his jurisdiction.[60]

We are fortunate in having a contemporary portrait of William Pynchon, painted in England a few years after his return from America. It represents him a little older than he appeared when holding court at Springfield, and in the same plain dress of a Puritan gentleman: dark cloak with rows of metal clasps or buttons, a plain "band" or white collar, and a close-fitting skull cap, such as ministers and magistrates wore in the house. His face is distinguished by an unusually large and heavy Roman nose, very full lips set off by moustache and goatee, and an unusually long chin. It is a strong face, marked by poise, dignity, and sincerity. There is a glint of Yankee shrewdness in the eyes, but not a trace of humor; and such humor as we shall find in Pynchon's record of his court will be entirely unconscious. We may imagine Pynchon wearing this same costume; and the same grave expression was doubtless on his face when he presided over the local court in the hall of his own house, perhaps seated in the massive wing chair which is still preserved at Springfield and attributed to him. He has to act as his own clerk and recorder. There is no other court official except the town constable. In front of him sit the six jurors — for the population of Agawam was insufficient to provide a full panel — and the body of the hall is filled with friends and neighbors of the litigant, eager to take part in a rare recreation.

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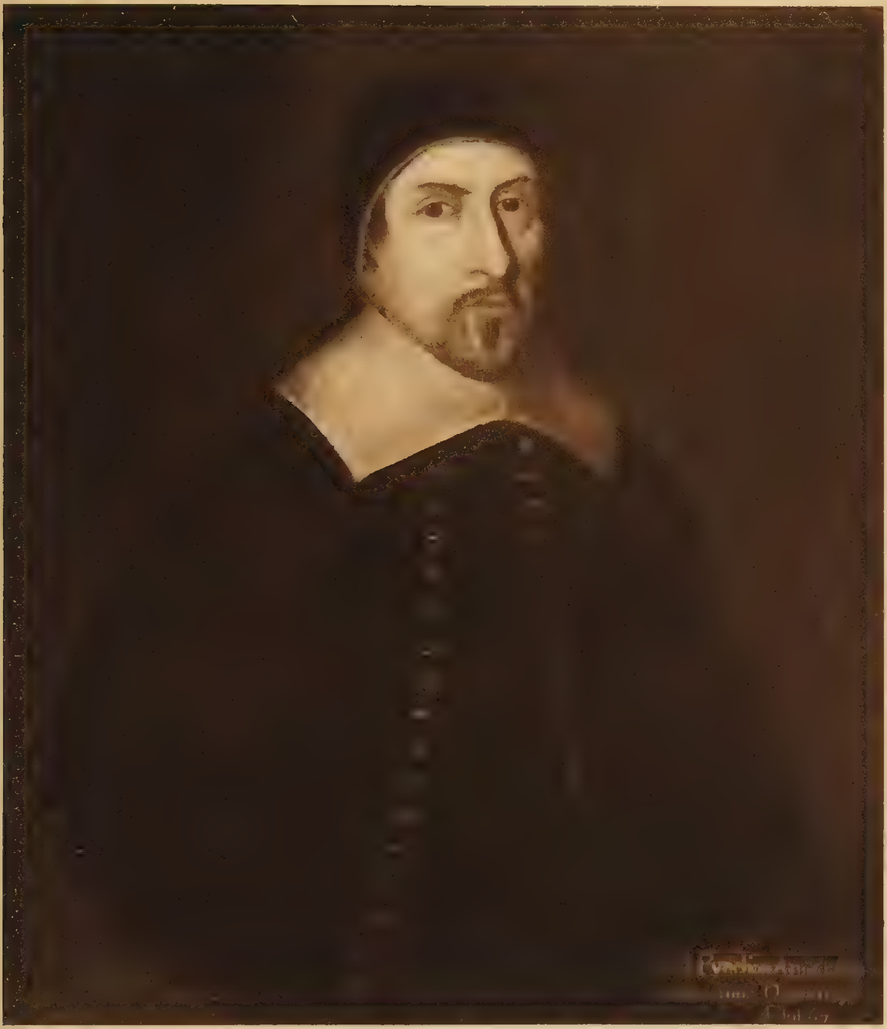
[60] When, at a later period, Robert Child the Remonstrant complained that the Courts of the Bay were irregular and careless in their procedure, Pynchon wrote to Governor Winthrop that some of his complaints were just, and that his fellow magistrates should look to it. 4 *Collections,* VI. 381–85.



William Pynchon

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the possession of the
Essex Institute

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OF
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Most of the cases before the court were petty: leaving timber on the road, not paying for a hog, slander such as "false imputations of wrong dealinge in taking of those pompions": the regular grist that passed through all the early New England courts. Indeed in the thirteen years covered by the record there is hardly a case which would come before a court of justice today. So much has been written of late about the sexual irregularities of the Puritans that it is perhaps worth recording that only two cases in Pynchon's magistracy were of that nature. In the one, a case of fornication attempted but not achieved, both parties were whipped (January 11, 1640). In the other, which was more serious, Pynchon tried the accused in private, swore the accusing witnesses to secrecy, and administered his own sentence himself, by whipping the man's back with a rod (July 20, 1650).

There were few actions concerning Indians. The widow Horton, accused of having sold her husband's gun to the Indians, declared that she had merely lent it, because

> it lay spoilinge in her seller, but she saith that the Indian is suddenly to bring it againe and he hath left about six fathom of wampam in pawne for it. I tould her [records Pynchon] She would speedily get it home againe or else it would cost her dere for no commonwealth would allow of such a misdemenor. [October 9, 1640.]

Francis Ball's cattle were frightened by Indian boys on Agawam side; he could not catch them but struck their mother with a stick, and their father complained. Squire Pynchon in this case dispensed the oriental variety of justice:

> Francis Ball saith it was but two blowes with a litle smale stick about two foote long and not so big as his litle finger and he struck her only on her beare skin coat. I ordered him to pay her 2 hands of wampum, but I also ordered that the boyes that skared his cattell and hindered his cattell to pay 3 handes and when he paid the said 3 hands then Francis Ball should pay the two handes. . . . [May 4, 1648.]

The chief trouble maker in Springfield, whose name came most frequently before the court, was one John Woodcock. Master Moxon summoned him in December, 1639, to answer for a slander, in having declared that the reverend gentleman had taken a false oath against him somewhere down-river.

> The said John desyred that his differance might be tried by a priuate heeringe below in the River: Mr Moxon referred himselfe to the Judgment of the plantation present whether it were fitter to be heard by a priuate refference below in the River, or tryed here publikly by a Jury. The generall voat of the plantation is that seeing the matter is publike it should be publikely herd and tryed her[e] by a Jury: Liberty is granted to John Woodcoke to produce his witnesses against this day fortnight being the 26 of Dec[e]mber. Also at the said tyme Jo Woodcoke is warned to answer for his laughinge in sermon tyme: this day at the Lecture. Also he is then to answer his misdemenor of idlenese.

The jury found for the plaintiff, with the heavy damage of £6 13*s*. 4*d*.; [61] but this was not the end of the case.

> When Mr Moxon gaue the Constable the warrant to distraine for the said damages the said Jo Woodcoke answered that he ought Mr Moxon no mony nor none he would pay him.
>
> Also Jo Woodcoke said that he had shewed Mr Moxon more respect and reuerence then euer he would againe — witnesse Henry Smyth Samuell Hubbard and Thomas Horton. [January 2, 1639–40.]

Before the end of the year our village radical was in court again, sued by Henry Gregory for accusing him of cheating about some pigs. The record here is mutilated. It seems that the jury found £4 7*s*. 3*d*. damage for the plaintiff, but that Squire Pynchon allowed him a writ of error and a new trial. On that occasion, " The Jury find for the plaintiffe [in error] about the pigg and giue to Jo Woodcoke in damages Twenty shillings and costs 4*s*." Pynchon's record continues:

> Henry Gregory after the verdict was much moued and said " I maruill with what consi[ence] the Jury can giue such damages: seeinge in the case of John Searles I had of him but Twenty shillinges for three slanders: " and he added: " But such Juries ": he was about to speak more But Mr Moxon bid him " to take heed take heed," and so gaue him a graue admonition, presently after the admonition Henry Gregory acknowlegd his fault and earnestly craued pardon and promisd mor care and watchfulnesse for tyme to come: and so

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[61] This odd sum was equivalent to ten silver marks, of 13*s*. 4*d*. each.

all the Jury acknoledgd satisfaction in hope of reformation. [September 10, 1640.]

John Woodcock's triumph was short-lived, for he had never paid the fine levied upon him for slandering the minister the year before, or made the retraction with which Mr. Moxon declared that he would rest content. Pynchon records (October 1, 1640):

> John Woodcoke not appeeringe to giue satisfaction to Mr Moxon accordinge to the liberty tendered to him: Therefore I ordeine the execution as followeth
>
> To John Searles conestable of Springfield These are in his Ma[jes]ties name to requier you presently uppon the write heereof That you attach the body of John Woodcoke uppon an execution granted to Mr George Moxon by the Jury against the said John Woodcoke for an action of slander: and that you keepe his body in prison of irons untill he shall take some course to satisfie the said George Moxon: or else if he neclect or refuse to take a speedy course to satisfie the said execution of 6*li* 13*s* 4*d* granted by the Jury January 2d 1639[–40]. That then you use what meanes you can to put him out to seruice and labor till he make satisfaction to the said Mr George Moxon for the said 6*li* 13*s* 4*d* and also to satisfie yourselfe for such charges as you shall be at for the keeping of his person: And when Mr Moxon and yourself are satisfied, Then you are to discharge his person out of prison, faile not at your peruill Springfield this 5 October 1640
>
> William Pynchon

By what means Woodcock satisfied Master Moxon and the Constable we do not know; but he was out of jail by January of the following year and in court again, sued by Robert Ashley for not delivering a gun for which Ashley had paid twenty shillings. The jury found for the plaintiff. Again to quote Pynchon's record:

> After the Jury had giuen in their verdict John Woodcock denied that Robert had paid for the said gunn notwithstanding the action was tried before him and he never denied it: but I offered him a new tryall by a writ of error if he would prosecute it. [February 15, 1640–41.]

In the course of this trial one Goody Gregory testified against Woodcock and called him a "prating fellow." John got his revenge on the goodwife promptly by accusing her of swearing "Before God I could break thy head."

> She did acknowledg it was her great sin and fault and saith she hath been much humbled for it: She is fined 12*s* to the poore to be paid to Henry Smyth within a month if she doe not she is to sit 3 houres in the stockes.

After this final fling at the Agawam aristocrats, John Woodcock shook the dust of Springfield from his shoes, and migrated down-river.

That the procedure in this court was not regular, every lawyer will admit. On one occasion the "sense of the meeting" was taken as to whether a certain case should be tried there or elsewhere. Culprits were neither indicted nor regularly presented, and at the conclusion of one case the losing party haled a hostile witness into court for some irrelevant offense. On the other hand, so far as one can judge from the records, substantial justice appears to have been done, and even such a public nuisance as John Woodcock was instructed by the presiding justice as to his rights of appeal.

On May 29, 1649, Squire Pynchon asked the entire town to assemble at the opening of court, for he had an important function to perform. He read to them the lately printed Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Bay, in order that they might know their rights and duties. We may be sure that a thrill passed through the audience when he reached the section on "Capital lawes" and read: "If any man or woman be a WITCH, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit, they shall be put to death. *Exod.* 22. 18. *Levit.* 20. 27. *Deut.* 18. 10. 11."[62]

There had long been talk that forces of the invisible world were active in Springfield; and the Squire, as soon as he had finished reading the laws, promptly took up a case involving witchcraft — the case of Hugh Parsons.

In that amusingly malicious romance, *The History of Connecticut,* by the Reverend Samuel Peters, it is stated that Hugh Parsons was the handsomest man in Springfield, so admired by the women that the men of Springfield in self-defense cried out upon him for a witch. Unfortunately the records do not bear out this genial explanation. Most of Hugh Parsons's accusers were women, and the principal one, his wife. Hugh was a farmer who did odd jobs at sawing and bricklaying; a good workman, apparently, but a very disagreeable person with whom to deal. A sullen, morose fellow who quickly took a grudge and nursed it long, Parsons was always imagining he was being wronged, when he would exclaim: " I'll get even with you; " or, if he were forced to pay a debt or to deliver a paid-for pig: " It will do you no good." In fact, Hugh Parsons was just the unsocial, unpopular sort of person who in a New England town was apt to get denounced as a witch in the seventeenth century, a tory in the eighteenth century, an atheist in the nineteenth century, and a communist in the twentieth.[63]

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[62] *The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts* (Max Farrand, Ed., Cambridge, 1929), 5.

It was Hugh's wife, Mary, who started the trouble by telling the neighbors that the widow Marshfield, who had recently come to town from Windsor, was a witch. Goody Marshfield entered an action for slander against Mary Parsons before Squire Pynchon who wrote down just what was said, or alleged to have been said, in his court records. John Matthews testified that Goody Parsons said that the widow Marshfield

> was suspected to be a witch when she liued in Windsor and that it was publikely knowen that the diuill followed her howse in Windsor " and for aught I know," said she, " followes her here."
>
> Goodwife Mathewes saith uppon oath that when Goody Parsons came to her howse she said to her " I wonder what is become of the half pound of your woll? " Goody Parsons said that she could not tell except the witch had witched it away. " I wonder " said I " that you talke so much of a witch doe you think there is any witch in Towne ": " yes " said shee, " and she came into my howse while the wool was a cardinge." " Who is it? " said I: she said that An Stebbinge had told her in Mr Smiths Chamber that she [Goody Marshfield] was suspected to be a witch in Windsor, and that there were divers strong lights seene of late in the meddow that were neuer seene before ye widdow Marshfeild came to Towne and that she did grudge at other weomen that had children before her

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[63] For the following account of this case I have relied principally upon the documents printed in Samuel G. Drake, *Annals of Witchcraft in New England* (Boston, 1869), 219–257. There is an extended account of it in Green's *Springfield.*

daughter had none and about that tyme (namely of her grudging) the child died and the cow died.

Goody Parsons did stiffly denie the truth of this Testimonye: but because the said witnesses had delivered their testimony vppon oath and finding that she had defamed the good name of the widdow Marshfield I sentenced her to be well whipped on the morrow after lecture with 20 lashes by the Conestable vnlesse she could procure the payment of 3*li* to ye widdow Marshfeild for and towarde the reparation of her good name.[64]

Hugh Parsons elected to pay the fine with Indian corn. He asked the widow Marshfield to abate one-third, which she refused; whereupon he said: " Well, if you will not it had bin as good you had — it will be but as wild Fier in this Howse, and as a Moth in your Garment, and it will doe you no Good, Ile warnt it. . . ." [65]

Soon after this, Goody Marshfield's daughter was taken with strange " Fitts of witchcraft," and the Moxon girls, the minister's daughters, with still stranger fits, which caused someone to remember that when the minister had held Parsons to a bargain about some bricks for the parsonage chimney, Hugh said: " I will be even with him, he shall get Nothinge by it." Master Moxon, with evident reluctance, admitted that Hugh had threatened him thus — but said he always talked like that.

And now everyone in town began to recollect hard words and ugly looks from Hugh Parsons, and there were more strange happenings which the people were convinced were due to the powers of darkness. Mary Parsons, wife of Hugh, had a baby. It was an ill-favored, puling brat — a regular witch-child, who wasted away in a mysterious manner and died. Poor Mary then went quite off her head with grief, and accused her own husband of having bewitched the babe. Squire Pynchon, finding it impossible to ignore the hue and cry any longer, held an inquest. Here all the pent-up fear, malice, and superstition of the little settlement boiled up. The Langdons told how twice in succession their pudding had been cut in its bag, how after the second time they threw a bit of it in the fire, and how shortly after there came Hugh Parsons a-muttering and a-mumbling at the door, summoned by the spirit who had bewitched the pudding — though Hugh Parsons said he came to get some hay. Three men who went woodchopping with Hugh testified how one of them, who told the pudding story when they "were at Dinner, and merry together," got black looks from Hugh, and within fifteen minutes his axe slipped and cut his leg. Squire Pynchon's storekeeper, when he refused to sell Parsons a bit of leather because he was busy with his team, promptly had the team run away with him, and was almost killed. When Blanche Bedortha intruded on a men's discussion, Hugh Parsons turned to her and said: "I spake not to you; but I shall remember you when you little think on it." Since then Blanche had had a painful confinement, with pinchings and prickings, she had seen strange lights, and her two-year-old child was repeatedly frightened by a great dog in the house that no one else could see — Hugh Parsons's dog, the child said it was. Goody Myrick in company with Hugh Parsons had pulled out with a mere touch a beer tap which no one else could move, even with a hammer; and a man who exclaimed at this: "What, are you a Witch?" that night after the beer party was over, had seen snakes in his room. There were two "great ones" and one "little one with blackish and yellow streaks," which climbed on his bed and struck him in the forehead, and at that moment he heard a voice like Hugh Parsons's, saying: "Death!" Mary Parsons said she knew all about that visit of the snakes, and the one that bit him was Hugh. She wouldn't tell who the other two were, but she could. A woman refused to sell milk to Hugh. Then her cow's milk turned yellow, and then "to some od Cullor or other and also it grew lesse and lesse," and there were many more trivial coincidences of that sort with which in one way or another Hugh could be connected. To all these charges "that dumb Dogg," Hugh, as his wife called him, remained sullenly silent.

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[64] MS. court record, for May 29 and 30, 1649.

[65] Drake, *Annals*, 250.

It was from Mary Parsons that the weightiest testimony came. If mad, there was method in her madness, for she deposed very coolly that she had four reasons to believe him to be a witch.

> 1. Because when I say Anything to any Body, neuer so secretly, to such Freinde as I am sure would not speak of it, yet he would

come to know it; by what Meanes I cannot tell: I have spoken some Thinges to Mrs. Smith, that goes litle Abroad, and I am sure would not speak of it, yet he hath knowen it, and would speak of it to me as soone as I came Home.

2ly. Because he vseth to be out a Nights till Midnight (till of Late), and about half an Hower before he comes Home, I shall here some Noyse or other about the Dore, or about the Howse.

3ly. Because he vseth to come Home in a distempered Frame, so that I could not tell how to please him; sometymes he hath puld of the Bed Clothes and left me naked a Bed, and hath quenched the Fier; sometymes he hath thrown Pease about the Howse and made me pick them up.

4. Because oftentymes in his Sleepe he makes a gablinge Noyse, but I cannot vnderstand one Word that he says, and when I did aske what it was that he talked in his Sleepe, he would say that he had strange Dreames; and one Tyme he said that the Diuell and he were fighting, and that the Diuill had almost overcome him, but at last he got the Mastery of the Diuill.

Worse than that, she was certain that he had bewitched their baby and caused its death; and the neighbors were the more ready to believe that, since Hugh had been harsh and cruel both to mother and child, and had shown no grief when he was told of the babe's death. But Mary too was involved, for a neighbor who was told off to watch her reported that she admitted having talked with the Devil,

and that Night [said she] I was with my Husband and Goodwife Mericke and Besse Sewell, in Goodman Stebinges his Lott: and we were sometymes like Catts and sometymes in our owne shape, and we were a plodding for some good Cheere; and they made me to go barefoote and mak the Fiers, because I had declared so much at Mr. Pynchons.

The upshot of this all was that Squire Pynchon, not empowered to try a crime involving loss of life, indicted both Mary and Hugh Parsons for witchcraft, and sent them for trial to Boston, where several of the witnesses attended court. Hugh Parsons was convicted by the trial jury of having bewitched his child to death; but the magistrates refused to accept the verdict, since poor mad Mary, perhaps out of remorse for her horrible accusation, had in the meantime confessed that she herself had killed the child. Hugh's case was appealed to the Great and General Court, which decided he was " not legally guilty of witchcrafte and so not to dye by lawe." But Mary Parsons was condemned to die for infanticide, and sentenced to be hanged. Upon the morning set for her execution she was too weak to be moved, and was respited; on the second day she was found dead in her cell. Hugh, saved by her confession of murder, never returned to Springfield, but settled in Watertown, and disappears from the ken of history.

Perhaps Hugh Parsons, when indicted by Squire Pynchon, remarked: " It will doe you no good." Possibly he even added, in his resentful way: " I'll get even with you." For it is a curious coincidence that at the very same General Court in Boston where Hugh Parsons was tried for witchcraft, and Mary for murder, William Pynchon was called upon to answer for heresy. When the people of Springfield heard that their squire had been censured by the government, and humiliated to a point which compelled him out of self-respect to return to England, I have no doubt that they believed Hugh Parsons and his friend the Devil to be the cause of it all.

William Pynchon, it appears, had always thought deeply on theological subjects; especially on the mysterious doctrine of Christ's atonement for the sins of man. Orthodox Calvinists agreed with the medieval church in believing that Christ, literally, in the words of the Apostles' Creed, " descended into hell," there to suffer the torments of the damned as a part of his price for our salvation. Himself a father, Pynchon could not conceive of God the Father exacting for our sins such a terrible price of His only begotten Son as to doom Him not only to die in agony on the Cross, but to suffer the torments of hell-fire. Pondering the question during the long winter evenings at Springfield, and on his lonely horseback journeys over the Bay Path; discussing it and searching the Bible in company with Master Moxon, he reached the conclusion that there was no authority in Scripture for the orthodox view. Christ never actually bore Adam's sin, or suffered God's curse for Adam's fall; His descent into hell, if indeed He ever visited the place, was a mere sight-seeing expedition like those of Aeneas and Dante. Christ made a full and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the world by perfect obedience to His

Father's will and by His death and passion. In the course of years, after how many painful rewritings and redraftings we know not, Pynchon completed a book to prove his point, written in the form of a dialogue between a tradesman and a divine. It was sent over to London to be printed, and printed there it was by one James Moxon — probably a kinsman of the minister at Springfield — in 1650. *The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption, Iustification,* etc., was the title of this book of 170 pages, "By *William Pinchin,* Gentleman, in New-England."[66]

It is hard for us to imagine a state of society in which a mere difference of opinion as to the amount and kind of suffering that Christ had to undergo before He could induce His Father to save a selected few of mankind from hell should be regarded as a matter of great pith and moment, akin to sedition and treason, undermining the basis of the state, and corrupting the consciences of the people. But so it was. Massachusetts Bay had just entered the narrowest, most bigoted period in her history, the half-century which came in with the persecution of Quakers, and went out in a storm of witchcraft. Robert Child and the Remonstrants had been heavily fined and practically banished for proposing toleration to Presbyterians. The New England synod of 1647–48 had adopted an official confession of faith and platform of church discipline, revoking the great promise of freedom that lay in the Congregational polity by inviting the civil authorities to punish heresy as well as "corrupt and pernicious opinions that destroy the foundation."[67] This was, of course, a perfectly logical consequence of the puritanic purpose to found a medieval church-state; but logic sometimes defeats its own ends. Even before the synod had sat, the General Court had passed a law condemning to banishment anyone who broached certain "damnable heresies," among which was specified the denial of the orthodox doctrine of the atonement.[68] Pynchon belonged to the governing class. A member of the Board of Assistants, he had taken part in the repressive legislation, and must have been well acquainted with the intolerant temper of his fellows. He can hardly have been surprised at the reception of his book.

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[66] Copies in the New York Public, Connecticut Historical Society, and Congregational Libraries and the British Museum; partly reprinted in Burt, *The First Century of Springfield,* 89–121.

"Pynchon's principal contention was against the idea that Christ suffered the pains of hell, but he also rejected the imputation of our sins to Christ and of Christ's merits to us, making justification to be forgiveness, and presenting for a positive theory of the atonement the thought that Christ's obedience more highly pleased God than our sins displeased him, thus repeating substantially the theory of Anselm. . . The book fell into obscurity without leaving a trace of its influence." — Frank H. Foster, in *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia,* VIII. 131. The same author analyzes Pynchon at length in his *Genetic History of the New England Theology* (1907), 16–20. He regards Pynchon's work as "the protest of plain common sense against the current representations of the atonement," and in the same line of thought as the teachings of Anselm; but he finds no trace of Pynchon's influence on later writers. "The book seems to have exhaled its life in the flames in which it was burned upon Boston market place."

A copy of *The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption* arrived in Boston during the autumn of 1650. It was passed around among the members of the General Court of Massachusetts which then, as now, undertook to set up the standards of truth and the bounds of permissible opinion. The Court "judged it meete and necessary" for the vindication of the truth, and the preservation of the interests of true religion in Massachusetts, and for clearing themselves to their Christian brethren in England, to disclaim any part or share in "writing, composing, printing, or divulging" the book, but, on the contrary, to protest that they detested and abhorred it as "false, erronjous, and hæretticall."[69]

Just why the Court should have considered it necessary to clear itself does not appear, for Pynchon did not describe himself in the book as a member of their body, but as a gentleman — a very nice distinction. So far as English opinion was concerned, Pynchon's tract was but a grain in a heap of sand — one of thousands of religious and theological pamphlets with which the English public was being smothered; and far from imputing any blame to Massachusetts for the book, the only expression of English opinion on the subject was a letter from Sir Harry Vane and others to the General Court urging them to let Pynchon and the book alone.[70] But we shall better understand the frame of mind of the General Court if we compare it, not with a legislature, but with a college board of trustees. They conceived themselves trustees of orthodox Christianity, just as many American college boards consider themselves trustees of orthodox Americanism, capitalism, or whatnot; and they condemned Pynchon and his book in just the same spirit that many alumni have demanded, and some colleges have conceded, the dismissal of professors who write books which are considered unpatriotic or socialistic.

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[67] Palfrey, *New England,* II. 185.

[68] *Massachusetts Bay Records,* II. 177.

[69] *Ibid.,* IV. (1) 29.

[70] The answer to this letter is in 3 *Collections,* I. 35–7, and Green, *Springfield,* 116–17.

> And for proofe of our sincere and plajne meaning therein [continued the Court in 1650] wee doe heereby condemne the sajd bookes to be burned in the markett place at Boston by the marshall, . . . and doe purpose, with all convenjent speede, to convent the sajd Mr William Pinchon before authorjtje, to finde out whether the sajd William Pinchon will oune the sajd booke as his or not, which if he doth, wee purpose, God assisting, to proceede with him according to his demerritts, vnlesse he retract the same. . . .[71]

This Resolve passed. Governor Dudley, Deputy-Governor Endecott, and Nowell, Bradstreet, and Bellingham of the Assistants, who had been Pynchon's associates for almost twenty years on the Board of Assistants, voted for it. But the Resolve was not passed unanimously; and the six deputies who voted against it ought to be remembered as pioneers of freedom of speech and of the press: William Hathorne (the ancestor of Nathaniel), Henry Bartholomew, Joseph Hills, Richard Walker, Stephen Kingsley, and Edward Holyoke, the deputy of Springfield.

Having condemned Pynchon's book to the flames, the General Court piously proclaimed a day of fasting and humiliation, "taking into consideration how farr Sathan prevajles amongst vs in respect of witchcrafts, as also by drawing away some . . . to the profession and practize of straunge opinnions."[72] At the same time John Norton and two other clergymen were commissioned to reason with Pynchon, and to answer his book if he did not recant. So Squire Pynchon appeared at the Court of Elections in Boston on May 7, 1651, under a cloud. For the first time since Springfield seceded from Connecticut, he was not chosen an Assistant. For a few days he was concerned with the trial of Mary Parsons; and on the thirteenth, the Court sentenced Mary to death. Immediately after comes the entry: " Mr. W[illia]m Pinchon . . . made his appearance before the Court," and " ouned it [the *Meritorious Price*] to be his." He was allowed to confer with the three clergymen appointed, and acknowledged that his book was not quite as explicit as he would have wished about the " prize and merrit of Christs sufferings " [73] — they were not merely trials of obedience but a punishment for our sins as well. This fell far short of the complete recantation that the Court required, but they believed him in a " hopefull way to give good satisfaction," hence " out of their tender respect to him " he was not imprisoned for his opinions but, having already lost his magistracy, he was allowed to go home to Springfield and decide whether he would not recant the whole. The Reverend John Norton received from the government the large sum of £20 — about three months' salary — for writing an answer to the Pynchon tract, a singular tribute to the force of Pynchon's arguments.

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[71] *Massachusetts Bay Records*, IV. (1) 29–30.

[72] *Ibid.*, 52.

So William Pynchon returned to pass his last summer by the river that he loved, in the community which he had seen grow from a band of eight men to a prosperous trading and farming town. He was due to reappear at the next General Court, which met on October 14, 1651, to retract the rest of his errors, or suffer the consequences.[74] Instead, he decided to return to England, where he might enjoy that liberty of opinion which was denied him in the colony he had helped to found. On September 28, 1651,[75] he conveyed all his lands and buildings in Springfield and along the River to his son, John. The General Court did not see him again. On October 24, 1651, with an air of gracious concession, the Court gave Pynchon another six months to consider, retract, and renounce his horrid heresies.[76] But before that time elapsed, Pynchon and his wife quietly left the colony for England. With them went the Reverend George Moxon, who, as Pynchon's sympathizer and spiritual adviser, must have known that his turn to be questioned, censured, and ejected would soon come.

[73] *Ibid.*, 48.

[74] *Ibid.*, 48.

[75] Burt, *Springfield*, I. 86.

[76] *Massachusetts Bay Records*, IV. (1) 49.

Return to England was doubtless the wisest course for Pynchon. The General Court of Massachusetts was no respecter of persons; and Pynchon could expect only trouble if he stayed to fight for the truth that was in him. It is, however, probable that he would have returned to England in a short time even if there had been no question of persecution, as did contemporaries like George Fenwick and Nathaniel Ward. England under the Protectorate was a desirable place of residence for an elderly, scholarly, and well-to-do Puritan. William Pynchon was over sixty years old, and had fairly earned *otium cum dignitate* after twenty years' labor in the public service, and seating civilization securely on the upper Connecticut Valley. An ample fortune to provide for his old age had been accumulated in the fur trade, and he left a capable son and son-in-law at Springfield to carry on the business.

Upon reaching England, Pynchon retired to a modest estate at Wraysbury, about three miles from Windsor. Near by was the Thames, a tame and placid miniature of the Connecticut, to be sure; but where the plash of oars or the cry of wildfowl might serve to remind him of the Great River, majestically flowing between Agawam and the "long meddowe." In this quiet retreat, ten years of life remained to William Pynchon.[77] Of his occupations we know little. Doubtless he journeyed to London occasionally to see to the selling of furs that John Pynchon consigned to him, to straighten out accounts with his London merchants, and perhaps to give them some good advice on matters connected with peltry. But much of his time must have been spent in his study, searching the Bible and the Church Fathers for the light of truth. In answer to Norton's printed denouncement of *The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption,* Pynchon published a book of 440 pages, *The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption,*[78] which ran into a second edition with a new title. Three other pamphlets by him have been found: one on the Jewish Synagogue, another on the Jewish Sabbath, and a third on the Covenant with Adam.[79] These pamphlets made no stir in their day. The sea of opinion in England was too much roiled for another stone or two to add even a ripple. Today they are of value only as rare Americana; and as proof that the things of the spirit were no strangers to this founder of Massachusetts Bay, when autocrat of the frontier outpost on the Connecticut River.

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[77] He died at Wraysbury, October 29, 1662, as his stepson and son-in-law Henry Smith wrote to John Pynchon the following February. *Proceedings,* XI. 310.

[78] Copies in Harvard College and John Carter Brown Libraries. The second edition has the title, *A Farther Discussion of that Great Point in Divinity the Sufferings of Christ* (London, 1655). Copy in the Boston Public Library.

Commenting on the paper, Colonel BANKS stated that the second wife of William Pynchon, whom he married here after the death of his first wife, was not identified by the speaker, except casually. She was from Dorchester, Dorset, England, which perhaps explains Eliot's reference to her as "a grave matron of Dorchester." She had been a parishioner for many years of the Reverend John White, first as the wife and widow of one Smith, by whom she had a son Henry Smith, and then as wife and widow of Tobias Sandford, gentleman, of Dorchester. She must have been a woman of importance locally, since Justice Whiteway of Dorchester mentioned in his Diary[1] her departure for New England in April, 1630, of course in the *Mary and John*. Doubtless she had imbibed the liberal and tolerant religious views of her pastor, who was opposed to the persecutions of Winthrop, Dudley, and Cotton, and unless one chooses to belittle the influence of women in colonial times, she may well be credited with a liberalizing effect upon her distinguished husband's theological opinions as expressed in his later years. Tobias Sandford, in his will, dated May 19, 1621, made bequests to his wife Frances, her son Henry Smith, and his own children John, Anne, and Esther Sandford, all apparently unmarried.[2] Whether Mistress Sandford brought her step-children with her is unknown, but it is certain that her own son, Henry Smith, emigrated with her to Dorchester in New England.

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[79] We have *The Jewes Synagogue* (London, 1652), which, from its date, was probably written in America. *The Time When the First Sabbath was Ordained* (London, 1654) is in two parts, of which the Boston Public Library has a copy of the first, and the Harvard Library a copy of the second. *The Covenant of Nature made with Adam* (London, 1662) may be found in the Boston Public Library.

[1] Ms. in the British Museum.

[2] P. C. C., 117 Swann.

Colonel Banks also stated that during his researches in England he had found in the records of the Court of the Commissary of the Bishop of London for Essex and Hertfordshire, an early reference to the Reverend Hugh Peter as a schoolteacher at Layndon, Essex, in October, 1620, two years after his graduation from Trinity College, Cambridge. He was then twenty-one years old. Peter was cited before the Lord Bishop's official to show his license to teach, which he evidently produced as the case is marked "dismissed." This is the earliest record of his activities thus far known, and has never been stated before. He took his Master's degree in 1622, and the next heard of him is on August 17, 1627, when he subscribed his submission to the government of the Church of England by Archbishops and Bishops, and to the ceremonies set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.[1] This requirement was probably due to his preaching at St. Saviours, London, which had resulted in his suspension by the Bishop of London that year. Peter himself admitted that this signature was a formality to save his frock, and has left a statement that he did not "conform" after that.

The same Commissary records contain a further reference to his activities in Essex. In 1628, the Reverend Stephen Vassall, a brother of William Vassall, the emigrant to New England, became rector of Rayleigh, Essex, and together with his church wardens was cited before the Commissary of the Bishop "for suffering one Mr. Peter, a suspended minister to preach in their parish church." Their answer admitted that Mr. Peter had done so about two months previously, but maintained that they did not know that he had been suspended. He had been curate of Rayleigh and for that reason had been allowed to preach.

These facts cover an early period in the career of Hugh Peter which has been somewhat obscured in the accounts of his life. They furnish evidence of opportunities of contact with Thomas Hooker, who came to Chelmsford in 1626.

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[1] William Prynne, *Fresh Discovery* (London, 1646), 33.

Mr. Morison communicated the following letter from Johannes Hachting,[1] professor of Logic in the University of Franeker, introducing Hugh Peter to Johannes Gerhardi, minister of Dokkum. This adds another item to Peter's biography, since it proves that he was already in the Netherlands and looking for a job in 1628,[2] and that he would have obtained one, but for the hard-heartedness of a certain Amlandicus. Master Gerhardi, it may be added, did nothing for Peter; but he was soon provided for elsewhere.

The original letter is in the Archief Gabbema, Leeuwarden; a photostat of it was sent to Mr. Morison through the kindness of Mr. C. F. Nolte.

Reverende et Doctissime Vir.

Is, qui has ad te defert, Hugo Petri cum decessu moderatoris vestrae scholae d. Schoningij locum videret successori relictum, quo quis honestè vivere, et deo institutione scholari industriam suam probare posset, me rogavit ipsi viam ad tuam benevolentiam munirem. Officio deesse nolui, quo viri non tantum boni, pijque, sed et doci causam saltem commendare possem; licet fortasse vix possem, nedum in gratia tua eum collocare. Jam enim ab eo tempore, quò tu apud me plurimum, et ego apud te aliquid poteram (hoc est à commercio studiorum) nimium quantum intercessit, quod refrigerare animos si non sua sponte, saltem oblivione, et neglegentia valuit! ego primus hoc repagulum amoveo, et te pro hoc viro compello, ut ipsi animum, votum, operamque commodes in eo, quod abs te contendit, si salvo honore tuo, ecclesiae, scholae, reique vestrae publicae fieri posse existimes. Viri aetas ingravescens postulat quietem, familia solatium, eruditio lucem. Poterit autem prae aliis forte prodesse functioni tali, ut qui in illa exercitatus est. Ministerium verbi ej debebatur; sed inhumanitas, et duritia (uti fertur) domini Amlandici ipsum ornamento suo orbavit: hoc licet minori gradu restituat (quantum fieri potest) ipsi symmysta videtur haud iniquum. Quod igitur ipsi, vir pijssime ac eloquent. hoc in voto suo commodaveris, hoc non malè te collocasse velim te esse certum. Ipsius enim res non modò in vado esse feceris, sed etiam mihi officium praestiteris, ut qui intercessioni meae pro ipsius angustia locum apud te concesseris, atque ita in simili causa, et alibi me tibi obnoxium feceris. Vale vir doctissime, ac amice vetus, et si placet etiam extra hujusmodi casus amicitiam collapsam refocilla, ego non deero. Dabam Kal. Januar. 1628.

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[1] There is a short account of Hachting or Hachtingius in W. B. S. Boeles, *Frieslands Hoogeschool . . . te Franeker* (1879), II. 119–121. He was born in 1594, studied at Franeker, Heidelberg, Basel, and Geneva, received a chair of Logic at Franeker in 1622, published a commentary on the Ramean system of Logic, and died in 1630.

[2] Sir Charles Firth, in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* says that he left England for Holland "about 1629." As the Dutch used New Style, it is presumed that the date of this letter "Kal. Januar, 1628" means January 1, 1628, and not 1629.

Rever: T. Studios.
JOH. HACHTINGIUS

Translation [3]

REVEREND AND MOST LEARNED MAN,

Hugh Peters, who brings you this letter (since he saw that by the decease of the master of your school, Master S., a place was left for a successor by means of which one could not only live respectably but also do acceptable service to God by way of scholastic instruction) asked me to pave the way for him to your good will. I was unwilling to decline a service by which I could at least commend the cause of a man not only good and pious but also learned; although perhaps I could hardly do so — still less, establish him in your favor. For since those days when you had a great deal of influence with me, and I some [influence] with you (that is from the days when we were fellow-students) a very long time has intervened, which has been enough to cool our feelings, if not of its own accord at least by forgetfulness and neglect! I am the first to remove this barrier and to address you in behalf of this man, that you may give him your attention, your good wishes, and efforts in that which he asks of you, if you should think it can be done without injury to your own honor and that of your church, your school, and your province. The increasing age of the man demands quiet; his family, comfort; his learning, light. Moreover, he will perhaps be able to do better than others in such an office, being as he is one who has been trained in it. A ministry of the Word was owed to him, but the inhumanity and hard-headedness (as it is said) of Master Amlandicus deprived him of the honor that was his due. That a colleague should restore this to him, so far as may be done, although in a minor grade, seems not unfair. What aid, therefore, you shall have lent him in this wish of his, O most pious and eloquent man, I beg to assure you, will not have been ill invested. For you will not only have put his fortunes in a safe condition, but you will also have done me a service by allowing my intercession for his necessities to avail with you, and thus you will have put me under obligation to you in a similar case, and in other respects. Farewell, most learned man and old friend, and, if you please (even beyond occasion of this sort), revive our friendship; I shall not be wanting.

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[3] By George Lyman Kittredge.

Given on the Calends of January, 1628.

Yours with great respect
Joh. Hachtingius

Mr. Mead spoke on the question of the date of the earliest settlement by New Englanders in the Connecticut Valley.

Mr. Norcross communicated copies of letters and papers in his collection written by John Hancock, Thomas Gage, and Lord William Howe.

MARCH MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 12, 1931, at 3 P.M., Vice-President **LEFAVOUR** in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Arthur B. Claflin, seven lines of verse by John Greenleaf Whittier to William and Mary Claflin, February 1, 1875.

From Thomas F. Madigan, of New York, a photostat of a letter of John Winthrop, Jr., dated at Hartford, July 29, 1673.

From Mrs. Grace Williamson Edes Stedman, a printed copy of the Diary of Peter Edes, 1775, just after the Battle of Bunker Hill.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Miss Clara Endicott Sears, the group statue, by Horatio Greenough, of two of the children of David Sears, her grandfather, which was a familiar piece in his house on Beacon Street, now the Somerset Club. Mr. Sears was an interested member and an early benefactor of the Society. These children were Grace Sears, afterward Mrs. William C. Rives, of Virginia, and Knyvet Winthrop Sears, father of the donor, who married Clara Endicott, direct descendant of Governor John Endecott. David Sears' mother was a direct descendant of Governor John Winthrop.

From Mrs. Arthur B. Claflin, a toddy ladle and large spoon, both of silver, the ladle having a wooden handle, said to have belonged to George Washington. They were bought from a descendant of the Bushrod Washington family by her mother-in-law, Mrs. William Claflin, wife of Governor Claflin.

From Frederic Winthrop, a large photograph by W. Kurtz, from a painting by Daniel Huntington, 1895, which represents a meeting of the Atlantic Cable Projectors at the residence of Cyrus W. Field in New York, showing nine persons present: Peter Cooper, Cyrus W. Field, David Dudley Field, Marshall D. Roberts, Moses Taylor, Samuel F. B. Morse, Daniel Huntington, Wilson G. Hunt, and Chandler White, Secretary. Mr. Winthrop also gave the volume issued on the presentation of the painting to the New York Chamber of Commerce, May 23, 1895.

From Mrs. Grace Williamson Edes Stedman, of Cambridge, a photograph of the house of the writing master, John Tileston (*d* 1826), on Margaret Street, Boston.

From Mrs. George R. R. Rivers, by deposit, a table which belonged to Governor Thomas Hutchinson, one of six original casts of Houdon's bust of George Washington, and three portraits: Henry Wheaton, his son Robert Wheaton, and Mrs. Jonathan Russell.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from the Reverend ROBERT HOWARD LORD accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The chair announced the death of HENRY SALTONSTALL HOWE, a Resident Member, on March 2, in Brookline. Mr. HOWE had served the Society on its Auditing and Finance Committees, and on the Committee for an addition to the building.

The following Committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: FREDERIC WINTHROP, CHARLES K. BOLTON, and HAROLD MURDOCK.

To audit the Treasurer's Accounts: ALLAN FORBES and JOHN WOODBURY.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, ALBERT MATTHEWS, and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

Professor SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY read a paper on

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRE-WAR PRESS IN EUROPE

This subject can perhaps be best introduced by quoting at some length from a letter to Tsar Nicholas II from Emperor William written on May 8, 1909, with an explanation of the events which preceded it. In the previous September the Russian and Austrian Foreign Ministers, Izvolski and Aehrenthal, had bargained secretly at Buchlau, in defiance of existing treaties, that Austria should annex Bosnia, and that in return the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should be opened to Russian warships. Without fully consulting her German ally, Austria proceeded quickly to secure her half of the bargain by proclaiming the annexation of Bosnia. But Izvolski found Sir Edward Grey unwilling to open the Straits to Russian ships alone, while they remained closed to England and the other Great Powers. A Russian fleet might sally into the Mediterranean and escape back into the Black Sea where pursuers could not follow it.

Thus Izvolski was thwarted in his expectations. He bitterly reproached Aehrenthal for acting so quickly, before Russia had had time to secure the secret assent of England and the other Powers to admitting Russian warships into the Straits. Nor was his bitterness lessened by the fact that he was sharply criticized by the Russian Press for having sacrificed the Slav Greek Orthodox Serbs in Bosnia to the Roman Catholic rule of the hated Hapsburgs. He therefore tried for months to nullify Austria's action by insisting that it must be laid for consideration before a conference of the Great Powers. This caused a long diplomatic crisis. Meanwhile the Serbs in Serbia had mobilized their troops, and there was danger of war between Serbia and Austria. To prevent this, Germany, in March, 1909, offered a solution to Russia: a conference might meet, but Russia must agree beforehand that in the conference she would approve Austria's annexation of Bosnia. Germany made her offer in a strongly worded note, asking for a definite yes or no answer; if the answer were negative, she would let events take their course, and war would probably break out between Serbia and Austria, the result of which could not be doubtful. It was not an ultimatum on Germany's part, but it was so represented by Izvolski, who found himself forced to accept Germany's offer, since Russia had not recovered from her war with Japan four years before. Izvolski so misrepresented the facts to the Tsar and the Russian Press, that the Russian newspapers opened a violent attack on Germany. Germany proposed publishing the documents and setting forth the facts in their true light, but finally desisted for fear of antagonizing Izvolski still further and making Russo-German relations worse.[1]

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[1] For the principal documents on this Bosnian Crisis of 1908–09, see Johannes Lepsius, Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Friedrich Thimme, *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871–1914* (40 vols., Berlin, 1922–27), XXVI; George P. Gooch and Harold Temperley, *British Documents*

It was just after these events that the Kaiser wrote from his Greek palace in Corfu to the Tsar, writing as usual in English, the language which the simple Tsar had least difficulty in understanding:

> My dear Nicky, . . . A few weeks ago, when affairs threatened to become dangerous, your wise and courageous decision secured peace amongst the nations. I was most gratified that by my co-operation you were able to fulfil your task. I very naturally expected that you and I would win universal applause, for I ventured to think that we have earned the gratitude of all well-meaning people. But to my regret and astonishment I observe that a great many blame us both instead. Especially the Press has behaved in the basest way against me. By some papers I am credited with being the author of annexation and am accused amongst other rot and nonsense of having humiliated Russia by my proposal. Of course you know better. Yet the fact must be taken note of that the papers mostly create public opinion. Some of the papers err through their ignorance and lack of correct information; they can scarcely see farther than their nose's length. But more dangerous, and at the same time loathsome, is that part of the Press which writes what it is paid for. The scoundrels who do such dirty work are in no fear of starving. They will always incite the hostility of one nation against the other, and when at last, by their hellish devices, they have brought about the much-desired collision, they sit down and watch the fight which they organized, resting well assured that the profit will be theirs, no matter what the issue may be. In this way, in 99 cases out of a hundred, what is vulgarly called "public opinion," is a mere forgery. As Sovereigns who are responsible to God for the welfare of the nations intrusted to our care, it is our duty therefore closely to study the genesis and development of public opinion, before we allow it to influence our actions. Should we find that it takes its origin from the tarnished and gutter-like sources of the above-named infamous Press, our

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on the Origins of the War, 1898–1914 (vols. I–VI, XII, London, 1926–30), V. 356–814; and Ludwig Bittner, Alfred F. Pribram, Heinrich Srbik, and Hans Uebersberger, *Oesterreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914* (8 vols., Wien und Leipzig, 1930), I, II. These three documentary collections are cited hereafter respectively as "G. P.," "B. D.," and "Oe.-U. A." For recent summaries of the Bosnian Crisis, with additional literature, see Sidney B. Fay, *Origins of the World War* (2 vols., New York, 1928), I. 353–406; and Bernadotte E. Schmitt, "The Bosnian Annexation Crisis," *Slavonic Review* (Dec. 1930, March, June, 1931), IX. Nos. 26, 27; X. No. 28.

duty will and must oblige us energetically to resist it and correct it. Personally I am totally indifferent to the newspaper-gossip, but I cannot refrain from a certain feeling of anxiety that, if not contradicted at once, the foul and filthy lies which are freely circulated about my policy and my country, will tend to create bitterness between our two countries by virtue of their constant uncontradicted repetition. Public opinion wants clear information and leading.[2]

To this Nicky replied on May 20:

MY DEAR WILLY: Everything you write about the Press, as you know from our previous conversations, I agree with completely. It is one of the curses of modern times.

NICKY.[3]

Several observations may be made on these letters.

(1) Nicky, as usual, merely re-echoes his dominating brother-sovereign's words.[4] Whether he really accepted the Kaiser's version of the Bosnian crisis and was fully aware of Izvolski's misrepresentations to him does not appear. But, with his genuine love of peace, there is no doubt that he was sincere in speaking of the bellicose nationalistic press as " one of the curses of modern times."

(2) The Kaiser's language does not err on the side of mildness of phraseology. The draft had been written by a naval captain who was to carry it to Nicky with Willy's best birthday wishes, but the Kaiser touched it up to give it more vigor.

(3) When the Kaiser said, " Personally I am totally indifferent to the newspaper gossip," he was deceiving himself, if not the Tsar. It is true that, before his accession, he paid little attention to the Press, being more interested in the discussion of military questions with his brother-officers. But after his accession he read the papers a great deal, especially the English papers, and complained frequently and in no uncertain terms to the English Ambassador in Berlin of the

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[2] G. P., XXVI. 786.

[3] G. P., XXVI. 788.

[4] Perhaps this sentence is not quite fair to " Nicky." A year earlier he had already expressed similar sentiments independently to the British Military Attaché in St. Petersburg on the evil effects of the Press: " When one reads the same calumnies day after day, one's own ideas insensibly take the color of what one reads, and the control of these irresponsible people, who compose the newspapers, is one of the most difficult questions of the present time." (B. D., IV. 289.)

way they spoke of Germany and of himself.[5] He also had newspaper clippings, both foreign and domestic, submitted to him regularly by the German Foreign Office and the Ministry of the Interior, on which he made marginal comments expressing vigorously his reactions of the moment. I have seen some of these clippings in the Berlin archives, but not enough to determine to what extent they were selected with a view to influencing his decisions in one direction or another, or to what extent his annotations influenced the policy of the ministers.

The Kaiser also read, and often enjoyed, *Punch,* which had been taken regularly at Berlin and Potsdam almost since its first issue. Nevertheless, at the time of the Army Bill agitation in March, 1892, he took offence at a cartoon which represented him at the " Modern Alexander's Feast " under the caption, " The Power of Sound," which was *Punch's* reference to his English nickname, " The Shouting Emperor." It is said that he at once ordered *Punch* to be stricken from the list of magazines supplied to him and the Empress Frederick. Prince Henry and all the royal family were likewise asked to discontinue their subscriptions to the obnoxious journal. In a short time, however, his ire subsided, and *Punch* once more made its way to Potsdam, but to save appearances it arrived in an official-looking envelope and was opened by the Kaiser himself.[6]

In 1904, *Punch* published a small cartoon labeled " Kindred Spirits of the Strenuous Life," showing the Kaiser and Mr. Roosevelt in earnest conclave. By exaggerating the scowls and upstanding mustaches, the cartoonist had succeeded in creating a close resemblance between the two. The police confiscated the page containing the caricature. But two weeks later irrepressible Mr. Punch retaliated by showing the cartoon posted on a wall along *Majestätsbeleidigungstrasse,* while four Germans stand by in great, if surreptitious, enjoyment of the poster, saying, *" Ausgezeichnet! Famos! "*[7]

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[5] E.g., B. D., III. 56, 79, 206–208; VI. 12, 14, 111–113, 134, 138–140; and innumerable passages in G. P. Cf. also August Stein, *Es war Alles ganz anders* (2nd ed., Frankfurt, 1922), 174–183. Stein was Berlin correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung.*

[6] Marion H. Spielmann, *The History of "Punch"* (London, 1895), 192–194.

[7] *Punch,* CXXII. (Nov. 30, 1904), 391.

From his treatment of *Punch,* from his frequent complaints about the English and other foreign papers, and from his severe treatment of the Socialist Press in Germany itself, one feels that the Kaiser " doth protest too much " when he says he is " totally indifferent to newspaper gossip." He really felt sensitive about it.

(4) The Kaiser concludes his letter suggestively: " Public opinion wants clear information and leading." It was to supply this that Germany, France, Russia, and Austria all had well-organized press bureaus connected with the Foreign Offices, which handed out inspired versions of the news to favored newspaper correspondents and to the semi-official telegraph agencies like the Wolff Bureau and the Agence Havas. All the continental ministers considered it one of their main duties to influence the Press and, consequently, public opinion, in directions which would aid their foreign policy at the moment. Often two statesmen would agree that the recriminations in the Press were dangerously embittering relations between their respective countries, and they would promise to do what they could to remove this source of friction. They did try, and often had some success, especially in Germany where the Government enjoyed a greater control over the Press than was the case in most other countries except Russia.

More often, however, especially on the Continent, Foreign Ministers permitted inflammatory information to leak out, or secretly stirred up their own Press to take a strong nationalistic line on some diplomatic dispute, in order to strengthen their own hands in negotiating with a foreign power. Having instigated such a campaign, they would then take refuge behind their own papers, saying: " We cannot possibly make the diplomatic concession you ask for; personally we should like to yield the point, but in view of the attitude of public opinion and the Press we must refuse; because if we yielded, we should certainly be forced out of office "; — or, " it might endanger the royal family "; — or, " it might lead to revolution or war," etc., etc.

Or again, when an ambassador complained of the outrageous attacks which were being made by the Press of a foreign nation upon his own country, he was often told by the

Foreign Minister: " We are very sorry; we sympathize with you and disapprove heartily of these attacks. But what can we do? Freedom of the Press exists in our country, and we are powerless." Such answers were often returned, even by ministers in autocratic Russia, where censorship was notorious and where the Government exercised a more powerful repressive and suggestive influence on the Press than anywhere else in Europe.

(5) Finally, this case of the poisoning of public opinion by the Press in the Bosnian crisis, to which the Kaiser's letter refers, was by no means an exceptional or unusual one. The stirring up of national hatred, jingoism, and suspicion was going on almost always in some country or other in the twenty years before the World War. In fact, there is no one single subject which recurs so frequently in the mass of pre-War diplomatic correspondence of rulers, statesmen, and diplomats as this problem of the dangerous tendency of the Press in embittering nations toward one another. Statesmen recognized the truth of Bismarck's dictum, truer even for the generation immediately preceding the World War than for his own: " Every country is held at some time to account for the windows broken by its press; the bill is presented, some day or other, in the shape of hostile sentiment in the other country." [8]

There is a vast literature on freedom of the press, censorship of the press, slander and libel, and the professional aspects of journalism. But there is very little sound writing on the relations of the press to government control and on its influence in fomenting national hatreds and war. Yet there is abundant material for the study of this in the newspapers themselves; in the recently published diplomatic documents of the European countries; and in the writings and biographies of men like Delane, Stead, Wickham Steed, Spender, and Northcliffe; of Busch, Hammann, Adolf Stein, and Theodor Wolff; of Lauzanne, Gauvain, and Tardieu; of Blowitz, Suvorin, and Popper; and of Godkin, Ogden, Villard, and Lippmann.

The newspaper situation differed from one European country to another, and therefore it is convenient to consider them separately, confining ourselves to the four Great Powers — England, Germany, France, and Russia. In connection with each three questions should be considered: How far were the newspapers influenced by the Government? How far was the Government — that is, its leaders — influenced by the Press, and by the public opinion created by the Press? How far did the Press of one country influence or excite the Press and public opinion of neighboring countries? These three influences, of course, are closely connected, and are interdependent as cause and effect, but they form the main themes to be studied in connection with the Press as one of the factors in causing the World War.

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[8] Horst Kohl, *Die Politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarcks* (Stuttgart, 1894), XII. 477; Reichstag speech of Feb. 6, 1888.

THE ENGLISH PRESS

The English Press by the middle of the nineteenth century had become a powerful factor in England's foreign policy. Edmund Burke, seeing the decline of the three mediaeval estates, clergy, nobility, and burghers, and the rise of this new potent factor, had already called it "The Fourth Estate." The London *Times,* founded in 1788, was soon known as "The Thunderer," and was credited with influence sufficient to make and unmake cabinets. Its owners and editors were often on intimate terms with powerful nobles and statesmen who exchanged views at dinners in London and at week-end parties in the country. It circulated all over England, because England is a small island, and none of the provincial papers, not even the *Manchester Guardian,* could in any way rival it. There were also in London the *Morning Post,* the *Morning Chronicle,* and many other influential journals.

At the time of the Crimean War, Lord Palmerston made use of the Press to create a public opinion which contributed powerfully to England's entrance into the conflict against Russia.[9] Half a century later a new era began with Alfred

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[9] Francis R. Flournoy, *Parliament and War: The Relation of the British Parliament to the Administration of Foreign Policy in Connection with the Initiation of War* (London, 1927), ch. IV; B. K. Martin, *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston* (New York, 1924), 111 ff.

Harmsworth's (subsequently Lord Northcliffe) founding of the *Daily Mail* in 1896, and his acquisition of the London *Times* in 1907. These two papers not only circulated all over England, but were also widely read on the Continent, the *Daily Mail* having an average circulation in the ten years before the War of over 700,000, and being printed in Manchester and Paris as well as in London.[10] What I have to say relates primarily to these two papers rather than to those, more liberal but less influential, like the *Manchester Guardian* or the *Westminster Gazette.*

To take the first question: How far did the English Government influence the Northcliffe Press? On the whole, very little. Northcliffe prided himself on his independence. His papers soon grew so rich by their circulation and advertising that they had no need of government money, even had it been offered them. To the credit of British editors in general, one may say that they could not be bribed by their own or by foreign governments. One often reads in the German, French, and Russian documents the sad complaint that it was "no use to try to bribe the British Press." British editors and British statesmen stood high above all such crude forms of corruption as this, which was common on the Continent. Sir Edward Grey, when he had been in office some time and learned of such practices across the Channel, was shocked at it, and said naïvely: "I had no idea what a swamp of iniquity exists in the Continental Press." To be sure, the German Naval Attaché reported to Tirpitz that the British munitions firm of Vickers was said to be spending thousands of pounds during the navy scare of 1908 in influencing the British newspapers in favor of building eight dreadnoughts annually.[11] I have also been assured by a high German authority that Russian gold did much to stir up British journalism against English participation in the Bagdad railway of 1903, but I find no positive proof of either of these charges. In both these cases the Press was simply playing up what it thought would be the popular cause, and defending England's national interests.

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[10] Hamilton Fyfe, *Northcliffe: An Intimate Biography* (New York, 1930), chs. VI, VII.

[11] Alfred von Tirpitz, *Der Aufbau der deutschen Weltmacht* (Stuttgart, 1924), 153. The Kaiser also in 1906 complained "with considerable vivacity that he knew that large sums had been spent for this purpose [of influencing the British Press against Germany], and what was more, he knew who had spent the money." On this King Edward VII noted: "The Emperor's statement . . . is much to be regretted. His Majesty should be informed by the British Ambassador that there is no truth in it" (B. D., III. 206–207).

In the subtler forms of influence which can hardly be called bribery, such as inviting editors to dinner, British statesmen did exercise some influence on the Press by setting forth informally and confidentially the wishes of the Government. But even in these cases Northcliffe and his reporters by no means always followed the wishes of the Government.

For instance, in the case of the Kaiser's famous but indiscreet letter to Lord Tweedmouth and the latter's reply revealing to the German Government the forthcoming British naval estimates before they were presented to Parliament, Sir Edward Grey instantly saw that it would cause irritation between Germany and Great Britain, and embarrassing criticism in Parliament, if the facts should leak out. "This should not be divulged," he noted. And his Under-Secretary added: "Lord Tweedmouth must be careful not to divulge it himself."[12] Count Bülow, the German Chancellor, likewise "earnestly trusted that the fact that the correspondence had taken place would never become known."[13] But Colonel Repington, the military correspondent of the *Times*, who loved to dine out in British society and who mixed intimately with influential personages, got wind of the affair through his social connections, and, in spite of its confidential character, proceeded to give it prominence in the *Times*, thereby stirring up angry recriminations in the Press of both countries. This drew from Grey the justly indignant comment:

> I am much annoyed that the fact of the Emperor having written to Lord Tweedmouth should have become known. It has been talked about much more than it should have been, and at last someone has been found unscrupulous enough to put to public use what he can have only learned in private conversation.[14]

Similarly, in 1907, when the Kaiser was to pay a visit to Windsor, it was rumored that he would be accompanied by Count Bülow. Grey did not want Bülow to come, for fear it would alarm the French and make the Kaiser's visit look more like a political affair than a mere family visit, and also because he was afraid that the British Press attacks on Bülow might result in the Kaiser's visit causing irritation instead of more friendly feelings between Germany and England. He therefore wished by a prompt and energetic but very private intimation at Berlin to head Bülow off, and had Sir Charles Hardinge, Permanent Under-Secretary, write to the British Ambassador in Germany on October 2:

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[12] B. D., VI. 139.

[13] *Ibid.*, 140.

[14] *Ibid.*

> I think you will see the need for prompt action when I tell you that the Editor of a very important paper [presumably the London *Times*] has already mentioned to me that, in view of these persistent rumors, he proposed to publish a leading article in which it would be made abundantly clear that Bülow's presence would not be welcome. I begged him not to do so at any rate at present, as I consider that it will be far better if the visit can be prevented without anything of this nature appearing in the press.[15]

Nevertheless the *Times* came out on October 10 with a long attack on Bülow for his attitude ten years earlier during the Boer War, which it said had not been " very worthy of himself or of his position." The German Ambassador in London naturally complained of this, and Grey had to explain apologetically that " it was not in our power to control such articles, and, as a matter of fact, in one instance, where we had known of the intention to publish such an article now, we had advised against publication." [16] These two incidents are good examples of the slight extent to which the British Government was able to control the Northcliffe Press in the interest of good relations between England and Germany.

To come to the second point, how much was the British Government influenced in its hostility and policy toward Germany by the British Press? A good deal. For instance, by 1903 Germany had secured the concession for the continuation of the Bagdad railway, but was unable to raise sufficient capital to construct it herself. She therefore invited the financial participation of French and English bankers. The French Government was unwilling to allow Bagdad railway bonds to be admitted to the Paris Bourse because her Russian ally was bitterly opposed to the whole project. In England, however, the Conservative Cabinet and the bankers in the City favored financial participation. It looked like a good investment. Furthermore, the British statesmen believed that it would be wise to be represented on the Board of Directors of the railway, and so be able to know immediately and from the inside what the Germans were planning. It would thus be possible to exert influence to protect British interests before questions were decided, instead of having to make unpleasant protests against *faits accomplis,* as would otherwise be the case.

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[15] *Ibid.*, 84.

[16] *Ibid.*, 86.

Accordingly, on April 7, 1903, Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons and Lord Landsdowne in the Lords announced that England would participate with Germany in the enterprise. But instantly a storm of protest was raised in the *Daily Mail* and the *Times* and most of the other English papers. They poured forth a torrent of vituperation against German imperialist activities in general and the Bagdad railway in particular. British trade in the Middle East, they said, would be threatened with German competition; England's hold on India would be endangered by a railway reaching the Persian Gulf; the Germans were in no way to be trusted. This storm of opposition was so violent that within three weeks (April 27) Balfour and Landsdowne had to stand up in Parliament and eat their own words. They declared that England would not participate after all in the construction of the railway.[17] From then on, until shortly before the War, England did all she could to block the building of it, constantly co-operating with France and Russia in raising obstacles of all sorts in Germany's way. It was this obstructionist policy of the Triple Entente which gave rise in Germany to the theory that Germany was being "encircled." Next to the Boer War, it probably contributed more than anything else toward German embitterment against England.

The influence of the Northcliffe Press abroad, especially in Germany, was mischievous in stirring up Anglophobia, as well as in stirring up antagonism in England toward the Germans. The London *Times,* and to a less extent the *Daily*

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[17] B. D., VI. 174-196; G. P., XVII. 371-517; XXV. 177-280; and Edward M. Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway* (New York, 1923), chs. IV-VIII.

Mail, circulated on the Continent more widely than any other English papers. They were to be found in most German clubs and in the better cafés, where they reached a much wider reading public than the circulation figures would indicate. Northcliffe and his foreign correspondents, like Valentine Chirol and Saunders in Berlin, and Wickham Steed in Vienna, had become convinced early in the twentieth century that sooner or later Germany would launch an attack upon France. They were convinced of the menace of German militarism and of the need of rousing the British people to consciousness of it. They took every occasion, therefore, to set forth, and even to exaggerate, Germany's military and naval armaments. They emphasized the dangerous influence of the military party upon the German civil officials, and they frequently picked out from uninfluential German newspapers those passages which seemed to corroborate their fears, and had them published in English translation in London. These nationalistic articles in small local German papers were often not representative of German public opinion at all, but served Northcliffe's purpose. When published in London and then circulated in English in Germany, they naturally roused criticism and hostile reply, which caused bad feeling on both sides. In this way the *Times* and the *Daily Mail* helped to create in England an atmosphere of suspicion and hostility which influenced Sir Edward Grey and public opinion.

In the spring of 1914, when King George and Sir Edward Grey visited Paris to strengthen the Triple Entente, Wickham Steed persuaded the French historian, Ernest Lavisse, to write a long article entitled, "Ten Years of Anglo-French Friendship." It appeared in the *Times* on the eve of the King's visit and was intended to promote the warmth of his reception. But it also was to some extent directed against Germany, and it strengthened the German conviction that France and England were standing together in Germany's way.[18]

Another writer on the *Times,* always hostile to Germany, was Colonel Repington. He had formerly been in the British diplomatic service, but was dropped from it on account of a personal scandal while at Brussels. He then became military expert for the *Times,* and took every opportunity to expound the " German menace." It was he who initiated, with the French Military Attaché in London, early in 1906, the very secret Anglo-French " military conversations." These arranged, without the knowledge of the whole Cabinet or of Parliament, for coöperation between the English and French military staffs, and eventually for the plan of sending a British army to the Continent in case of a German attack on France. These military conversations came to constitute a practical obligation on England's part to assist France, in spite of Sir Edward Grey's later insistence that he had his " hands free," and that the Cabinet and Parliament were free to decide whether England should join with France or not.

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[18] Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years* (New York, 1924), I. 388–391; G. P., XXXIX. 595–598.

In taking this anti-German line, and in trying to tighten the Entente, to increase the English Navy, and even to bring public opinion to support Lord Roberts' plan for a conscripted army, Northcliffe and his correspondents may in one sense be regarded as patriotic prophets. They were foreseeing what actually happened in 1914, and helping England to prepare for it. But, on the other hand, that is assuming that the World War was inevitable, and that Germany had far-reaching, deep-laid plans to secure the hegemony of Europe, which was not the case. To write continually as if Germany would bring about an inevitable war was just the way to stir up the atmosphere of suspicion and hostility which actually tended to make it inevitable.

THE GERMAN PRESS

Newspapers in Germany were much later in becoming a powerful political influence than in England. With the exception of the revolutionary years of 1848–9, the German Press did not have much political importance until after 1862, when Bismarck began to manipulate it. As we know from his secretaries, Busch and Bucher, and from other sources, the Iron Chancellor devoted an extraordinary amount of attention to influencing both German and foreign newspapers.

No one knew better than he how to sway public opinion. How his condensation of the Ems telegram contributed toward rousing the French people against Germany, and the German people against France, has often been emphasized, in fact overemphasized. When the Franco-Prussian War began, he published in the London *Times* a facsimile of a confidential note which Napoleon's ambassador, Benedetti, had unsuspectingly left in his hands three years before. This note hinted at Napoleon III's aggressive ambitions in regard to the neutralized territories of Luxemburg and Belgium. The publication of this helped to turn English and neutral opinion against France during the first weeks of the war. At home, Bismarck had at his disposal large sums of money derived from the lands of the exiled Guelf king, George V, after Hanover had been annexed to Prussia in 1866. It came to be known as the "reptile fund," because Bismarck used part of it to subsidize German papers to attack his enemies — as he said, "to drive the reptiles into their holes." In this way he influenced from fifty to a hundred German newspapers.[19]

After Bismarck's fall in 1890, government control over the German Press was much less skillful and efficient. The Press itself was becoming more independent and less pliable. Germany differed from England, France, and Russia. In those countries most of the really important newspapers were centered in the capital of the country, at London, Paris, or Moscow and St. Petersburg, where it was relatively easy for government officials to come into close informal contact with editors. But in Germany there was no such concentration of the Press in Berlin. Of the 4,000 papers before the War, many of the most influential were at Hamburg, Cologne, Frankfurt, Munich, and Leipzig. With a Press thus scattered, and having a considerable local circulation, it was less easy to dominate the whole country than if the principal papers were all in Berlin.

Nor was there unity of purpose and organization on the part of the German Government in dealing with the Press.

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[19] Cf. Heinrich Wuttke, *Die deutschen Zeitschriften und die Entstehung der öffentlichen Meinung* (Leipzig, 1875); Otto Groth, *Die Zeitung* (Mannheim, 1929), II. 179–217; Heinz Schulze, *Die Presse im Urteil Bismarcks* (Leipzig, 1931).

In the Foreign Office a certain Dr. Hammann organized a Press Bureau in 1894 which supplied some thirty or forty newspapers with inspired information.[20] But some of the other government departments had similar Bureaus which worked at cross-purposes with that of the Foreign Office. Admiral Tirpitz, in volumes published since the War, has complained bitterly of the way in which the latter department tried to undermine his influence by intrigues against him in the public prints. During the Boer War the German Government did nothing to check the outrageous newspaper attacks against England. But in the ten years immediately preceding the World War, I think it may be said that Bülow, Bethmann-Hollweg, and Dr. Hammann did exercise a considerable influence in the direction of moderating the bellicose tendencies of the more influential, and especially of the semi-official, German papers. In 1904, for instance, at the news of the Entente between France and England, Bülow directed that editorial comment upon it should be moderate and friendly, and his order was followed.[21]

How much was the German Government influenced in its foreign policy by the German Press? Not much, I believe. The German Chancellor, who stood above political parties and did not have to fear that he might be overthrown by a hostile majority in the Reichstag, did not have to pay so much attention to newspaper and public opinion as did ministers in parliamentary countries like France and England. Bülow, to be sure, was personally somewhat sensitive to newspaper criticism. A few weeks after the beginning of the Boer War, for instance, Bülow and Joseph Chamberlain discussed the advantages of a closer understanding or alliance between Germany and the two great Anglo-Saxon countries. In accordance with their conversation, Chamberlain made a famous speech at Leicester favoring the idea, expecting that Bülow would follow with a similar speech in Germany. But when Bülow returned to Germany, he found that the Boer War had stirred up an intense Anglophobia. According to his own admission, Germans hated England much more violently than the English hated Germany. In view of this, he did not have the courage to grasp the friendly hand which Chamberlain had held out to him. On the contrary, he unfortunately poured a cold douche on Chamberlain's Leicester proposal, saying that Germany was so strong she had no need of an alliance with England. He yielded to the Anglophobe clamor of the German Press. But this case was an isolated one. Rather is it to be regarded as the proverbial exception, proving the general rule that, for the most part, the foreign policy of Germany was not greatly affected by the outpourings of its Press.

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[20] Otto Groth, *Die Zeitung*, II. 219–236; B. D., VI. 160, 163; Bernhard, Fürst von Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Berlin, 1931), II. 207, 213, 264–265, 353–359, 442–444; III. 357–358.

[21] G. P., XX. 12.

The influence which the German Press exerted abroad was, on the other hand, perhaps even more mischievous than that of the London *Times* and the *Daily Mail*. In Germany it was often the smaller and less important papers which did the most damage. The larger and more influential papers and the semi-official ones, like the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Kölnische Zeitung*, were on the whole fairly moderate and generally restrained. Receiving official information from the German Government, they felt a sense of responsibility and realized the danger of creating antagonism abroad. To be sure, if attacked by the English, French, or Russian Press, they were quick to respond in kind. Many of the smaller journals, however, comprising the so-called "Pan-German Press," were often violent and domineering in their tone, and tended to give color to the suspicions of German militarism and of Germany's aggressive intentions. Though these papers were relatively little read in Germany, and were often disapproved of by the Government and by Liberals and Socialists generally, they were the ones which were much quoted abroad. As Count Bernstorff said, speaking before the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia in 1909:

> . . . I am obliged to begin by saying that our world policy has often been intentionally or unintentionally misrepresented abroad, and this particularly because foreign authors and journalists have taken or pretended to take seriously the flights of fancy of the so-called Pan-Germanists who are of no importance at all. They have hardly any representatives in our parliament, and not the slightest influence on the Government. By the latter, the Pan-Germanists

> are even considered a very undesirable element of German journalism, because they stir up ill-feeling abroad against Germany by putting forth questions and aims which are quite beyond the scope of practical politics.[22]

English ambassadors at Berlin, and diplomatic representatives at the smaller courts like Munich and Dresden were in the habit of sending to the London Foreign Office translations or summaries of the German Press. It so happened that the Foreign Office official who first read these and annotated them before they were passed on to Sir Edward Grey, was intensely anti-German. His comments and interpretation naturally influenced Grey himself in an anti-German direction. This official was Sir Eyre Crowe, the Senior Clerk. Curiously enough, he was the son of a German mother and had been educated in Germany at Bonn. He fell in love with a German girl and expected to marry her, when a dashing German officer appeared, and the girl preferred the German uniform to the English civilian. Some years later, after the officer had died, Crowe married his widow, after all.[23] Possibly the psycho-analyst would say that this matrimonial experience accounted to some extent for Crowe's anti-German bias.

If the British ambassador in Berlin reported that the German Press was friendly, Crowe discounted the report. Thus, for instance, in 1909, Goschen reported:

> There has been a singular absence of bitterness in the tone of German criticism on the British naval debates, and the possibility, and even necessity, of some kind of understanding with England is undoubtedly, as may be seen from the Press utterances, beginning to take root in Germany.

Crowe noted characteristically upon this despatch, before passing it on to Sir Edward Grey:

> It would be most unfortunate if this idea should gain ground here and be subsequently found to be erroneous. I would, therefore, like to sound a note of warning against accepting Sir. E. Goschen's

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[22] Quoted by Mildred S. Wertheimer, *The Pan-German League* (New York, 1924), 151.

[23] Burkhard von Bonin, "Erinnerungen an Crowe," *Politik und Gesellschaft*, III. Heft 8 (Jan. 31, 1930), 13–18.

> statement. . . . There is nothing to show that any amount of discussion in the German press will induce the German Government to agree to any limitation of their program. The danger is that they may endeavor to take us in by false and non-binding assurances.[24]

Sir Edward Goschen's press summaries were usually accurate, but this is more than can be said for Sir Fairfax Cartwright in Munich, and later in Vienna. He had a very clever pen, and wrote very readable dispatches, but he was inclined to pick out and emphasize Anglophobe passages. A comparison of his dispatches with the actual German newspapers even shows that he represents German editors saying unfriendly things about England which are actually not in the German papers at all. What was his motive in these anti-German misrepresentations? Perhaps the secret is to be found in the psychological fact that one often attributes motives to others which are really one's own. In one passage Cartwright says, in regard to German diplomatic representatives abroad: " What occupies their thoughts when writing their dispatches is the desire of favorably attracting on themselves the notice of the Kaiser, and they pay little heed to the correctness of the information."[25] If this was his psychological motive also, he was eminently successful. His press summaries were marked in London by such comments as these: " A thoughtful review of the situation " (Crowe); " An interesting and suggestive dispatch " (Grey); " A most able dispatch " (Edward VII).[26]

THE FRENCH PRESS

Let us turn now to France. French newspapers ever since the outbreak of the French Revolution have exerted a strong influence in both domestic and foreign affairs. During the greater part of the Second Empire they had been kept well under the thumb of Napoleon III. But toward the close of his reign, as he grew weaker as a result of his unfortunate foreign wars, he had felt compelled to grant complete liberty to the Press. It is commonly believed that the French newspapers were responsible in large part for plunging France into the war with Prussia, but it has recently been pointed out by Professor Carroll of Duke University that this is not altogether true. The common assumption has been that the Hohenzollern candidacy and the Ems telegram had so excited the French Press that the Ollivier Government was forced by national public opinion to declare war on Germany. Professor Carroll, however, shows that Ollivier and Gramont were not pushed into the war by the newspapers and the public excitement caused by the Press. On the contrary, it was they who had deliberately stirred up the Press and public opinion to support and strengthen the Government, which was already determined on war to humiliate Prussia and to take vengeance for the Hohenzollern candidacy. The "war criminals," if one may use this phrase, were in this case not the Paris newspaper editors, but Ollivier, Gramont, and the other French ministers.[27]

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[24] B. D., VI. 248. For many other evidences of Sir Eyre Crowe's anti-German influence and misrepresentations as to Germany, see B. D., VI. 11–13, 58, 108–110, 112, 115, 117, 131–132, 136, 138, 148–149, 182–183, 246–247, 260, 263, 266–267, 298–299, 309, 453, 533–536, 557, 562, 574–575, 595, 622–623, 627–629, 684–685, 702–703, 738–739; Sidney B. Fay, " Pre-War Diplomacy and the Press," *Current History*, XXXIII (November, 1930), 212–217; and Hermann Lutz, *Eyre Crowe: Der Böse Geist des Foreign Office* (Stuttgart, 1931).

[25] B. D., VI. 5.

[26] B. D., VI. 42, 108.

Under the Third Republic and in the period before the World War, the ministry continued to exercise a strong influence on the Press. This resulted partly from the not uncommon occurrence of newspaper editors securing so much political power through their papers that they were able to become ministers themselves: Pichon, Clemenceau, Tardieu, for instance, and many others. After they got into the Cabinet they still kept the papers through which they secured power, and continued to influence them by writing leading articles.

Here one should be reminded of a striking difference between the American and English newspapers on the one hand, and most of the Continental newspapers on the other. They represent two quite different types. Anglo-Saxon newspapers are primarily informational: they aim, above all, to give the news, either as supplied by the Associated Press and the other news-gathering agencies or by their own special correspondents. Significant are the mottoes, for instance, of the *New York Times,* " All the News Fit to Print," or of the *United States Daily,* " All the News, No Opinions." The news is prominently placed on the front page, and the editorials are hidden away somewhere inside. The typical business man, hurrying in the subway to his office in the morning, scans the headlines on the front page, perhaps reads some of the news articles, and glances at the stock market, but hardly ever bothers to read the editorials. Only in the evening, perhaps, if he has the leisure, does he glance at them to see whether the editor agrees with the opinion which he has already made up for himself by reading the facts as set forth in the news dispatches. The editorials have little influence in forming his opinions — naturally so, perhaps, because most editorials today are so weak and colorless, editors being afraid to offend some group of their constituents. Editors no longer have the crusading spirit. Gone are the good old days of Horace Greeley, Edwin L. Godkin, and Samuel Bowles.

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[27] E. Malcolm Carroll, "French Public Opinion on the War with Prussia in 1870," *American Historical Review,* XXXI (July, 1926), 679–700; *French Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs* (New York, 1931), 23–35.

In France and on the Continent just the opposite is to a large extent true. The papers are primarily *journaux d'opinion.* Even the greatest papers are comparatively small in size, hardly ever more than eight or twelve pages. There is far less news than in our best papers. The main thing is the editorial, or leading article, always placed prominently on the front page. Your Frenchman first reads the editor's leading article, and pays relatively little attention to the news dispatches. He takes his opinion from the editorial, instead of making up his mind independently on the basis of the facts in the news dispatches. But the editor naturally has strong political opinions, and colors the news in accordance with his personal convictions or his selfish political interests. His readers swallow his views and come to have his prejudices, often in an exaggerated form. This daily editorial, working upon the mind of the reader, undermines his independent judgment and makes him a blind, and often violent, follower of the newspaper editor or owner. It is like the constant dripping of water which will wear away even the hardest stone. It is in this way that French editors who have become ministers are able to use their papers to influence a large body of public opinion.

Another characteristic of French papers is that they carry very little advertising. This is probably due in part to French newspaper tradition, and in part to the fact that there are so many newspapers in Paris — thirty or more — each with a relatively small circulation as compared with our great metropolitan dailies. It therefore does not pay large department stores, for instance, to try to secure great full-page advertisements. Moreover, a considerable part of the Paris newspaper circulation goes into the provinces, where the readers are too far away to be effectively influenced by luring announcements of stores like the *Magasins du Louvre.* Another probable reason for the relatively small amount of advertising matter in French papers is the force of French conservatism and tradition. The practical consequence of this comparative absence of advertisements and rather small total circulation is that most French newspapers need money from other sources to keep themselves alive. Often this is supplied by the editor and owner out of his own pocket for the sake of gaining political power. Very often, also, the newspapers are open to the reception of bribes. These sometimes come in the veiled form of extraordinarily large payments by banking firms closely associated with the Government in return for a few lines of banking advertisement.

The most notorious bribing of the French Press, however, before the War, was that done by the Russian Government. As a result of Bolshevist revelations we now know of the millions of rubles — at a time when the ruble was really worth about fifty cents — which were poured into the tills of French newspapers, especially during the Russo-Japanese War. We know, indeed, the exact amounts received by each newspaper. French ministers often advised or assisted in the judicious distribution of these funds. The purpose of the bribes was to see to it that a good face was put on Russian domestic affairs, to inveigle French investors into placing more and more of their funds in Russian bonds, and to strengthen the ties of the Franco-Russian alliance.[28] There were a few independent or far-sighted editors who warned against this enormous investment of French capital in Russia, pointing out the essential instability and weakness of the Russian colossus, and also the danger of having France dragged into a world war in support of Russia's selfish interests in the Balkans. But these Cassandra prophecies of the Socialist Jean Jaurès and a few others were mere "voices crying in the wilderness." Their warnings went unheeded up to the World War, but subsequent events were to show their wisdom.[29]

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[28] Cf. the anonymous *Hinter den Kulissen des Französischen Journalismus, von einem Pariser Chefredakteur* (Berlin, 1925), a book that must be used

On the whole, therefore, it can be said that the French Government exercised a good deal of influence over the Press in strengthening the ties of the Franco-Russian alliance, and in the determination after the first Morocco crisis to prefer war to a new humiliation by Germany.

The influence of the French Press on the French Government was also strong. With political parties so numerous in France, cabinets are always composed of a coalition and are consequently unstable. It is easy for two or three influential papers to cause a cabinet to lose its majority; consequently the Government is necessarily sensitive to opposition opinion. Furthermore, it is in accordance with the Latin temperament to write and speak in somewhat violent and exaggerated terms. There is much less of the Anglo-Saxon sweet reasonableness and readiness for sensible compromise. This leads to sudden shifts in public opinion and compels the ministry

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with caution; Raymond Poincaré, *L'Europe sous les Armes* (Paris, 1926), 97–114; E. Tarle, "S. I. Witte, The French Press and the Russian Loan" [in Russian], *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, x (1925), 36–40; Friedrich Stieve, *Der Diplomatische Schriftwechsel Iswolskis*, 1911–1914 (Berlin, 1924), II. 315–317, 322, 324–326, 331, 341, 344, 386, 387, 390–394, 398–399, 404–406, 411; III. 63–67, 72–73, 96, 178–179, 191, 198, 200, 202, 204–207, 218, 351–352; and E. Malcolm Carroll, *French Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs*, 261–272. Professor Carroll concludes that it would be a mistake to attribute the attitude of the Paris Press entirely to the influence of Russian money: some of the subsidies were spent, not primarily for Russian interests, but for such French interests as the election of Poincaré and the adoption of the three-year term of military service; and some of the papers which received money did not deliver the goods in the form of pro-Russian editorials.

[29] On this subject see Georges Michon, *The Franco-Russian Alliance* (New York, 1929), chs. IX, XII, XVII; and Lysis [*pseud.* for E. Letailleur?], *Politique et Finance d'avant-guerre* (Paris, 1920).

to be all the more sensitive to it, if it does not want to be overthrown.

As to the influence of the Press of France on her neighbors, it was not so bad as one might expect from what has just been said. One of its most severe critics was Lord Dufferin, the British Ambassador in Paris during the 1890's. A letter from him to Lord Roseberry in 1893 shows what he thought of the French newspapers. It is not an isolated expression of opinion, but one that is frequently echoed by English ambassadors prior to the Entente with France, and by German ambassadors throughout the whole period from the Franco-Prussian to the World War. Lord Dufferin wrote:

> The press of Paris is the worst press in Europe. The people who contribute to it are very clever, and know exactly how to excite the rancour or inflame the prejudices of their readers. They have a congenital and instinctive disregard of truth, and they lie — not as an Englishman lies when he does lie, of malice prepense — but because they do not feel that a lie matters much one way or the other. They are for the most part absolutely ignorant of the history, the language, the habits, the politics, the modes of thought, and the geography of other countries, and, with a certain number of honourable exceptions, gain is their only motive, unless when it is spite or revenge. Moreover, writers of this class, like angry women, find a certain excitement and relief in reviling people they dislike, even at the expense of the obvious interests of their country, and when they can have no practical end in view. The French newspaper-reading public requires highly seasoned and abusive articles to stimulate their attention and to feed their prejudices. Denunciations of England are, therefore, pretty sure to command a large and lucrative circulation. As a consequence, not a day passes that we are not taken to task for our sordid politics, our overbearing manners, our selfishness, our perfidy and our other inveterate bad qualities. It was under these circumstances that the accusations brought against this Embassy both in regard to the distribution of bribes to Members of Parliament, and in reference to the forged correspondence with the Foreign Office, received such ready credence. Nor, when once a myth of the kind is started, can it ever be eradicated. From a lie it grows into a tradition and eventually passes into history.
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> It is said, indeed, that too much importance should not be given to the utterances of the Paris press, and that its teachings do not permeate beyond Paris. In the first place this is not true, for the

Petit Journal, one of the most unscrupulous of the Paris newspapers, and peculiarly hostile to England, has an enormous circulation in the Departments. But, in any event, the Paris Press acts very powerfully not only upon the Members of both the Chambers but also upon the public opinion of the capital; and experience has over and over again exemplified the disproportionate ascendancy exercised by Paris over the rest of France.[30]

After the Entente of 1904 with England, the French Press naturally ceased for the most part the attacks on " perfidious Albion " which had roused Lord Dufferin. But there were frequent attacks on Germany — to be sure, not without provocation on the part of the German Government and the German Press. Paris editors always found it a popular theme with their readers to belabor Germany — her militarism, her intrigues, and her ambitions dangerous to France and the peace of Europe. This defiant attitude increased somewhat after the provocation of the Agadir affair in 1911 and the accession to power of M. Poincaré as Prime Minister in 1912 and President in 1913. But it would be a mistake to think of French journalism as tending to provoke war. In spite of bellicose outbreaks, it reflected the desire of the French people for peace, but also their determination that it must be peace with honor. Secure of the Russian alliance, and confident of British support, they were also determined to prefer war to any further diplomatic humiliations at the hands of Germany.

THE RUSSIAN PRESS

Finally, we come to Russia. She offers a curious paradox. Here we have a country of 130,000,000 population with less than ten per cent of the people able to read or write, and where at most not more than two or three per cent read political newspapers; yet in this illiterate empire the Government exercised a greater influence on the Press, and the Press a greater influence upon the Government's foreign policy, at least in the eight years before the World War, than anywhere else in Europe.

Throughout the nineteenth century the autocratic tsarist government had exercised a strict control over the Press through its power of censorship, its suspension or total suppression of papers, and through its ability to influence by crude bribery and in other ways the papers which it allowed to exist. In the diary of Alexander Suvorin, who founded the *Novoie Vremya* in 1876 and for more than a quarter of a century was its famous editor, one may read many amusing examples of the way the Government made its influence felt. A rival paper was regularly receiving 3,000 rubles a month from the Ministry of Interior. The editors of another were banished to Siberia on account of an artistically veiled attack upon the Government which the editors thought the Government would be too stupid to understand.

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[30] B. D., II. 287.

In a country where it was difficult to get at the true facts, and dangerous for the Press to publish them, the Government could exercise considerable influence through its power to give out or withhold information. Government influence was exercised primarily to stamp out hostile criticisms of domestic policy. In this it succeeded fairly well up to the Russo-Japanese War and the Revolution of 1905, after which the Opposition Press became somewhat bolder and more irrepressible. But even half a century before this, following the Crimean War and the first reform period of the 1860's, the Government had tolerated and even encouraged the so-called "Pan-Slav" Press. This spoke out very freely in regard to foreign policy, taking a nationalistic, jingo attitude quite outdoing jingoism anywhere else in western Europe. It championed Russia's ambitions in the Balkans and her claims to protect the little Slav brothers and the Greek Orthodox co-religionists.

The Pan-Slav Press had been the decisive factor in sweeping Russia into war with Turkey in April, 1877. In this case it was a kind of Frankenstein, which the Government had helped create but then could not control. The Russian ministers did not want to fight Turkey. Almost up to the moment of declaration of war, they had held to the belief that diplomacy could succeed in avoiding an armed conflict. How unexpectedly they were overtaken by the opening of hostilities is indicated by the fact that on the very day war was declared none of the usual preparatory measures had been taken for controlling the telegraph service, which up to noon functioned as usual. Dispatches were accepted and expedited; only in the afternoon were the telegraph lines shut off for twenty-four hours from sending private dispatches. No one had thought of ordering this regulation earlier. But the Russian Pan-Slav papers, especially Katkov's Moscow *Viedomosti,* had raised a great outcry against the Turks. It preached against them with a zeal which reminds one of the Crusades. It painted the Turkish atrocities in such lurid colors and whipped up such excitement that the Government, against its own wishes, was driven into war.[31] The case is exactly the reverse, therefore, of that in France in 1870.

In the eight years before the World War, while Izvolski and Sazonov were Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Russia, they did much to influence the Russian Press in a strongly nationalistic, anti-German, and anti-Austrian direction and in support of the Triple Entente. It was financially relatively easy to do this because they had so few important Russian papers to deal with — only three or four in each of the Russian capitals at Moscow and St. Petersburg. To take only one example, a man named Wesselitzki. He was a Bosnian Serb who came to St. Petersburg in the 1870's and became active in Pan-Slav circles. Later he went to Berlin and founded there a newspaper information service, the *Reichskorrespondenz,* which was supplied with funds by the Russian Ministries of Finance and Foreign Affairs. Later Wesselitzki traveled in England, France, and the Balkans to collect material hostile to Germany and Austria, which was then served up in the Russian papers. He also had a pleasant little villa at St. Petersburg which is now known to have been supplied to him by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Izvolski. In 1911, after Izvolski went as ambassador to Paris, he begged the Russian Foreign Office to continue to make provision for Wesselitzki.[32]

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[31] S. M. von Propper, *Was nicht in die Zeitung kam; Erinnerungen des Chefredakteurs der "Birschewyja Wedomosti"* (Frankfurt, 1929), 47–50; Alfred Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, 1919); Irene Grüning, *Die russische öffentliche Meinung und ihre Stellung zu den Grossmächten* 1878–1894 (Berlin, 1929).

[32] S. M. von Propper, *Was nicht in die Zeitung kam,* 169–171; G. P., XXV. 16, 38, 308, 337, 442–443; XXVI. 294, 303, 865; XXVII. 439–442, 447–455,

On the other hand, the Russian Press in the years immediately before the War exercised an extraordinary influence on the Russian Foreign Ministers, and consequently on Russian foreign policy. This was partly owing to the fact that the Russian Ministry, unlike the British Cabinet, did not enjoy strong cohesion and solidarity. Each minister reported for his department separately to the Tsar; ministers were continually at odds and intriguing against one another, each fearing to lose his office. Each was anxious, therefore, to sail with the popular wind as expressed in the newspapers and in the small circle of influential people who read them.

Furthermore, it so happened that both Izvolski and Sazonov were personally highly sensitive to newspaper criticism. Izvolski especially was extremely conceited and snobbish, yet desirous of approbation. He couldn't sleep at night after a hostile newspaper attack. The avalanche of criticism poured upon him by the Russian Press for allowing himself to be overreached by Aehrenthal in the Bosnian Crisis, and then for surrendering the Bosnian Serbs to Hapsburg rule, made an indelible impression upon him. It filled his heart with bitterness against both Austria and Germany, and made him devote the rest of his life to preparing the way for a war by the Triple Entente against the Central Powers. When war finally came, he is reported to have exclaimed exultingly, " C'est ma guerre! "[33]

Sazonov, his successor, was less conceited and less capable, but much more timid, more in terror of the jingoistic Russian Press, and more afraid of being dismissed. Therefore in the

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501–502; Letter of Izvolski to Neratov, Nov. 10/23, 1911: " These expenditures [a subsidy and a summer villa for Wesselitzki] were not in vain, for they have certainly had an influence on the editorial attitude of the whole paper toward the Ministry. Wesselitzki, who was recently in Paris, begged me for my support that he should receive the same subsidy this year. If you think it possible, let Wesselitzki know it in London through Count Benckendorff, who considers these arrangements fair and advantageous, as do I." *Materials for the History of Franco-Russian Relations, 1910–1914* [in Russian] (Moscow, 1922), 138. For a detailed statement of the " reptile funds " distributed by the Government to Russian newspapers in 1914, with names and amounts, totalling nearly a million rubles, see I. I. Tobolin, " Reptilnyi Fond, 1914–1916 "; *Krasnyi Arkhiv* (1925), x. 332–338.

[33] Baron Michel de Taube, *La Politique Russe d'Avant Guerre* (Paris, 1928), 105–119, 186–201, 377; *The Diary of Lord Bertie of Thane, 1914–1918* (London, 1924), I. 66.

diplomatic disputes with Germany and Austria in connection with the Bagdad Railway, the appointment of a German general to command a Turkish army corps at Constantinople, and the support of Serbian claims during the Balkan Wars, he was afraid to make reasonable concessions for fear of bringing down upon his head the same kind of Pan-Slav newspaper criticism which had descended upon Izvolski in the Bosnian Crisis.

As to the influence of the Russian Press outside Russia, it was much less than in the case of other countries. Foreigners for the most part could not read Russian at all, and foreign newspaper correspondents in St. Petersburg and Moscow paid less attention to editorial opinions in Russian papers than to the events which were happening in Russia itself.

Summing up, therefore, the influence of the pre-War Press in Europe, up to the moment of the assassination of the Archduke at Sarajevo, one may venture three conclusions: The influence of the Government upon the Press was strongest in Russia, less strong in France and Germany, and least of all in England. The influence of the Press upon the Government's foreign policy was also strongest in Russia, less in France and England, and least in Germany, especially during the Chancellorship of Bethmann-Hollweg from 1909 to 1914. As to the poisoning effect of the Press of one country in creating suspicion and indignation by its articles among neighboring countries, probably the effects caused by the German Press were the worst, those caused by the English and French Press less harmful, and those caused by the Russian Press least so. Thus, in all these four European countries, in different degrees and in different ways, the newspaper press had been poisoning public opinion in creating everywhere an atmosphere of suspicion, fear and hate. It was part of the inflammable material which was to explode at the news of the spark from Sarajevo.

Thus far discussion has been limited to the influence of the Press up to the moment of the Archduke's assassination. Just a word on the Press during the four hectic weeks of the July diplomatic crisis which followed. Professor Jonathan French Scott, in an interesting and in many ways excellent volume,[34] seeks to show that the Foreign Ministers in each of the countries reflected the dominant attitude of the Press and were greatly influenced by it. Emil Ludwig, in a clever but untrustworthy book,[35] represents the Press and the common people as relatively pacific, and the leading ministers as the irresponsible criminals who plunged Europe into war. Both of these views seem to me fundamentally false. As to Scott's view, events moved so rapidly by telegraph between the Foreign Offices, and the dispatches were kept so secret, that the newspapers were always twenty-four or forty-eight hours behindhand, even when they got the news, and hence did not have much influence on the action of ministers. At least the newspapers did not influence them directly; perhaps indirectly, to some extent, as ministers looked back at similar crises in the past and realized that if they made too great concessions there would eventually be an outcry of disapproval against them.

Nor is Herr Ludwig's contention any sounder. If one makes the exception of Izvolski, the Russian Ambassador in Paris, and of Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, I think it may be said that the responsible statesmen strove much more conscientiously to preserve peace than did the newspaper editors, with the exception of the Socialists. The ministers were more moderate, more aware of the frightful consequences, and more ready to see the other point of view, and meet it, if possible, than were the newspaper editors and the general public. I suspect that if another war should ever threaten, the same would be true. That is why I have no sympathy with the advocates of the English League of Democratic Control, or the Americans who urge that the question of war should be submitted to a popular referendum, at least not until the Press of all countries has become more internationally-minded than it is at present.

Mr. CHARLES WARREN read a paper on

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[34] Jonathan French Scott, *Five Weeks: The Surge of Public Opinion* (New York, 1927).

[35] Emil Ludwig, *July, 1914* (New York, 1929); see the present writer's review in the New York *Herald-Tribune*, Nov. 17, 1929, XII. 3.

ELBRIDGE GERRY, JAMES WARREN, MERCY WARREN AND THE RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS

In February, 1788, soon after the Federal Constitution had been ratified by Massachusetts, there was published in Boston a vigorous attack upon it in the form of a nineteen-page pamphlet entitled, *Observations on the New Constitution, and on the Federal and State Conventions. By a Columbian Patriot, Sic Transit Gloria Americana.* The authorship has always been attributed to Elbridge Gerry, although the early biography by James T. Austin (1828) does not discuss the subject. On March 2, 1788, Rufus King, writing to John Alsop, said: " E. G. has come out as a Columbian Patriot — a pitiful performance. The author sinks daily in public esteem and his bantling goes unnoticed." [1] Paul Leicester Ford in his *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States* (1888) reprinted this one and definitely attributed it to Gerry, stating, however, that " an examination of the Massachusetts newspapers shows it was never for sale; making it probable that it was printed for Gerry, and not for general circulation." Other historians have also accredited it to Gerry.[2] As the question of the ratification of the Constitution was still pending in the spring of 1788 in New York, the pamphlet was reprinted there by the Committee which was organizing the opposition, and was circulated to the extent of 1630 copies among the local County Committees. It was also reprinted in the *New York Journal* of April 2, 1788, and in succeeding issues.

Two facts as to this pamphlet, however, have a singular bearing upon the question of its authorship. In the first place, its style is utterly unlike that of any other of Gerry's known writings now extant. His normal manner of speaking and writing was simple, direct, and practical, devoid of declamation or imagination. The writing in this pamphlet, on the other hand, is elaborate, orotund, and formal, with an extensive vocabulary of denunciatory phrase. In fact, the Albany Anti-Federalist Committee, which received copies for circulation, wrote to the New York Committee, April 12, 1788: "We have received yours by *a Columbian Patriot* — a well composed piece but in a style too sublime and florid for the common people in this part of the country." In the second place, it is to be noted that Gerry had, prior to 1788, twice formulated his objections to the Constitution as framed. In the Federal Convention, on September 15, he had stated eleven reasons why he could not sign. As reported by Madison they were:

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[1] Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1912), VII. 217.

[2] See Samuel B. Harding, *The Contest over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts* (New York, 1896); Clarence E. Miner, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New York* (New York, 1921).

> 1. the duration and re-eligibility of the Senate. 2. the power of the House of Representatives to conceal their journals. 3. the power of Congress over the places of election. 4. the unlimited power of Congress over their own compensations. 5. Massachusetts has not a due share of Representatives allotted to her. 6. $\frac{3}{5}$ of the Blacks are to be represented as if they were freemen. 7. *Under* the power over commerce, monopolies may be established. 8. The vice president being made head of the Senate. He could, however, he said, get over all these, if the rights of the Citizens were not rendered insecure, 1. by the general power of the Legislature to make what laws they may please to call necessary and proper. 2. raise armies and money without limit. 3. to establish a tribunal without juries, which will be a Star-chamber as to Civil cases. Under such a view of the Constitution, the best that could be done he conceived was to provide for a second general Convention.

Again, in October, 1787, when the Constitution had been submitted by Congress to the States for action, Gerry had addressed a letter to the Legislature of Massachusetts setting forth seven objections to ratification without amendments. But in the "Columbian Patriot" pamphlet the number of objections is eighteen. If Gerry were the author, it would not be surprising if in 1788, as time progressed, he should have discovered more objections than he had presented some months earlier to the Federal Convention and to his State; it would be surprising, however, if he should omit in this increased number some of the objections, notably that to the treaty-making power, which he had previously advanced as fatal. Yet this is just what occurred in this pamphlet.

Certain family papers which have recently come into my possession, including a thick folio volume containing copies of the correspondence of my ancestress, Mrs. Mercy Warren, made for Mrs. Warren herself, throw some light upon the identity of the "Columbian Patriot," and also reflect the general attitude of those Massachusetts men who opposed unconditional ratification of the Constitution, among the leaders of whom were Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Adams, General James Warren, James Winthrop, Charles Jarvis, and Benjamin Austin, Jr.

It is an interesting fact, which has been given scant consideration by historians, that in all the States at the time of the Federal Convention the leading Anti-Federalists were, as a rule, the older patriots, the men who had been most vigorous in urging independence and in bringing on the War of the Revolution; while those Federalists who were most active in urging the adoption of the Constitution unamended were, in general, excepting George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Nathaniel Gorham, and James Wilson, men of the younger generation or men like John Dickinson and John Jay who had been somewhat lukewarm toward independence.[3] Thus, of the Anti-Federalist leaders, Samuel Adams was sixty-five; James Warren and George Mason, sixty-one; Richard Henry Lee, fifty-seven; Patrick Henry, fifty-one; George Bryan, fifty-six; Robert Yates, forty-nine; George Clinton, forty-eight; Samuel Chase, forty-six; Elbridge Gerry, forty-three; Luther Martin, thirty-nine. Of the Federalist leaders, James Madison was thirty-six; Gouverneur Morris was thirty-five; James McHenry, thirty-four; Rufus King, thirty-two; Alexander Hamilton, thirty; Charles Pinckney, twenty-nine; Jonathan Dayton, twenty-six. The older men had lived through those years from 1760 to 1776 which to them were a period of British oppression; they had a more vivid personal sense of what a "strong" government meant; and they were unwilling to see another such government built up in this country, even by their own countrymen. On the other hand, at the time of the Stamp Act over one half of the men who later attended the Federal Convention were under the age of twenty-one:

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[3] Charles Warren, *The Making of the Constitution* (Boston, 1928), 751–759.

Madison was only fourteen years old; Gouverneur Morris, thirteen; Rufus King, ten; Charles Pinckney, seven; Jonathan Dayton, four. Those historians who have ascribed the contest over the adoption of the Constitution to purely economic causes, depicting the Anti-Federalists as radicals and men without property, and the Federalists as conservatives and men of property, have failed to consider this factor of age. Hence they are confronted with the singular fact that the leaders of their " radicals " were the older and more conservative men, while the leaders of their " conservatives " were the younger generation. This paradox should lead one to suspect that the opposition to the Constitution cannot be explained by any such simple test as that of economic or class struggle. Entirely apart from the general dissatisfaction existing in Massachusetts among the debtor class, there were many men of great political sagacity and rectitude who profoundly feared that the proposed Federal Constitution, if unamended, was destined in its operation to destroy the State Governments and the State Bills of Rights, and who regarded it as an attempt to center power in the representatives of wealth and influence.[4] The real argument to be made against the Anti-Federalists was, not that their criticisms of the Constitution were not partially justified, but that the Constitution, framed as the result of compromise, was the best instrument which was then practically feasible, and that the Anti-Federalists had nothing to offer in its place which would meet the situation or which was at all likely to be accepted by their opponents.

The first attack upon the Constitution in Massachusetts came in the shape of Elbridge Gerry's letter of October 18, 1787 (published first in the *Massachusetts Centinel,* November 3, 1787), addressed to Samuel Adams, President of the State Senate, and James Warren, Speaker of the House. It caused great perturbation among the friends of the Constitution. " Mr. Gerry's Letter," wrote Henry Jackson to General Knox (November 18), " has done great injury . . . more than he will ever be able to do good by a whole life of repentance. Everything went on *firm and well* untill that *damn'd* Letter . . . The Insurgent interest is the only influence against it [the Constitution] but this is pretty powerfull." [5] For over a month, the advocates of the Constitution practically monopolized the newspapers. It was not until November that the Anti-Federalist writers began to launch any very serious arguments against ratification. Even then they kept their temper and did not as a rule indulge in personal attack; hence a modern historian could state that " in general the [Anti-Federalist] articles evince decency, good temper, literary ability, and a fair amount of candor." [6] On the other hand, the letters which appeared in the newspapers from the advocates of the Constitution were intolerant to the last degree. They refused to concede to the opposition either sincerity or honesty. To such an extent did they carry this attitude that the following Anti-Federalist parody, " Political Creed of Every Federalist," was hardly an exaggeration:

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[4] That this feeling was not confined to the older generation may be seen from an entry by John Quincy Adams, then a youth, in his diary, October 12, 1787: " [Mr. Theophilus Parsons] favors very much the Federal Constitution . . . Nor do I wonder at all that he should approve it, as it is calculated to increase the influence, power and wealth of those who have any already. If the Constitution be adopted, it will be a grand point gained in favour of the aristocratic party." *Life in a New England Town: 1787–1788* (Boston, 1903), 46.

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[5] Knox MSS., XXI. 51; see also Oliver Ellsworth in *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 2, 1788; see also letter from " A Federalist " in *Boston Gazette,* Nov. 5, 1787, attacking Gerry for dissenting from " so large a majority of enlightened, distinguished, and decided patriots."

[6] Harding, *Constitution in Mass.,* 21–22. James Winthrop wrote under the name of " Agrippa " in the *Massachusetts Gazette* from Nov. 23, 1787, to Feb. 5, 1788. A series of articles in the *Independent Chronicle* in December, 1787, under the name of " Candidus " were ascribed to Samuel Adams and to Benjamin Austin, Jr. Austin wrote under the names of " Honestus," " Brutus," and " Cassius," although sometimes another man borrowed his pseudonym (see *Massachusetts Centinel,* Dec. 26, 1787, Jan. 12, 1788). An unidentified man, " John De Witt," wrote in the *American Herald,* in October, November, and December, 1787; it is evident that " De Witt " was a lawyer, " one of the order," according to a letter in the *Massachusetts Centinel,* Nov. 21, 1787. " Bostonians " wrote in the *Boston Gazette,* Nov. 19, 1787; " A Federalist," in *ibid.,* Nov. 26, 1787; " Poplicola," in *ibid.,* Dec. 29, 1787. " Hampden," whose writings have been doubtfully ascribed to James Sullivan, wrote in the *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 26, Feb. 2, 1788. See also " An Officer of the late Continental Army " in *Massachusetts Centinel,* Nov. 21, 1787; " 23 Objections to the Constitution," in *ibid.,* Nov. 24, 1787; letter in *American Herald,* Nov. 19, 1787. Only two articles of any length in opposition to the Constitution appeared in the western part of the State, letters of " Cornelius " in the *Hampshire Chronicle,* Dec. 11, 18, 1787, and " A Watchman " in the *Worcester Magazine,* IV. 242, February, 1788.

> I believe in the infallibility all-sufficient wisdom and infinite goodness of the late Convention. . . . I believe that aristocracy is the best form of Government. . . . I believe that to speak, write, read, think, or hear anything against the proposed government is damnable heresy, execrable rebellion and high treason against the sovereign majesty of the Convention. And lastly, I believe that every person who differs from me in belief is an infernal villain.[7]

Moreover, the Federalist writers indulged in constant personal abuse and scurrilous assaults upon the Anti-Federalists; and from the very outset a deliberate attempt seems to have been made to characterize those who opposed the Constitution as sympathizers with the Shays Rebellion. Thus Oliver Ellsworth, in a letter published in Connecticut and widely reprinted in Massachusetts and other States, spoke of Elbridge Gerry in the following biting language: " In Massachusetts, the opposition began with you, and from motives most pitifully selfish and despicable you addressed yourself to the Shays' faction, and that faction will be your only support." So, too, " One of the People," writing in the *Massachusetts Centinel,* October 17, said: " I would earnestly beg my countrymen when they listen to anyone who harangues on the subject before us, that they carefully endeavour to find out what his character was during the war with Great Britain — what his sentiments were last winter, and what his general thoughts are upon the subjects of paper money, tender acts, etc." [8] A month later the same writer urged the voters to be careful not to elect to the Convention sympathizers with Tender Acts and the like, and to

> . . . attend carefully to the sentiments and characters of those you may chuse to represent you in the approaching Convention — Remember there are many snakes in the grass, and that many are hourly avowing sentiments they do not entertain, or which they would

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[7] *Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia), May 10, 1788.

[8] This writer continued: " Having lately been through [a] great part of this State, I can assure the publick, that at least nine tenths of its inhabitants are now ready and willing to receive the new government . . . All eyes are now placed on our patriotick Chief Magistrate; should he warmly take the right side on this important occasion (and none doubt but he will) he will rear to himself a name next only to a *Washington* — Let it but appear that a HANCOCK, a WASHINGTON, and a FRANKLIN approve the new government, and who will not embrace it? " See also " One of the People " in *Massachusetts Centinel,* Nov. 17, 1787; " Federalist " in *ibid.*

> support in Convention — and that those who are opposed to the Federal Government are almost to a man either *enemies to the late revolution — friends to tender acts, paper money,* or hold some place of honour or profit under the present confederation — or that secretly approve such measures as by involving the States in anarchy and confusion, would free them from debts, many of them have incurred in pursuits disgraceful to humanity.[9]

Another writer urged the voters to " scan the characters of those who croak against our efficient Federal Government." By this method, their motives would be " so fully understood as to afford a sufficient antidote to the poison of their declamations."

On October 25 the Legislature issued a call for a State Convention to consider the subject of ratification of the Constitution. Election of delegates took place through November and December, amid lively campaigning by both factions. In Boston the contest was particularly heated since Samuel Adams, who usually controlled the vote of that town, was then opposed to ratification. On November 14, for instance, there was widely posted and distributed in the streets of that city a handbill setting forth the " Disadvantages of Federalism," and arguing, in addition to the usual constitutional points, that with ratification the trade and wealth of Boston would be transferred to Philadelphia, leaving Boston's tradesmen starving and its age-old importance annihilated.[10] Severe attacks were at once levelled upon James Winthrop and James Warren, the supposed authors of this handbill.[11] They were termed " abettors of anarchy and confusion " ; while the *Massachusetts Centinel* said that

> A worthy and respectable mechanick of this town, having read one of the handbills inserted in Monday's *Herald,* threw it from him with indignation, as containing a series of falsehoods, and a gross insult upon the citizens of this town, who are almost unanimously in favour of the proposed Constitution.

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[9] *Massachusetts Centinel,* Nov. 17, 1787.

[10] *American Herald,* Nov. 19, 1787.

[11] See " Thomas à Kempis " in *Massachusetts Centinel,* Nov. 21, 24, 1787; see also " One of the Middling Interest " and " An Elector " in *ibid.,* Nov. 28, 1787; see also *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 31, 1787, " One of the Common People " answering " One of the Middling Interest " on the question of the necessity for a Bill of Rights in the Constitution.

> A gentleman who was in the gallery at the time the same papers were imprudently obtruded into the Representatives' chamber, observed with pleasure that they were trampled under feet with great contempt.

Three days later (November 24) the *Centinel* published the following venomous article, under the heading of "Ship News":

> The *Chuff Cutter,*[12] which was said to have been condemned by the carpenters as unfit for any further service, having *her bottom very much bruised* by running on a reef of rocks near Concord bay, and has since been employed in carrying manure to a certain Island in the harbour; is now fitting out by the antifederal carpenters for a *tender*[13] to the ship W——n, which is anchored in M——n road,[14] ladened with *inflammables* and other stores for the antifederal fleet. This ship has been remarkable for taking large cargoes on board at every wealthy port she puts in at, and never making any remittances,[15] so that she is now obliged to join the enemy's fleet, in hopes by the junction, she may stand a better chance to discharge her portage and bills, and other debts, without being stripped of her rigging. The *Chuff Cutter* is employed by her to carry *inflammable* and private dispatches, such as handbills, etc. to the antifederal fleet, and to watch the motion of the *well-built ship Constitution;* and she has often been seen to fall under the W——n's stern to receive instructions for that purpose. Last Sunday in particular she was observed to weigh anchor in Cambridge bay, and to be pressing under crouded sail for M——n road; in order, as was supposed, to make returns of her success and to take on board new dispatches — but it is to be hoped that this *tender* will miss her stays, and be obliged to veer about again as she often has done.

In the same issue the *Centinel* itself scurrilously assailed the Anti-Federalist leaders, Adams, Warren, and Gerry:

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[12] James Winthrop of Cambridge, Librarian of Harvard College, a leading Anti-Federalist writer and intimate friend of General Warren. "Chuff" is probably used here in the sense of a "rude, coarse, churlish fellow" (Murray), an allusion to Winthrop's peculiar and unconciliatory manners. See 2 *Collections,* x. 78.

[13] Refers to "Tender Acts."

[14] General Warren and his home in Milton (the old Governor Thomas Hutchinson place).

[15] An allusion to the much circulated falsehood that Warren was a bankrupt.

It is curious to observe the *affected* concern of the antifederalists for the constitution of this State when it is a NOTORIOUS FACT that *three* of the principal enemies of the proposed Constitution were *heart* and *hand* with the insurgents last winter in their attempts to overturn and destroy that very Constitution. . . .

It is very fully ascertained that the object of the antifederalists is not merely a rejection of the NEW PLAN — but an abolition of *all government* — they are often heard to observe " that no innovations ought to be made — that the present situation of things is the best — and that our separate State governments are equal to the procuring all the blessings of independence, etc." — hereby insulting the feelings and *distresses* of the country, and plainly declaring that anarchy is their object.

The antifederalists in this State are a meer *junto* — a few *placemen,* a few *trimmers,* and the rest men deeply in debt, who despair of paper money and tender laws, should the new system be adopted. These form the groupe — and by authentick accounts from all parts this *trio* includes the juntos of the other States. Shall such characters compass the *ignominy* and *destruction* of America, by causing us to reject the plan of the Continental Convention? — FORBID IT HEAVEN!

The writings of the Anti-Federalists were the subject of particularly caustic criticism — " such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff," according to one who knew his Shakespeare.[16] A Boston correspondent of a New York paper said that the " enemies to the new plan ought not so frequently to call to their aid ' the scurvy art of lying.' " James Winthrop, author of the " Agrippa " letters, was a particular target: " . . . a rattle brained Anti-federalist . . . I am inclined to think ' Agrippa ' is non-compos," wrote one Federalist, while another lumped him together with " Candidus " (Benjamin Austin, Jr.) as " unhappy scribblers." Another paper wrote (*Massachusetts Centinel,* December 15, 1787):

A correspondent congratulates the federalists that Agrippa, the quondam Librarian of a celebrated University, will soon be one among them — his last *effort* bore evident marks of a disposition *again* to return to the sheep-fold — and as it will be but the *third*

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[16] See *Massachusetts Centinel,* Nov. 28, 1787; *New York Daily Advertiser,* Nov. 30, 1787; " Cassius " (James Sullivan) in *Massachusetts Gazette,* Dec. 21, 1787; " Junius " in *ibid.,* Jan. 4, 1788; *Massachusetts Centinel,* Dec. 15, 1788.

> *change* he will have experienced in the course of the last *three* months, he will *doubtless* be received with open arms, though Consistency may exclaim, " alas! poor Agrippa! though [*sic*] mayest now furnish morality for an Almanack."

This illiberality of the Federalists toward their opponents, and their unjustifiable resentment of any views which differed from their own, had very early been the subject of bitter comment by the Anti-Federalists. Thus " Rusticus," writing in a New York paper on the day before the Constitution was signed, said: [17]

> I cannot but express my indignation at the many illiberal publications, which constantly crowd our newspapers, on the subject of politics.
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> It seems, by these publications, to be highly criminal, especially at this particular period, for any man to differ in opinion from a certain aristocratical junto, who appear determined, by their writings, to silence and traduce every person who will not subscribe to every part of their political creed.

" Mentor," writing in the *Massachusetts Centinel* in the midst of the campaign, stated that the people would not be influenced

> . . . to submit to shackles, *even of American fabrication,* by the TEARS OF FOURSCORE [Franklin] — the *sophistry* of the statesman in the meridian of manhood [Wilson?], or the rhetorical flourishes of a *youth* of genius [Hamilton?] whose early initiation into the school of politicks has enkindled an enthusiasm in his favour, which " taken at the flood leads on to greatness " . . . [And he complained that] instead of observing a due moderation of temper, a suspicion that he has an objection to the darling system, subjects the firmest patriot to *falsehoods* and *scurrilities;* the fairest characters are vilified and traduced, and whoever is suspected as doubtful of the utility of the new mode of governing America, is pronounced either a *villain* or a *bankrupt.*
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> Does not this impetuosity argue a suspicion in themselves that the proposed plan will not bear the *scrutiny* of time?

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[17] *New York Journal,* Sept. 13, 1787; *Massachusetts Centinel,* Dec. 1, 1787; *Independent Chronicle,* Jan. 3, 1788; see also *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 9, 1788, letter of " Honestus, Jr.," attacking Austin.

Benjamin Austin, writing under the name of "Candidus," referred to the personal attacks on him by Federalist writers as follows: [18]

> The infamous publications which have appeared in consequence of my remarks serve only to expose the insolence of party writers who are anxious to curb every candid enquiry. No person within these States more sincerely wishes the adoption of a federal system . . . but through the violence of party zeal, every man who dares exercise his own judgment is branded as an antifederalist, tho' his sentiments should wholly correspond with the repeated requisitions of Congress. This ungenerous method of condemning characters is contrary to that candour which actuates the citizens of these States. Freedom of debate in all national questions has ever been held sacred among a free people.

In November, 1787, the charge was made by an Anti-Federalist that the Federalists "strived to overawe or seduce printers, to stifle and obstruct a free discussion," and the publisher of the *American Herald* inquired whether the inhabitants of Boston had become so illiberal as to refuse their custom to him "for impartially publishing the observations of his fellow citizens at a time when the happiness of posterity depends on the public decision." A writer in a New York paper stated that

> . . . in Boston the printers have refused to print against this plan and have been countenanced in it. In Connecticut, papers have been handed about for the people to sign to support it; and the names of those who have declined signing it have been taken down in what was called a black list to intimidate them into compliance.[19] [And the same paper said:] We hear from Boston that Mr. Powars, the printer [of the *American Herald*], has acted an independent part, and like a genuine friend to his country, has published pieces for and against the proposed Constitution, notwithstanding the attempts in that place to destroy the freedom of the press by making it partial to the friends of the Constitution. He has not attempted, as many of the other writers have, to prejudice customers against demonstrative arguments proving the necessity of amendments before the Constitution is adopted, by stigmatizing them with being

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[18] See Harding, *Constitution in Mass.*, 23*n.*

[19] *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 26, 1787; *American Herald*, Nov. 26, Dec. 17, 1787; "Brutus Junior" in *New York Journal*, Nov. 8, Dec. 27, 1787.

Anti-Federal, and by his patriotic conduct has lost several customers.

All such charges were, however, vigorously denied from the first by Federalist organs. The *Massachusetts Centinel,* for instance, in publishing an article by "Old Whig," quoted from the Anti-Federalist *Independent Gazetteer* of Philadelphia, said: [20]

> It having been suggested by an Honourable Member of the Legislature in the debate on Wednesday last, that a *check* was put to a free discussion of the new federal constitution, by the Printers refusing to insert several pieces on the subject, presented to them; the Printer of the Centinel, as far as the suggestion respects himself, assures the publick that the gentleman was grossly misinformed, as the report had not any foundation in truth. And as a worthy gentleman has requested that the following from a southern paper may have a place — he readily inserts it.

And on December 1, the *Centinel* said editorially that "as the publications against the proposed Federal Constitution have exceeded those in its favour, in a ratio of TEN to *one,* at least in *quantity,* if not in *argument* — the assertion of the anti-federalists that the presses are not free, is an unqualified insult upon the senses of the people." From a careful personal examination of the newspapers, without, however, an actual measurement of space, it would seem that while the *Centinel's* figures of 10 to 1 are not accurate, the space given to Anti-Federalist writings was practically as great as that given to their opponents; but the Anti-Federalist articles did not begin to appear in any great quantity before November, 1787. Whether these charges of a partisan press and of boycotting and blacklisting were true or not has never been proved. Yet there must have been some foundation for a belief so widely expressed.

It was further asserted by Philadelphia Anti-Federalist papers that the postal authorities refused or delayed delivery of newspapers containing arguments against the Constitution. Although this was elaborately denied by the Postmaster-

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[20] *Massachusetts Centinel,* Oct. 27, 1787; cf., *American Herald,* March 10, 1788, "Extract of a letter from the Eastern Shore of Maryland to a gentleman in this city [Philadelphia] dated January 29, 1788."

General, Ebenezer Hazard, there seems to have been some foundation for it. And, indeed, Washington writing to Jay as late as July 18, 1788, deplored a new arrangement then made in the Postoffice "unfavorable to the circulation of intelligence," as giving credence to the belief that it was a "wicked trick of policy contrived by an aristocratic junto."[21]

It was not until December, 1787, just on the eve of the Massachusetts Convention, that General Warren stepped out upon the journalistic battlefield with two series of letters, one signed "Helvidius Priscus," the other, "A Republican Federalist."[22] The authorship of the former series was ascribed to Samuel Adams by Christopher Gore, who wrote to Rufus King, December 30, 1787: "S. Adams is out full *against it.* There is every reason to conclude him the author of Helvidius Priscus. . . ."[23] A writer in the *Massachusetts Gazette,* however, three months later, stated that the same man was the author of the two series;[24] and since there is no doubt that General Warren was the author of the second,[25] it is practically certain that he was also the author of the first. By the time the Convention met to consider ratification, General Warren was regarded as one of the most potent of the adversaries of the Constitution.[26] He was then Speaker of the House of Representatives, and possessed and exercised much influence with the country delegates. His opponents stated, indeed, that "his emissaries were constantly engaged in attending the nocturnal scenes of the Star Chamber and in manufacturing speeches for the Antifederalist Junto." His newspaper letters during the sessions of the Convention, therefore, received much attention from the Federalists. Although written in a comparatively temperate manner, they presented the argument for amendments with great force. That they drove home their point is shown by the invective with which they were greeted by numerous newspaper correspondents. One writer besought Warren to cease, and spoke of his "depraved heart," his "volubility," and "paucity of ideas," and closed with saying: "Think not that the public will hearken to the disingenuous assertions of one whose sole motive is the gratification of malice and whose sole object is his private interest." Later, the same writer indulged in a virulence of language which could hardly be surpassed and which by its excess became almost comic. He termed General Warren "a finished monster of depravity," "a focus of public contempt," a person "spreading the poison of immorality," and exhibiting "the extremity of cowardice," "afraid to be a rogue and not wishing to be an honest man"; he stated that "the blackness of . . . [his] name through the labyrinth of . . . [his] deception" could be detected "by the slime of defamation" which he left behind him; and he besought him not to continue to "emit these deformed images of a selfish being." [27]

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[21] *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* (Henry P. Johnston, Ed., New York, n.d.), III. 349–350; see especially letters of Hazard to Jeremy Belknap in *Belknap Papers, 5 Collections,* II, III.

[22] The "Helvidius Priscus" letters appeared in the *Independent Chronicle* (Anti-Federalist), Dec. 27, 1787 and Jan. 1788; "A Republican Federal's" letters appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel* (Federalist), Dec. 29, 1787, Jan. 2, 9, 12, 19, 30, Feb. 2, 6, 1788.

[23] *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* (Charles R. King, Ed., New York, 1894), I. 266.

[24] "Federalissimo" in *Massachusetts Gazette,* March 14, 1788.

[25] See Thomas C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan* (Boston, 1859), I. 277*n.,* in which it is said that these letters "are stated, with an air of authority, to have come from the pen of a gentleman of Plymouth."

[26] See letters to General Washington from General Benjamin Lincoln, Jan. 9, 1788, and from Major Caleb Gibbs, Feb. 9, 1788, *Documentary History of the Constitution* (Washington, 1905), IV. 435, 490; Rufus King to Henry Knox, Feb. 1, 1788, *Rufus King,* I. 319.

In view of the vituperative language thus used in the war of words over the Constitution, it is not surprising that the contestants preferred to issue their newspaper addresses under pseudonyms rather than subject themselves publicly to assault. And this fact leads back again to the question of the authorship of the "Columbian Patriot" pamphlet; for this publication appeared within a few weeks after General Warren's final letter, and after the ratification of the Constitution had been voted by the Massachusetts Convention coupled with the "gentleman's agreement" for many of those amendments which Gerry and Warren had so earnestly advocated.

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[27] "Remarks ad Corrigendum" in *Independent Chronicle*, Jan. 3, 1788, *Massachusetts Centinel*, Jan. 12, 1788. See also "A Friend to Honesty," replying to "A Republican Federalist" in *Independent Chronicle*, Jan. 10, 1788.

For other attacks on General Warren, see *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 21, 1788, *Massachusetts Centinel*, Jan. 23, 26, 30, 1788.

At the time the pamphlet in question appeared, the wife of General James Warren, Mercy Warren, was about sixty years of age. She had taken an active part with her husband in the stirring events of 1760 to 1776, and was, like him, strongly opposed to the adoption of the Constitution without amendments. She was engaged even then in 1788 in preparing her *History of the American Revolution,* in which there is to be found the most accurate and temperate statement, by any contemporary, of the defects in the Constitution from the Anti-Federalist point of view, and of the ground on which the opposition was founded.[28] Mrs. Warren had long corresponded with the English historian, Mrs. Catharine Macaulay, discussing with her theories of government and current political events. In the folio book previously mentioned, there is a copy of a letter from Mrs. Warren to Mrs. Macaulay, written in May, 1788, giving a long account of the political situation relative to the adoption of the Constitution, and describing the principal opponents and the reasons for their opposition. The last paragraph of this letter is as follows:

> If you wish to know more of the present ideas of your friend and the consequences apprehended from the hasty adoption of the new form of Government, I will whisper you, you may find them at large in the subjoined manuscripts I now enclose, with a printed pamphlet entitled *The Columbian Patriot* by the same hand.

This would appear to solve the question as to the identity of "Columbian Patriot," for the "your friend" referred to is of course Mrs. Warren herself, whose "present views" as to the Constitution Mrs. Macaulay was to find in the manuscripts enclosed with a pamphlet, *The Columbian Patriot,* which was "by the same hand" — in other words, by the hand of Mrs. Warren herself. The whole letter, hitherto unpublished, is of singular interest:

> In my last, I gave no opinion relative to the adoption of the system of Government offered by the late Convention at Philadelphia. At present, there appears little doubt that more than nine States will agree to ratify and without amendments accept it *in toto.*
>
> Some of the best friends to the liberties of America and the most

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[28] III. 358–364.

distinguished of her patriots have opposed it with energy, as offered to the public; though many of them think it may be so amended as to answer every purpose of a salutary, strong, and respectable government.

Pennsylvania, the Delaware Counties, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut, have already adopted the proposed system, even without hinting at the necessity of any amendments. Massachusetts and Maryland have also ratified the doings of the Convention, although they have given a list of *necessary alterations:* but they have not made this the condition of their acceptance. New Hampshire has met and adjourned on a pretty equal division. In Rhode Island, the plan is rejected by five sixths of the people; the Carolinas will come in; Virginia and New York are still doubtful, but most probably will accede.

Thus stands the system; how it will operate must be left to time. I hope it will be so modified and corrected, as to be productive of unanimity, and every other good effect.

If you, Madam, have seen the American publications, we must appear to you a very divided people. Those who stile themselves *Federalists* are perhaps less fond of harmony than the class stigmatized with the appellation of AntiFederals. The last wish for a union of the States on the free principles of the late Confederation, while the first are for the consolidation of a strong government on any or on no principles; and are for supporting it by force, at the risque of distorting the fairest features in the political face of America.

Perhaps your curiosity may be excited to inquire who are the principal characters in the several States who have had the courage to oppose a system that a majority in most of the State Conventions have approved, and that a considerable party are enthusiastically mad to support at every hazard.

I give you a list of a few names — Lowndes, Laurens, Gadsden, in South Carolina — Martin, Chase and others in Maryland; Governor Randolph, P. Henry, the late Governor, the whole family of the Lee's and many other respectable characters in Virginia; Judge Bryan, and many gentlemen of ability and distinction in Pennsylvania; Governor Clinton, two of the delegates who were of the Federal Convention, and many others in New York; your friend, General Warren, and Mr. Gerry who also was one of the Convention, in the Massachusetts.

I take the liberty to transmit to you the reasons of dissent from the majority in the Pennsylvania Convention, the proposed amendments of Massachusetts and Maryland, a pamphlet circulated in the Massachusetts immediately on their ratification, and a few addresses to the public previous thereto under the signature of *Helvidius Priscus*.

Thus I have given you a slight sketch of the state of parties in this country. Human nature is too often vilified by some and depreciated by others; but I think the times we have lived in are not the most favourable to the noblest feelings of the soul. Old attachments have been eradicated by the diversity of political opinion; animosities heightened by the severity or indiscretion of parties; new political connexions formed, as it were by accident, without any principle of public or private virtue for their basis.

A fondness for honorary distinctions has arisen among us which calls for an hereditary monarchy for its support, and a taste for expensive pleasure reigns, while the public treasures are empty, and the private finances low. A combination of other incidental circumstances has involved this generation in a mist ascending from the pit of Avarice, and led them to the chimerical pursuit of the *Golden Fleece* of the poets, which some think, and perhaps may find deposited with the fabricators of the new Government.

If you wish to know more of the present ideas of your friend and the consequences apprehended from the hasty adoption of the new form of Government, I will whisper you, you may find them at large in the subjoined manuscripts I now enclose, with a printed pamphlet entitled *The Columbian Patriot* by the same hand.[29]

In connection with the above letter, the following letters from Mrs. Warren, now published for the first time, are reproduced from her copy book because of the light they throw upon the views of the older patriots with regard to political conditions in 1786–1789. The first was written to John Adams, then in London, in December, 1786, after the Federal Convention had been called to meet in Philadelphia:

You, Sir, have been so long absent from your native Country, that you can scarcely realize its present situation; nor shall I attempt to give you an exact portrait thereof. Yet I will observe the imbecillity of human nature is here exhibited in as strong a light at this period, as perhaps may be found in any page of history.

Emancipated from a foreign yoke, the blessings of peace just restored upon honourable terms, with the liberty of forming our own governments, framing our own laws, choosing our own magistrates, and adopting manners the most favourable to freedom and happiness, yet sorry I am to say I fear we have not virtue sufficient to avail ourselves of these superior advantages.

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[29] A letter in reply from Mrs. Macaulay, later Mrs. Graham, to Mrs. Warren, October 29, 1778, is published in *Collections*, LXXIII. 303–305.

The glorious fabric which you and your compeers with so much labour and assiduity have successfully reared, may totter to the foundation before the civil feuds that have justly alarmed the Continent, and more particularly the Massachusetts, are entirely quelled.

In this country, lately armed for opposition to regal despotism, there seems to be on the one side a boldness of spirit that sets at defiance all authority, government, and order, and on the other, not a secret wish only, but an open avowal of a necessity for drawing the reins of power much too tight for republicanism, or even for a wise and limited monarchy. Perhaps America is in the predicament of an adventurous youth, who has disengaged himself from parental authority, before the period of maturity that might have taught him to make a proper use of his freedom. You have a friend here who equally criminates the conduct of both parties.

The causes of the late Western commotions may be easily investigated, but the consequences must be left to the hand of time. The Cincinnati, who have been waiting a favourable tide to waft them on to the strong fortress of nobility, are manifestly elated by the present prospect. A large body of wealthy citizens are flattering themselves, that a strong aristocratic power is fast forming and connecting through this country, while the younger classes, more especially the professional characters, are crying loud for monarchy and a standing army to support it.

Time will make curious disclosures, and you, Sir, may be astonished to find the incendiaries who have fomented the discontents among the miserable insurgents of the Massachusetts, in a class of men least suspected. These, in order to screen their own guilt, have secretly fabricated a vague report, and caused the malignant rumour to light for a moment on one of the most decided friends to the Constitution and to his country — a gentleman whose services have been distinguished, whose patriotism is unshaken, and his virtues unconquerable [General Warren himself]. His fortune has been diminished; himself and his family have personally and severely suffered in the public cause; he is now persecuted by the spirit of party, and too much neglected by some who ought from particular obligations to continue his *friends*. But he bears the reverse of popularity and the misfortunes of life, with the dignity of conscious rectitude, and that philosophic calmness which is never the companion of insurgency, anarchy, or fraud.

I have always thought epithets of this kind, when applied to such a character, too ridiculous for serious refutation; but to my surprize have lately found, that, by a strange combination of parties invidious to each other, and who have only united to depress a man of too much sincerity, uniformity, and independency of spirit, to subserve their designs, they have been so successful as in a few instances to injure Mr. Warren in the opinion of some he highly esteems.

The philosophical observers of human conduct, I believe, are pretty generally convinced that it is not worth while for a wise man to make very great sacrifices for political liberty; and it is my opinion that from their wanton abuse of their best friends, and the manner in which they trifle with the prize, the people of America least of all deserve to enjoy it.

But in all ages, mankind are governed less by reason than opinion; the caprice of the day, or the impulse of a moment will blow them about as with a whirlwind, and bear them down the current of folly, until awakened by their misery. Virtue in the sublimest sense has an influence only on a chosen few — and in their breasts it often finds its own reward.

Yet, perhaps, after all, America may emerge from its present cloud, and a more favourable termination of the embarrassments that lie in the way of her honour and her freedom may take place, than we have reason to apprehend from present appearances. In this hope, I leave the field of politics, convinced that human happiness depends on too many contingencies, to suffer us to forget our weakness, and our entire dependence on a Being who holds the scale of empire and of justice.

Dependence is a word not very pleasing to an American ear; but though we have broken the yoke of Britain and defied the potentates of the earth, we cannot expunge it from our vocabulary. What language is this to a man of the world, claiming independence to his nation; to a minister of State immersed in the deep systems of political refinement, negotiating with nations improved by arts, erudition, and experience; standing on the zenith of reputation, amidst the splendour of greatness, the glare of pomp, and mounted to the pinnacle of ambition!

But when I address the Ambassador, I do not forget that I am writing to the philosopher, who is sensible of the precarious basis of national or personal greatness; who knows that one may again become dependent, by causes unseen. And the other, obscure from the fickleness of his fellowmen, I think he has philosophy enough to contrast the rational simplicity and the quiet delights of his own little villa at the foot of Penn's Hill [at Quincy], with the brilliancy of the birthnight or the parade of office, and find the latter sink in the comparison when tried by the feelings of reason, and not by the rivalry of pride.

Adieu, says your respectful friend.

The second was written, during the sessions of the Convention, probably in August, 1787, to her close friend, Elbridge Gerry, who was a delegate:

Does anything transpire from the conclave or is all yet locked up in silence and secrecy? Be it so — yet some of us have lived long enough not to expect everything great, good, and excellent, from so imperfect a creature as man, therefore, can patiently wait till the best systems the wisest of them can devise are sufficiently ripened for the vulgar eye: my own optics will never again be deceived by the false glossary of pretended statesmen and superficial politicians, therefore shall not be disappointed either at the mouse or the mountain that this long labour may produce.

On September 28, 1787, eleven days after the Convention adjourned, and three days after the copy of the signed draft of the Constitution had reached Massachusetts, Mrs. Warren wrote to Mrs. Macaulay:

I have, my dear Madame, postponed writing by several opportunities, as I wished for the pleasure of transmitting to you the result of the Grand Convention of the American States.

I make no comments upon it; I do not think myself sufficiently qualified, and if I was, perhaps it might not be thought altogether prudent.

It is now only three days since the publication of the recommendations of this respectable body has appeared in our papers; almost every one whom I have yet seen reads with attention, folds the page with solemnity, and silently wraps up his opinion within his own breast, as if afraid of interrupting the calm expectation that has pervaded all ranks for several months past.

Our situation is truly delicate and critical. On the one hand, we stand in need of a strong federal government, founded on principles that will support the prosperity and union of the Colonies. On the other, we have struggled for liberty and made costly sacrifices at her shrine and there are still many among us who revere her name too much to relinquish, beyond a certain medium, the rights of man for the dignity of government.

I should be happy to hear the observations of a lady (who has made politics and government so much the subjects of her con-

> templation) on this new and complicated system which I suppose will set in motion the pens and the tongues of the political world. Happy will this country be, if a tranquil, energetic government can be adopted, before the sword is drawn to give it a despotic master.
>
> The rumours of war assail our ears from the European shores. If the flames should really kindle there, I hope they will not spread beyond the ocean, unless internal feuds should rise to such a height as to lead the benevolent heart to wish for some foreign object to divert the general attention and again convince this Continent that we stand or fall together.

At the date of this letter, none of the arguments against the ratification of the Constitution had been publicly presented. Between the first of October and the end of the year 1787, the great question was actively and bitterly fought over in the newspapers of Massachusetts.

After the ratification of the Constitution in 1788, and at some period prior to the inauguration of the new Federal Government, Mrs. Warren wrote to her brother, Samuel A. Otis, then in New York as Secretary to the expiring Continental Congress, a striking letter, severely deprecating any action looking towards wiping out the debts of the old Confederation:

> As I always express my thoughts freely when I can do it in confidence, let me tell you I think America has a set of as deep politicians *manoeuvreing* in her bosom, as any country can produce; I shall just touch on a political subject, somewhat different from those we have lately discussed.
>
> Every honest man must revolt at the idea of *spunging* the public debt, and every villain that may wish it would choose to shift the odium from himself. I hope the last days of the American Congress under the old Confederation will not be marked with the infamy of such a procedure. The sticklers for the new Government may wish to precipitate the old to this measure or something equally odious before its dissolution. They may perhaps have a double motive for this. It is probable such an unpopular step might forever blast the memory of those gentlemen who had a hand therein, and totally destroy all confidence in them, while the officers of the new system will escape the stigma and quietly enjoy the advantages of the folly of their predecessors. In the weak state Congress is now in, it would be so absurd, as well as unjust, to attempt a measure so replete with consequences, that I cannot think

it possible they ever had it in serious contemplation. The whole Continent may be duped out of their liberties by the plausibility of pretended patriots, and the intrigues of statesmen of more address than integrity — probably the well-designing may be cajoled by the plea of necessity to relinquish their honour. But if this, or any similar measure should be pushed in the expiring pangs of the Amphyctionic body, who, by their wisdom and firmness, have made the proudest European nation tremble, I hope my brother will have the courage to secede from their counsels, even if he stands alone. Indeed, I believe it would appear very extraordinary in the eyes of the whole world, if, in the present debilitated and *nerveless* state, anything very important should be attempted by the Congress now in session — much less will they presume on a measure unparallelled, dangerous, and iniquitous. No, if this once respected body must die by the sentence of the people that called it into existence, let it sink without the accumulation of guilt and cloud of infamy that would draw on each individual member the curses of one part of mankind and the ridicule of the other.

This year is certainly the golden age of *federalism,* and when the new Government is organized, which will probably be within a few months, let *them* (if it must be done, and perhaps it must) wipe off the *old debts.* The resources may be too small to do justice to old arrearages and to supply funds for the new ones that will be contracted to support the civil list, the military establishments and the splendour of power that *must* illume this happy quarter of the globe; perhaps, while the enthusiasm in their favour is kept up, and the spirit of adulation reigns, they may stretch their ample powers to enormities that no other period would justify. But it will not be many years before the inhabitants of the United States will see the error of their precipitant and mistaken zeal, and their misplaced confidence which has brought them down to a level with other nations, by the intrigues of individuals. Thus predicts your affectionate sister.

Mr. NORCROSS presented copies of letters in his collection written by Benedict Arnold, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and Philip Schuyler.

ANNUAL MEETING

APRIL, 1931

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 9, 1931, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. HART, Recording Secretary, Mr. WOLKINS was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*. The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Edward Channing, two ship account books kept by William H. Davis, on the ship *Isabella* as far west as the Sandwich Islands, 1809–1814, on the ship *Orina* to Barbados and back, 1814, and with the woodcutters, "Sandel Wood Company," 1812–1814; an account book of Lowell Holbrook, constable of Northborough, mainly for sawed and slit wood, 1821–1840, with loose additional papers; also several letters, 1832–1833, written and received by Miss Mary T. Peabody, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Peabody, of Salem, who married Horace Mann, May 1, 1843; and several papers of Walter Channing, 1811–1824; also typewritten copies of the Report and papers of the Massachusetts State Kansas Aid Committee, 1856–1861.

From Miss Elizabeth Gaskell Norton, three Bibles (London, 1603; Oxford, 1769 and 1772) owned by her ancestor, Matthew Ridley, containing records of the Ridley, Livingston, and Sedgwick families; also four early volumes belonging to his library, and three manuscript volumes, the Journal and Notebooks of Theodore Sedgwick, 3d, for the years 1836, 1850–51, and 1857.

From Mrs. Francis H. Williams, manuscript sermons preached in 1668 and 1669 by the Reverend Samuel Phillips, of Rowley, son of George Phillips, the first minister of Watertown; a letter written by William Hubbard, of Ipswich, to Mr. Phillips, July 21, 1684, asking him to preach the Thursday lecture in his place; and a collection of sermons of the Reverend Samuel Phillips, of Andover, 1734 to 1771; also a Latin Bible, lacking title, containing the *Whole Book of Psalms*, by Sternhold and Hopkins (London, 1638).

From Parkman B. Haven, a manuscript sermon, mostly in shorthand, preached by his ancestor, the Reverend Samuel Haven, of Portsmouth, N. H., perhaps as early as 1770.

From Sidney A. Kimber, of the University Press, Tolman Print, Incorporated, a typewritten copy of the original *Reminiscences* of the late John Wilson (1825–1903), now in the Library of the Press, giving an account of the early life of his father, John Wilson (1802–1868), of the latter's experiences as a printer in Glasgow, of his connection with the *Manchester Guardian,* of his printing in Boston after his arrival here on Oct. 6, 1846, of his connection with the University Press from 1865, and of his own close association with his father's work and later management of that Press.

From Stewart Mitchell, *A Display of Heraldry,* by John Guillim (fifth edition, London, 1679).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Col. Charles E. Banks, a photograph of the interior of the Church in Leyden, in the basement of which the Pilgrims worshipped.

From the Boston Medical Library, a photograph, by Robert H. Pearman, of the front view of its main building and new addition.

From George H. Bird, of Dedham, a photograph of a daguerreotype in his possession, of his ancestor, George Bird, early paper manufacturer of Dedham, Needham, and Walpole, the father of Frank W. Bird and grandfather of the late Charles Sumner Bird.

And by purchase, and exchange, an engraving of King Charles I in the Guard Room; a copy of the *New England Tour* (Boston, 1860) of the Prince of Wales and his suite, and the program of the dance at the Melodeon in their honor; also a silver knife and fork used at the banquet given them there in charge of Mr. J. B. Smith, which passed into the hands of his executor, Theodore H. Raymond, from whose sister, Miss S. E. Raymond, they were obtained; also two badges of the Roxbury Dudley Club, and nine medals.

The Chair announced the death of William Coolidge Lane, a Resident Member, on March 18, 1931.

The Society then elected by ballot Thomas Hovey Gage, of Worcester, a Resident Member of the Society, and Harold William Vazeille Temperley, of Peterhouse, Cambridge, England, a Corresponding Member.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

In the absence of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Pickman read the

Report of the Council

The Society closes another year with an encouraging outlook. The serious drawback to the full success of all its efforts is the lack of enlarged quarters for housing in the best way its valuable collections. The steady growth of the Library and the more positive demands for service open new responsibilities.

Volume LXII of the *Proceedings*, October, 1928, to June, 1929, was issued in June, 1930, containing timely Tercentenary material which included a reproduction of the Royal Charter of March 4, 1628–29, the first year of Governor Winthrop's *Journal*, and other contemporary material, with facsimile illustrations. This Tercentenary part was printed separately, entitled *The Founding of Massachusetts.*

Volume LXIII of the *Proceedings*, October, 1929, to June, 1930, now going through the press, will be issued in June, 1931. Two Serials of this volume will appear this spring for the purpose of corrections by the members. Volume II of the *Winthrop Papers* is also being printed, and its issue is expected in the late summer or early autumn. Volume IV of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates* (1690–1700) is being prepared as rapidly as possible and, it is hoped, will be published late in 1931. The services of Mr. Clifford K. Shipton have been engaged during the present academic year to prepare Mr. Sibley's material for this volume. The preparation of Volume LXXVIII of the *Collections*, comprising the Logs of the *Columbia* on the Northwest Coast, is still delayed. The work on the Consolidated Index of the *Proceedings*, XLI to LX, the third index volume in the whole series, is still in preparation by David M. Matteson. Volume XII of the *House Journals* (1734–1735), containing only one General Court, will be published within a few months.

The photostat machine continues to prove its worth to the Society in furnishing valuable copies of all material which passes through it. Two continuing years of the *Boston News-Letter*, 1770 and 1771, have been furnished to twenty-two subscribing libraries and individuals. Photostats of the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon's) for 1768 and 1769 have been delivered to twenty-six subscribers; and prints are now being made of the continuing years of this series for 1770 and 1771. The Rind issue of this *Gazette* will be taken up later. The *Americana* Series, begun in 1919 by Mr. Ford, came to an end when Number 261 was mailed to the ten subscribers on July 1, 1930.

The Society's building is now receiving heat from the Boston Medical Library, first turned on on February 27, 1931. The change is proving advantageous to both parties. The expenses of the Society are increasing and the purchasing power of the dollar is much less now than it was before the war. There is need of more money to make it possible to carry on its work satisfactorily.

The need of the proposed addition to the Society's building is being felt more and more. There is not sufficient space for its steadily increasing number of books, pamphlets, newspapers, manuscripts, and other pieces, or for the proper display of the many portraits and historical relics. The money with which to build this addition has been coming in very slowly, only $9,225 in the years 1923 to 1928, and only the accumulated interest in the years 1928 to 1931. The Building Fund now amounts to $48,338.70. The estimated cost of the addition would be $250,000.

Frederic Winthrop
For the Council

Report of the Treasurer

The $5,000 legacy of John Whittemore Farwell was the notable addition to the Society's funds during the year now ended. This sum was entered in the accounts as a permanent fund, without restrictions. Francis Henry Appleton and William L. Bottomley made gifts that were added to General Fund Principal; and Charles F. Adams, Francis R. Hart, and Stephen W. Phillips gave important sums to reimburse the Society for certain designated expenditures. Adams Fund Principal was increased $446 to $41,403.85, largely by royalties from sales of The Education of Henry Adams; and the cumulative funds were increased by $7,187.27. The Building Annex Fund now amounts to $48,338.70.

In several particulars the outcome of the year's transactions parallels that reported upon a year ago. Net income, before deducting for amortization, was $41,095.56, an increase of $754.11; but net operating expenses were $37,185.02, greater by $317.57 than the year previous. Diversion of income to the cumulative funds principal was increased $274.32, and the excess of net operating expenses over available current income was $3,468.23, or $29.28 more than on March 31, 1930. Certain outlay for insurance, fixtures, and repairs, not likely to be recurrent the coming year, together with higher costs for publication and a deficit of $793.07 in the operation of the photostat, accounted for most of the expense arrears.

W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income for the publication of House Journals continues to show a comfortable balance. For publications other than House Journals there was expended a net sum of $5,690.76, or $2,380.13 less than in 1929–30.

The investment account, after a deduction for amortization of bond premiums, stands at $766,597.42, a sum $10,008.96 greater than last year. Capital net gains on bonds and stocks amounted to but $242.01. Old Colony Gas Company 5s, 1931, and $3,000 of New England Telephone & Telegraph Company 5s, 1932, showing attractive yield for short-term investment, were sold to take advantage of the premium offered; but purchases were limited to Massachusetts Gas Companies Debenture 5s, 1955, Crucible Steel Company of America 5s, 1940, to common stock of the United States Steel Corporation, and to exercising subscription rights to American Telephone & Telegraph Company stock. Funds Income accounts were credited at the rate of 6.085 per cent, or 0.015 per cent more than in 1930. The actual yield of investments was 5.40 per cent, comparing with 5.33 per cent in the year 1929–30. Pacific Mills stock is the only unproductive property now among the Society's investments.

On a bid basis, March 31, 1931, bonds showed appreciation of $9,418.59 over book value; preferred stocks showed enhanced market value of $9,035.25 over cost; while the ownership of shares in two Boston banks, the Merchants and the Second, was an important factor in an appreciation of $12,069.24 in the Society's holdings of common stocks. The corresponding item at the end of the fiscal year in 1930 was

$64,975.74. The total appreciation over book value as of March 31, 1931, was $30,523.08. The Society's securities are divided 46.4 per cent bonds, 20 per cent preferred stocks, and 33.6 per cent common stocks.

Acknowledgment is made for generous consideration shown matters of investment by members of the Finance Committee.

G. G. Wolkins
Treasurer

April 9, 1931

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS AS OF MARCH 31, 1931

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

	Interest Rate	*Due*	*Book Value*
Government and Municipal			
Kingdom of Denmark Ext.	6	1942	$ 9,502.50
City of Winnipeg	6	1946	15,728.50
			$25,231.00
Railroads			
Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	5	1938	$ 10,150.00
Boston & Maine Railroad Registered	4½	1944	6,000.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.	4½	1946	10,000.00
Chesapeake Corporation	5	1947	4,000.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Co.	4¾	1949	10,170.00
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co.	4½	1961	9,525.00
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust	5	1935	4,807.87
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust	5	1936	4,796.32
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.	6	1948	25,000.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad	5	1946	10,000.00
Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	4¾	1963	8,779.25
Pere Marquette Railway Co.	5	1956	15,000.00
			$118,228.44
Public Utilities			
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1960	$ 9,807.50
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co.	5	1939	9,975.00
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1942	8,000.00
Central Georgia Power Co.	5	1938	9,950.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5	1963	8,640.00
Dedham Water Co.	5	1935	5,037.50
Detroit Edison Co.	5	1933	9,500.00
Florida Power & Light Co.	5	1954	9,400.00
Home Tel. & Tel. Co. of Spokane	5	1936	19,025.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp.	6	1953	5,210.00
International Tel. & Tel. Corp.	4½	1952	9,682.50
Massachusetts Gas Companies	5	1955	7,840.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	7,000.00
Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co.	5	1950	4,987.50
Pacific Gas & Electric Co., Ser. C.	5½	1952	9,800.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1937	9,565.00
Western Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1932	8,912.50
Western Union Telegraph Co.	5	1938	8,716.53
			$161,049.03
Industrials			
American Sugar Refining Co.	6	1937	$ 5,889.00
Chic. Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards	5	1940	9,919.44
Crucible Steel Co. of America	5	1940	5,970.00
International Paper Co.	5	1947	9,770.00
Quincy Market Cold Storage & W. Co.	5½	1946	10,000.00
Warren Brothers Co.	5½	1937	9,975.00
			$ 51,523.44
Total Bonds			$356,031.91 [1]

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[1] The market value on March 31, 1931, was $364,392.50.

Schedule of Stocks

PREFERRED STOCKS

Railroads	Shares	Book Value
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co., pfd.	158	$ 15,800.00
Boston & Maine Railroad, prior pref.	90	9,000.00
Boston & Maine Railroad, 1st pfd. A	25	2,725.00
		$ 27,525.00
Public Utilities		
Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co., pfd.	10	$ 880.00
Electric Bond & Share Co., pfd.	300	31,900.00
Engineers Public Service Co., 5% pfd.	100	10,000.00
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., pfd.	52	5,460.00
Southern California Edison Co., pfd.	700	16,925.00
		$ 65,165.00
Industrials		
American Smelting & Refining Co., pfd.	75	7,800.00
American Sugar Refining Co., pfd.	50	5,781.25
Chic. Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards, pfd.	150	15,450.00
Kansas City Stock Yards Co., pfd.	302	23,556.00
United States Steel Corp., pfd.	60	8,490.00
		$ 61,077.25
Total Preferred Stocks		$153,767.25 [2]

COMMON STOCKS

Railroads	Shares	Book Value
Boston & Albany Railroad	35	$ 7,315.00
Old Colony Railroad Co.	25	4,200.00
Southern Pacific Co.	375	46,494.38
		$ 58,009.38
Public Utilities		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	140	$ 18,698.75
Western Massachusetts Companies	197	12,483.75
Western Union Telegraph Co.	40	4,657.50
		$ 35,840.00
Industrials		
General Electric Co.	400	$ 8,056.88
General Electric Co., special	10	0
Pacific Mills	400	19,860.00
Pullman, Inc.	50	4,316.25
United Fruit Co.	263	10,858.25
United States Steel Corp.	200	30,950.00
		$ 74,041.38
Real Estate		
Boston Ground Rent Trust	100	$ 11,775.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	60	6,720.00
Boston Wharf Co.	125	13,800.00
State Street Exchange of Boston	5	410.00
Western Real Estate Trustees	100	18,370.00
		$ 51,075.00
Banks		
Merchants National Bank of Boston	85	$ 24,332.50
Second National Bank of Boston	200	13,500.00
		$ 37,832.50
Total Common Stocks		$256,798.26 [3]
Total Stocks (common and preferred)		$410,565.51 [4]

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[2] The market value on March 31, 1931, was $162,802.50.
[3] The market value on March 31, 1931, was $268,867.50.
[4] The market value on March 31, 1931, was $431,670.00.

BALANCE SHEET, MARCH 31, 1931

Resources:		
Cash, on deposit with State Street Trust Co. . .	$ 916.25	
Petty cash on hand at 1154 Boylston St.	200.00	$ 1,116.25
Investments — Bonds	$356,031.91	
— Stocks	410,565.51	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,362.34	767,959.76
Real Estate		97,990.32
		$867.066.33
Liabilities:		
Funds — Principal	$684,939.87	
— Income	24,682.94	$709,622.81
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston St.		25,000.00
Building Account		72,990.32
Capital Reserve		59,211.19
Gain and Loss		242.01
		$867,066.33

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance, March 31, 1930			$756,588.46
Acquired by purchase or exchange:			
Bonds:			
$6,000 Crucible Steel Co. of Am. 5s, 1940	$ 5,970.00		
8,000 Mass. Gas Cos. Deb. 5s, 1955	7,840.00	$13,810.00	
Stocks:			
20 shs. American Tel. & Tel. Co. (subscription)	$ 2,050.00		
200 " U. S. Steel Corp., com. . .	30,950.00	$33,000.00	
Book value of securities acquired, 1930–31 . .		$46,810.00	
Sold, called, matured, or exchanged:			
Bonds:			
$7,000 Kingdom of Belgium 7½s, 1945	$ 8,332.00		
8,500 Swift & Co. 5s, 1932	8,500.00		
7,000 Great Western Power Co. of Cal. 5½s, 1930	6,926.79		
1,000 Chesapeake Corp. 5s, 1947	1,000.75		
4,000 American Sugar Ref. Co. 6s, 1937	3,926.00		
5,000 Old Colony Gas Co. 5s, 1931	4,900.00		
3,000 New England Tel. & Tel. Co. 5s, 1932	3,024.00		
Book value of securities disposed of, 1930–31		$36,609.54	
		$10,200.46	
Less deduction for amortization of premium on bonds[5]		191.50	$ 10,008.96
Balance, March 31, 1931			$766,597.42

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[5] *Amortization:*

$10,000 Boston & Albany R. R. 5s, 1938	$29.00	
10,000 Canadian Pacific Ry. Co. 5½s, 1946	7.50	
4,000 Chesapeake Corporation 5s, 1947	3.00	
10,000 Chicago & Northwestern R. R. 4¾s, 1947	12.50	
5,000 Dedham Water Co. 5s, 1935	12.50	
5,000 Illinois Power & Light Corp. 6s, 1953	15.00	
7,000 New England Tel. & Tel. Co. 5s, 1932	56.00	
15,000 City of Winnipeg 6s, 1946	56.00	$191.50

Gains and Losses on Sales of Securities for the Year ended March 31, 1931

Gains:	*Book Value*	*Sales*	*Gains*	
Bonds:				
$8,500 Swift & Co. 5s, 1932	$ 8,500.00	$ 8,563.75	$ 63.75	
7,000 Gt. Western Power Co. of Cal. 5½s, 1930	6,926.79	7,000.00	73.21	
4,000 American Sugar Ref. Co. 6s, 1937	3,926.00	4,120.00	194.00	
5,000 Old Colony Gas Co. 5s, 1931	4,900.00	5,034.02	134.02	
3,000 New England Tel. & Tel. Co. 5s, 1932	3,024.00	3,051.75	27.75	
	$27,276.79	$27,769.52	$492.73	
Stocks:				
1 sh. Engineers Public Service Co. com.	$ 28.56	$ 60.59	$ 32.03	
Total Gains				$524.76

Losses:	*Book Value*	*Sales*	*Losses*	
Bonds:				
$7,000 Kingdom of Belgium 7½s, 1945	$8,332.00	$8,050.00	$282.00	
1,000 Chesapeake Corp. 5s, 1947	1,000.75	1,000.00	.75	
	$9,332.75	$9,050.00		$282.75
Balance, Gain and Loss, March 31, 1931 (*Net Gain*)				$242.01

Funds Principal Accounts for the Year ended March 31, 1931

Added:	*Royalties*	*Gifts*	*Income*	
Adams	$446.00			$ 446.00
Anonymous			$ 848.67	848.67
Building Annex			2,772.90	2,772.90
Farwell		$5,000.00		5,000.00
General		75.00		75.00
Lodge			63.86	63.86
J. L. Sibley			3,501.84	3,501.84
	$446.00	$5,075.00	$7,187.27	
Net Increase in Funds Principal balances				$ 12,708.27
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1930				697,231.60
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1931				$709,939.87

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1931

Receipts:		
Income from securities, after deducting accrued interest on securities bought	$41,160.14	
Less interest paid on temporary loans	189.77	
	$40,970.37	
Interest on bank balance, other than Savings Accounts	62.70	$41,033.07
John Whittemore Farwell legacy		5,000.00
Gift of Francis Henry Appleton, added to General Fund Principal		50.00
Gift of William L. Bottomley, added to General Fund Principal		25.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal		446.00
Withdrawal from Provident Institution for Savings		63.83
Securities sold, called, or matured: Bonds	$36,819.52	
Stocks	60.59	36,880.11
		$83,498.01
Cash on hand, March 31, 1930		1,441.82
		$84,939.83
Disbursements:		
Net Operating Expenses		$37,185.02
Securities acquired: Bonds	$13,810.00	
Stocks	33,028.56	46,838.56
		$84,023.58
Cash on hand, March 31, 1931		916.25
		$84,939.83

INCOME SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1931

Receipts:			
Income from securities		$41,210.41	
Less:			
Accrued interest on securities bought	$ 50.27		
Interest paid on temporary loans	189.77		
Amortization of premium on bonds	191.50	431.54	
		$40,778.87	
Interest on bank balances		62.70	
Interest credited by Savings Banks		62.49	$40,904.06
Deduct income added to cumulative funds:			
Anonymous		$ 848.67	
Building Annex		2,772.90	
Lodge		63.86	
J. L. Sibley		3,501.84	7,187.27
Current Income available for Operating Expenses			$33,716.79
Operating Expenses (net) charged to Funds Income			37,185.02
Excess Expenses over Current Available Income			$ 3,468.23

NET OPERATING EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1931

Bindery:			
Salary	$1,440.00		
Supplies	69.76	$ 1,509.76	
Less credits		14.00	$ 1,495.76
Building:			
Cleaning		$ 612.08	
Electricity for elevator and light		222.01	
Elevator		279.12	
Furnishings, care, replacement:			
Display cases refitted	$ 300.00		
Gas water heater (new)	160.00		
Sundries	80.98	540.98	
Grounds, care, etc.		124.11	
Heating, including salary of H. C. Fuller		2,817.10	
Insurance, boiler, compensation, liability	$ 587.70		
Less return premium through rate reduction on insurance previously in effect	106.10	481.60	
Repairs, stone work, roof, windows		1,143.41	
Telephone		210.51	
Water		25.73	$ 6,456.65
Cabinet			20.00
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and Assistant			7,569.02
Engrossing: diplomas			6.50
Fares			14.85
Library:			
Binding	$ 126.00		
Less credits	19.00	$ 107.00	
Bookplate for Henry Adams Collection	467.75		
Less Gift of Charles F. Adams	467.75	0	
Librarian and Staff, salaries		$10,540.08	
Purchases: Books, Serials, etc.		1,816.25	
Supplies		37.67	
		12,501.00	
Less sale of duplicates		507.00	$11,994.00
Meetings			382.36
Photostat:			
Binding		$ 362.00	
Cleaning, towels		90.00	
Collection charges		.65	
Electricity		221.98	
Gas for water heater		125.25	
R. H. Pearman, salary		2,600.04	
Printing		1.50	
Purchases		2,901.58	
Repairs, alterations		32.54	
Carry forward		$6,335.54	$27,939.14

Brought forward			$6,335.54	$27,939.14
Photostat (continued):				
Water			67.98	
			$ 6,403.52	
Less sales			5,610.45	793.07
Postage				$ 149.17
Publications:				
William Gordon Letters (Waterston No. 3 Fund Income)				
Storage of type			$ 66.72	
House Journals, Vol. 11 (W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income)				
Composition, etc.		$2,239.37		
Less sales		884.74	1,354.63	
Proceedings, Vol. 62 (Peabody Fund Income)				
Binding, entire volume	$251.46			
Separate "Founding of Massachusetts"	229.68	$ 481.14		
Composition, etc.		1,646.89		
Index		200.00		
Photogravures		848.47		
Photostats		77.80		
Sundries		178.23		
		$3,432.53		
Less sales of "Founding" separate		140.70	3,291.83	
Proceedings, Vol. 63 (Waterston No. 3 Fund Income)				
Half-tone, Washington letter		$ 20.29		
Negatives and prints		1.56		
Photogravure, George Phillips petition	$77.75			
Less Gift of Stephen W. Phillips	77.75	0		
Separate, "George Phillips"		186.66		
Travel		18.30		
Typing		12.00	238.81	
Proceedings, Vol. 64 (Peabody Fund Income				
Engraving, map showing boundaries of Bay Colony		14.45		
Photogravures and prints, Winslow Warren		85.50		
Print of Washington portrait		.48	100.43	
John L. Sibley's "Sketches of Harvard Graduates" continuation (J. L. Sibley Fund Income)				
Part-time compensation of Clifford K. Shipton		$1,350.00		
Sundry charges		25.40	1,375.40	
Carry forward			$6,427.82	$28,881.38

Brought forward	$6,427.82	$28,881.38
Publications (continued):		
Winthrop Papers, Vol. 2 (Robert Winthrop Fund Income)		
Part-time compensation of G. W. Robinson	1,250.02	
	$ 7,677.84	
Less sales other than House Journals and "Founding" separate	632.45	$ 7,045.39
Shipping: express charges		73.55
Stationery		13.55
Subscriptions:		
American Historical Association, Boston meeting	$ 500.00	
Less Gift of Francis R. Hart	500.00	
	0	
Bay State Historical League	2.00	
Writings on American History	50.00	52.00
Treasurer:		
Assistant, salary	$ 800.04	
Audit of accounts, May 1930	50.00	
State Street Trust Company, agency fees	198.27	
Sundry charges	45.84	
Surety bond premium	25.00	1,119.15
Total Net Operating Expenses		$37,185.02

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME
March 31, 1931

	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1930	Funds Income	Charges to Income	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1931	Funds Principal
Adams		$2,492.48	$2,492.48		$41,403.85
Amory		182.56	182.56		3,000.00
Appleton		742.61	742.61		12,203.00
Bigelow	$ −14.21	121.71	107.50		2,000.00
Billings	607.33	608.55		$ 1,215.88	10,000.00
Boit	2,577.12	304.27		2,881.39	5,000.00
Brattle Street	84.15	8.83		92.98	100.00
Chamberlain		75.01	75.01		1,232.33
Dowse		608.55	608.55		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	2,645.15	1,521.37	1,354.63	2,811.89	25,000.00
Ellis		1,927.07	1,927.07		31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell					5,000.00
Frothingham		182.56	182.56		3,000.00
General	−2,409.09	3,524.32	1,115.23		57,988.66
Hunnewell	5,909.05	304.27		6,213.32	5,000.00
Lawrence	98.31	182.56		280.87	3,000.00
Lodge		255.46	255.46		5,311.07
Lowell	−90.28	182.56	92.28		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		121.71		121.71	2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		608.55	608.55		10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross		608.55	608.55		10,000.00
Parker	131.78	53.66	16.08	169.36	1,000.00
Peabody	1,054.95	1,346.29	2,759.81	−358.57	22,123.00
Salisbury	−118.44	304.27	185.83		5,000.00
Savage	142.75	365.13	143.10	364.78	6,000.00
Schouler	1,127.16	173.44	1,300.60		2,850.00
C. A. L. Sibley		1,369.81	1,369.81		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	11,148.74	10,505.53	17,202.57	4,451.70	233,678.84
Slafter		60.85	60.85		1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		912.82	912.82		15,000.00
Warren		60.85	60.85		1,000.00
Washburn		152.14	152.14		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	2,865.67	304.27	36.45	3,133.49	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	−365.69	608.55		242.86	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,811.75	608.55	305.53	4,114.77	10,000.00
Waterston Library	−2,990.62	235.83		−2,754.79	3,875.14
Robert Winthrop	1,838.42	912.82	1,251.38	1,499.86	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		730.26	730.26		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		143.90	143.90		2,364.66
William Winthrop	97.17	304.27	200.00	201.44	5,000.00
	$28,151.17	$33,716.79	$37,185.02	$24,682.94	$646,806.69
Anonymous Centenary		848.67*			14,794.48
Building Annex		2,772.90*			48,338.70
Lodge		63.86*			
J. L. Sibley		3,501.84*			
Total Funds Income		$40,904.06			
Total Funds Principal					$709,939.87

* Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned were appointed a Committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we attach herewith.

ALLAN FORBES
JOHN WOODBURY
Committee

May 14, 1931

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

May 13, 1931

MESSRS. ALLAN FORBES AND JOHN WOODBURY,
Examining Committee

Dear Sirs:

I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31st, 1931, and find that all payments have been accounted for and supported by proper vouchers, and receipts entered and checked with the bank statements.

One item on the balance sheet amounting to $200, petty cash on hand at 1154 Boylston Street, was confirmed by the Librarian.

The schedule of investments was in check with the list rendered by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

Respectfully,
E. E. JOBLING,
Auditor

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

At the second meeting of the Society, on April 9, 1791, just one hundred and forty years ago today, the first gifts to the Library were made: two pine-tree shillings of 1652 from our first President, James Sullivan, and printed material and manuscripts from seven more of the ten members. From these few gifts have grown our present valuable collections, gathered and enlarged from year to year through the devotion of interested members of our time-honored institution.

The past year has witnessed, with encouraging interest, the traditional growth of our library and of its increasingly helpful service to research and to historical scholarship. The accessions have risen to more than twenty-five hundred titles, of which nearly two thousand were gifts and about five hundred purchases, mainly from the income of the Grenville H. Norcross and Adams Funds. These enrichments of our source and secondary material have been received with grateful appreciation and thanks. Further important additions have been furnished from the constant output of our photostat machine. From this source of facsimile material the Library is fortunate in obtaining at a slight cost a large number of pieces the originals of which are beyond our hope of possessing.

Too much cannot be said of the superlative value of the resources of the Library. The rich treasures are found largely in its manuscript collection, which is among the largest in number and importance in the country. These treasures are guarded and brought to the best use of researchers by your Library staff, with the best care possible. To this collection scholars are attracted more and more. The one great and imperative need is to make this material more completely accessible. Under the present conditions and the multiplicity of demands upon the time of the Staff, the process of cataloguing is necessarily slow and full of interruptions. Another person in addition to the one now doing this work, to be solely employed in cataloguing manuscripts, would greatly improve the usefulness of our service. The Library should be in a position constantly to raise the standard of service to the highest plane possible.

A word of praise is due to all members of the Staff for their generous and devoted service under conditions which are increasingly difficult as the days and weeks pass by. We are still marking time, awaiting the fulfillment of the dream of larger and much needed quarters for housing our wealth of possessions, with ample spaces for expansion at least for another generation. Thirty-two years have elapsed since the Society took full possession of this new building at its Annual Meeting on April 13, 1899. May not the time be at hand for undertaking this new problem? The new heating of this building by the Boston Medical Library is very satisfactory;

and this important change has released a good part of the time of our Engineer for a much needed service in helping to care for the Library, which is timely in every way.

The Library needs most of all the devoted service of the members of the Society, whose encouragement will be an invaluable assistance in building up a better structure. May I remind the Society of an interesting change in its By-Laws which occurred at the June meeting, 1907? At that time, soon after the Society had received the munificent bequests of the Sibley Funds, President Adams conceived the idea of lifting the tone of the Society's standing by placing its Resident Membership on a purely honorary basis by not requiring the payment of admission, annual, and life-membership fees. The good financial condition of the Society at that time made it possible to make the change. The opportunity was then opened for some form of generous response from the membership in return for this relief. It was then thought that the new conditions would lead to " the implied obligation that each person according to the measure of his ability and opportunity, shall endeavor to promote the objects for which the Society was founded." Since then constant gifts from several members of the Society have indicated their gratitude and deep interest in its welfare, and the hope is expressed that this warm-hearted support may become widespread among our members.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE
Librarian

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

The additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings*.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports additions to the number of fifty-six, of which thirty-seven were from Massachusetts; also five pieces of paper money.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS
Cabinet-Keeper

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and the Cabinet met on April 2 and made the customary survey. It was very favorably impressed with the present condition of the Society's property and possessions in these departments and with the provisions taken for their preservation. The Library is in excellent order, and the neatness of the Cabinet commanded admiration. The Committee was happy to learn that the chronic need of more room in which to house our books and newspapers can be met for the time being by using rooms in the basement that have become available as a result of the new heating arrangement. Now that we draw our heat from an adjacent building, the space formerly used for the storage of coal, and to a certain extent the furnace room, may be devoted to this purpose.

If funds are available, the Committee feels that a small amount might well be expended upon the cleaning and possibly the restoration of some of the Society's portraits. For the most part these are in a satisfactory state of preservation, but the portrait of Samuel Sewall and perhaps one or two others will require attention before long.

The great question in the mind of the Committee concerned the nature of the Library. Should the Society continue to spend its money for miscellaneous works on American biography and history, or would it do better to devote its resources almost exclusively to the acquisition of printed material pertaining to Massachusetts before 1800? At the present time there is not a single institution in the Commonwealth that is attempting to make such a collection, yet in almost every State in the country there is at least one library that is making a serious effort to collect the literature of its own State. Is it not almost the duty of some library in Massachusetts to do this for Massachusetts? And if so, can it be done more appropriately than by this Society? Ours is a research library, not a lending library or a place where members drop in to read recent books. How can we make better use of our funds than by building up a collection of printed material relating to early Massachusetts that will be in a class by itself? Having pondered this question, the Committee recommends that the Society try the experiment, for at least one year, of confining its purchases almost exclusively to early Massachusetts material and to such books as the Editor may find essential to his work.

In closing, the Committee ventures to remind members that complimentary copies of their works, new and old, are always welcome accessions to the Library. This is the simplest and in some cases the only way in which the Society can be certain of possessing a complete file of the productions of its members.

Lawrence Shaw Mayo
Albert Matthews
Clarence S. Brigham

The Committee to Nominate Officers for the ensuing year made its Report, presenting candidates, and a ballot being taken, the following were elected:

PRESIDENT

William Crowninshield Endicott

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Henry Lefavour
Charles Homer Haskins

RECORDING SECRETARY

Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Roger Bigelow Merriman

TREASURER

George Gregerson Wolkins

LIBRARIAN

Julius Herbert Tuttle

CABINET-KEEPER

Grenville Howland Norcross

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE OF THE COUNCIL

Edward Motley Pickman
Frank Washburn Grinnell
Chester Noyes Greenough
Claude Moore Fuess
Francis Russell Hart

Mr. George Francis Dow read a paper on

Shipping and Trade in Early New England

New England, with its many rivers and indented coast line, has been, until recent years, a breeding place of sailors and a location for shipbuilding. During the first century following the settlement, the larger part of the population lived near the coast, and as roads between towns were poor, it naturally followed that craft of small tonnage were constantly employed for transport on the ocean and the navigable rivers, and as no great extent of rich soil was found awaiting cultivation, many settlers, of necessity, turned to fishing and to trade. A ship-carpenter was brought over to Plymouth in 1624, who "quickly builte them .2. very good and strong shalops . . . and a great and strong lighter, and had . . . timber for .2. catches" framed when he fell sick of a fever and shortly died.[1] These shallops were used in opening a fur trade among the Indians on the Kennebec river that eventually discharged the indebtedness of the Pilgrims to the London Adventurers.

Six shipwrights were sent over by the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in the spring of 1629, together with a considerable stock of ship stores, such as pitch, tar, cordage, and sail cloth.[2] Doubtless these men were employed at the outset in housing the settlers and in building small fishing boats.

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[1] William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (Worthington C. Ford, Ed., Boston, 1912), I. 377.

[2] "Records of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay," *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, III. 90.

The first vessel of any size built in the Bay Colony of which there is record was Governor Winthrop's trading bark, *The Blessing of the Bay,* of thirty tons, built mainly of locust, which went to sea, August 31, 1631, on a voyage to the eastward and afterwards traded with the Dutch at New Amsterdam.[3]

In January, 1633, Emanuel Downing wrote to the Council for New England that he had made inquiries of Mr. Winthrop respecting the ship-carpenters employed in New England and found that the plantation was able to build ships of any burden. Their most competent shipwright was William Stephens, who, when in England, had built the *Royal Merchant,* a ship of six hundred tons.

The General Court, in 1639, exempted ship-carpenters and fishermen, during the fishing season, from compulsory military training.[4] Two years later the Court was informed that some shipwrights were scanting their work and an order was adopted providing for a survey of all ship construction as was usual in England at that time.[5]

The coasting trade led to the building of small shallops and sloops, and the need of firewood in Boston and Charlestown brought about the building of sloops, broad of beam, intended especially for that trade. These and fishing craft were soon being built all along the coast. As early as 1634, one merchant in Marblehead owned eight fishing craft, and Portsmouth, N. H., had six great shallops, five fishing boats with sails and anchors, and thirteen skiffs in the trade as early as 1635. Richard Hollingsworth, in 1637, had a shipyard at Salem Neck and, in 1641, built "a prodigious ship of 300 Tons."

The number of New England vessels used in foreign commerce during the seventeenth century was considerable, and the mainstay of the trade was the fisheries. Off-shore fishing in the early days was carried on in shallops — capacious open boats carrying several pairs of oars and also fitted with masts and sails. They were sometimes decked over, in whole or in part, and usually carried one mast with a lugsail. Many of these small craft were built in the winter-time by the fishermen and their sons, as a fisherman is always more or less of a boat-builder by virtue of his calling. The necessary lumber would be cut in the common woods and got out a bit at a time, and the boat when built would actually cost its owner little more than the outlay for certain necessary fittings. These boats might be framed in anywhere, on the beach in front of the fisherman's cottage, in his dooryard, or in the woods some distance from the shore, to which the hull would be dragged by oxen, on sledges of timber. It was in 1645 that the first craft were sent to " the banks " from Massachusetts for deep-water fishing, " a ship and other vessels," rig unknown.[6]

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[3] *Winthrop's Journal* (James K. Hosmer, Ed., New York, 1908), I. 67.

[4] *Massachusetts Bay Records* (Boston, 1853), I. 258.

[5] *Ibid.,* I. 337.

By 1665, there were 300 New England vessels trading with Barbados, Virginia, Madeira, Acadia, and other places, and 1300 smaller craft were fishing at Cape Sable. Cod and mackerel were caught and salted. The best fish were sent to Malaga and the Canaries, the second sort to the Portugal Islands, and the worst to Barbados, there to be used in the diet of negro slaves. At that time the principal commodities produced in the Massachusetts Bay, in addition to fish, were pipe-staves, masts, fir-boards, pitch, tar, pork, beef, and horses and corn, markets for which were found above all in Virginia and Barbados. Tobacco and sugar were taken in payment and shipped to England. Excellent masts and many pipe-staves were shipped from the Piscataqua. There were more than twenty sawmills located on that river, and a " great store of good timber spoilt," reported an agent of Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State.[7] New England masts, thirty-three to thirty-five inches in diameter, at that time cost the Navy Commissioners from £95 to £115 each. The agent also reported that Boston, the chief town, was built on " a peninsula in the bottom of a bay, which is a good harbour and full of fish. . . . The houses are generally wooden, the streets crooked, and neither days, months, seasons, churches, nor inns are known by their English names." [8]

During the middle years of the seventeenth century the waters of the West Indies were covered with privateers commissioned to prey upon Spanish commerce. Not only did the home government issue these commissions, but every colonial governor as well, and not infrequently it was difficult to separate privateering from piracy. John Quelch, who was hanged in Boston for piracy in 1704, preyed upon Portuguese commerce in supposed safety, and not until he returned to Marblehead did he learn of the treaty of peace that made him a pirate. In 1653, Thomas Harding captured a rich prize sailing from Barbados and in consequence was tried in Boston for piracy, but saved his neck when he was able to prove that the vessel was Dutch and not Spanish.

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[6] *Winthrop's Journal*, II. 248.

[7] *Calendar of State Papers, Am. and W. I.* (1661–1668), 347.

[8] *Ibid.*, 346.

The town of Newport, R. I., frequently profited from the visits of known pirates, as in 1688 when Peterson, in a "barkalonga" of ten guns and seventy men, refitted there, and no bill could be obtained against him from the grand jury since they were neighbors and friends of many of the men on board. Two Salem ketches also traded with him, and a master of one brought into "Martin's Vineyard" a prize that Peterson, "the pirate, had taken in the West Indies."[9] Andrew Belcher, a well-known Boston merchant and master of the ship *Swan,* paid Peterson £57 in money and provisions for hides and elephants' teeth taken from his plunder.

The ill-defined connection between privateering and piracy was fully recognized in those days and characterized publicly by the clergy. In 1704, when Cotton Mather preached his *Faithful Warnings to prevent Fearful Judgments . . . a brief Discourse Occasioned by a Tragical Spectacle in a Number of Miserables under a Sentence of Death for Piracy,* he remarked that "the Privateering Stroke so easily degenerates into the Piratical; and the Privateering Trade is usually carried on with an Unchristian Temper, and proves an Inlet unto so much Debauchery and Iniquity."[10]

Another strong influence that led to insecurity on the high seas and eventually to outright piracy was the operation of the English Navigation Acts. While European nations agreed in theory that the possession of colonies meant the exclusive control of their trade and manufactures, the attempt of any one to enforce such a policy as against the rest automatically produced all kinds of devices on their part to break the monopoly. Such counter-measures, however, had no effect upon the orthodox view. In 1696, for instance, Colonel Charles Lidgett, a New England merchant, in "Some Considerations Offered to the Board of Trade," wrote that all the American Colonies were "generally esteemed according to the convenience and benefit which they bring to England, their mother."[11] Lord Chatham at a later time wrote: "The British colonists in North America have no right to manufacture so much as a nail for a horse shoe"; while Lord Sheffield took the further position that the only use of American colonies was "the monopoly of their consumption, and the carriage of their produce."[12]

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[9] *Massachusetts Archives,* xxxv. 61.

[10] George F. Dow and John H. Edmonds, *Pirates of the New England Coast, 1630–1730* (Salem, 1923), 10.

English merchants naturally wished to sell at high prices and to buy colonial raw materials as cheaply as possible, and as they were unable to supply a market for all that was produced, the colonies were at a disadvantage in both buying and selling. By the Acts of Navigation certain "enumerated" articles could be marketed only in England or, under certain conditions, in an English colony. Lumber, salt provisions, grain, rum, and other non-enumerated articles might, on the other hand, be sold in a broader market but must be transported in English or plantation-built vessels of which the owners and three-fourths of the mariners were English subjects. Freight rates thus advanced, as other nations, notably the Dutch, had previously enjoyed a good share of the carrying trade.

What might be called the first Navigation Act was passed in 1645,[13] and by the end of the century the main structure of British mercantilism had been enacted into law. Long before that, however, it was found that these attempts to monopolize the colonial markets brought resistance in the form of smuggling and an extensive trade with privateers and pirates, who brought into all the smaller ports of New England captured merchandise that was sold at prices below the usual market values. Matters went from bad to worse, and servants of the Crown frequently combined with the colonists to evade the obnoxious laws. Even the Royal Governors connived at what was going on. This was particularly true in the colonies south of New England.

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[11] *Cal. State Papers, Am. and W. I.* (1696–1697), 84.

[12] Viscount Bury, *Exodus of the Western Nations* (London, 1865), II. 35.

[13] Edward Channing, "The Navigation Laws," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, VI. 161.

There were " pirates " and pirates. The one were letters-of-marque ships or smugglers enjoying the protection of merchants and officials, the other were genuine freebooters. In 1690, Governor Bradstreet of the Massachusetts Bay was complaining of the great damage done to shipping by " French Privateers and Pirates," and four years later Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, was asking for a frigate to cruise about the St. Lawrence against the New England *"corsaires et filibusters."* [14] There is no doubt that these French privateers were a considerable menace to New England shipping and that there was need of privately armed vessels to protect the coast, a task not easy or desirable. Why then should one scrutinize too closely semi-piratical captures made by such useful friends?

The profits of the piracy and irregular trade practiced at that time were large; twenty-nine hundred per cent was indeed not unusual. What wonder that adventurous men took chances and that honest letters-of-marque sometimes seized upon whatever crossed their course? The pirate, the privateer, and the armed merchantman often blended the one into the other.

Edward Randolph landed in Boston on June 10, 1676, and during the next week the following vessels arrived in port:

> . . . from Nantes a Bostoner, 100 tons, Clutterbuck, master, laden with 50 butts brandy and French commodities, a pink of Boston from France, of 70 tons, with 12 tun of brandy, wine, etc., a Scotsman, 130 tons, from the Canaries, with 80 pipes of Canary, a Bostoner, 80 tons, from the Canaries with 50 pipes of Canary, [and] . . . a ketch of Southampton from Canary. . . .[15]

Randolph reported to Secretary Coventry that the fishermen had made good voyages notwithstanding the war with the Indians. He estimated that the fish exported amounted to about £50,000 yearly with profitable returns in barter on masts and timber for shipping sent to Barbados and other of the Caribbean islands. The Bay of Campeachy supplied about 1000 tons of logwood annually. The maritime towns were well stored with sailors, fishermen, and carpenters, and yearly several ships of good burthen, besides ketches and barques, were built. In 1676, thirty vessels had been ordered set on the stocks by merchants in England, but the Indian War had prevented building the full number. Twelve, however, were in process of construction at Boston, Charlestown, Salisbury, and other places, some of which were upwards of 160 tons burthen.

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[14] Dow and Edmonds, *Pirates*, 18.

[15] *Cal. State Papers, Am. and W. I.* (1675–1676), 408.

In October, Randolph wrote that there were about thirty merchants in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine estimated to be worth from £10,000 to £20,000. Local commodities, consisting of naval stores, cattle, and provisions, were exported to Virginia and Maryland, to Spain, Portugal, the Straits, and England, and to the West Indies. To the latter were also sent " houses ready framed." Tobacco, sugar, indigo, cotton, wool, ginger, logwood, fustic, cocoa, and rum were imported and re-exported. Randolph wrote that New Englanders traded with most parts of Europe, from which they imported direct all kinds of merchandise, " so that little is left for English merchants to import." Some ships had been sent to Guinea and Madagascar and some to Scanderoon. " There are built in the Colony 730 ships varying from 6 to 250 tons, there are 30 master shipbuilders." Duties were imposed on provisions and wines imported, and on ships, but there was no custom on exports, except on horses.[16]

In April 1675, William Harris reported from Boston that

> . . . the merchants seem to be rich men, and their houses as handsomely furnished as most in London. In exchange of fish, pipe staves, wool, and tobacco, they have from Spain, Portugal, and the islands, the commodities of those countries; their wool they carry to France, and bring thence linen; to England they bring beaver, mouse [moose], and deer skins, sugar and logwood, and carry hence cloth and ironwares; to Barbadoes in exchange for horses, beef, pork, butter, cheese, flour, peas, biscuit, they have sugar and indigo; when they trade with Jamaica, as they do sometimes, they bring home pieces of eight, plate, and pigs of silver. . . . As to cloth,

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[16] *Ibid.*, 466.

there are made there Linsey woolseys, and other of cotton and wool, and some all sheeps wool, but the better sort of linen is brought from England; they have many woolcombers, and some make Tammyes but for their private use. Salt they get from Tortudas, not far from Barbadoes; it is sold at 10*s* the hogshead, and is clear and white as alum, very sharp and much stronger than ordinary bay salt.[17]

Governor Simon Bradstreet wrote in 1680, in answer to an inquiry from the Lords of the Privy Council:

There may bee neer twenty English merchants within our Goverment bred up to that calling, and neer as many others that do trade and merchandize more or less; but Forreign merchants of other Nations we have none . . . there are two or three [merchants' estates] in our Corporation that may bee worth Sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds apeice, some few others worth eight or ten thousand pounds apeice, a third sort worth four or five thousand pounds apeice . . . hee is accounted a rich man in the Country that is worth one thousand or Fifteen hundred pounds. . . . There are about one hundred or one hundred and twenty Ships Sloopes Katches and other Vessells that trade to and from hence yearly of our own or English built, most of them belonging to this Colony; wee have eight or ten Ships of one hundred ton's or upwards, three or four of two hundred ton's or more, and about forty or Fifty fishing Katches of betwixt twenty and Forty ton's; Six or eight English Ships do usually come hither yearly belonging to the Kingdom of England, bringing comodities of all sorts from thence.

The obstructions wee [meet] with in our trade is the generall decay of any profitable trade in the places wee mostly trade unto, vizt. to all his Majesties plantations in America, where wea [*sic*] vend our horses, boards, timber, provision, mackaril fish, etc. for the comodities of those places which are spent here or transported into England, but finde those markets many times so overlaid and clogged with the like comoditys from England Ireland and other places, that many of our comodities are sold at cheaper rates many times then [*sic*] they were worth at home. 2'dly The Algeir men of warr infesting the Seas in Europe have taken some of our Ships and men, which is a discouragement to our trade and navigation. 3ly. The French at Nova Scotia or Acad[i]a (as they call it) do interrupt our Fishers in those parts and Sir Edmond Andros Governour of New Yorke for his highness the Duke of Yorke doth the

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[17] *Cal. State Papers, Am. and W. I.* (1675–1676), 221–222.

> like betwixt the French and Pemaquid, requiring duty to be paid to them by all our Vessells that fish in those Seas, otherwise threatning to make prize of them, which hath been alwaies formerly free for his Majesties Subjects for Fishing ever since we came hither. . . . 4ly. The double custom which our merchants pay for Sugar Indigo Cotton wool Tobacco, etc. first at the places from whence they fetch these comodities, the greatest part whereof is transported from hence to England, where they pay the full custome again. . . .
>
> Wee impose no rates or duty's upon goods exported they being generally the produce of the Country got with hard labour and sold at low prizes, . . . and but one penny per pound upon goods imported, when they come into the merchant's hands, which is the taxe wee have set upon houses Lands cattle and other Estate of the Country yearly. . . .[18]

By the time Bradstreet wrote, the colonists were all comfortably housed according to the standards of the period and were producing all the foodstuffs needed and more. Wines and spirits were imported in considerable quantity to give variety to the native beer and cider. Much butter and cheese was brought from abroad and also luxuries such as spices, chocolate, raisins of the sun, almonds, figs, and oranges. Our English ancestors were gross eaters and drinkers. Mulled and spiced wines were drunk in the absence of tea and coffee, and highly seasoned dishes were popular. The absence of a variety of root-crops made it necessary to pickle meat, and pepper and spice were used to a considerable extent. There was a very comfortable and varied diet among the merchant and governing class, but the farmers and common people lived to a great extent on salt pork, beans, fish, and boiled foods. As for clothing, home industry, of course, provided a certain amount, but as yet the loom was not in common use. Between 1665 and 1675 over three hundred estates were settled in Essex County, Massachusetts, with only nine looms listed in the inventories. Eighty-three of these homes, however, possessed spinning wheels for cotton, linen, and wool, for every goodwife and child could knit stockings, mittens, and tippets. Among those who died during this ten years were two tailors, five shoemakers, a cloth-worker, and eight weavers.[19]

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[18] 3 *Collections*, VIII. 336–339.

[19] *Probate Records of Essex Co., Mass.* (Salem, 1917), II. *passim.*

Much clothing was brought from overseas, particularly for the town dwellers. John Hull, the mint-master, records in his diary in June, 1657 that three ships arrived from London bringing supplies of clothing, "for, as yet," he writes, "our chief supply, in respect of clothes, is from England." [20] He himself owned a number of vessels, and his little ketches were constantly on the go between Boston and Barbados and thence to Bilboa, London, or Bristol. He shipped salted fish, logwood, tobacco, furs, and plantation products and received iron in bars, salt, wines, and fruits from Spain, while from England came such items as dress goods, lead, and shot. His serges he wanted "sad coloured," none above forty-two shillings nor under thirty shillings. He also instructed one of his captains to load "dowlass and good nowell convass [which was used for sails], Dutch duffalls, red penystones and flanills, no such scalet cloth as you sent me [before]." He looked askance at calicoes. Another time he called for duffels, white, striped, or blue, with red and blue stockings, none above sixteen shillings and under if possible. He wanted no "kersey" that cost above forty-six pence per yard and the black stuff, either of "hair or wosted," must be cheap.[21]

A cousin once advised him to ship a cargo of pipe-staves, hoops, and fish to the Canaries, but he declined the venture and wrote in reply that he would "more and more affect and imbrace oppertunyty of getting out rather than running into the businesses of this world Speacially forraigne trafficque as desirous to be more thoughtfull of Lanching into that vast ocian of Eternity whether we must all shortly bee Carried that soe I might bee in a prepared posture for my Lord's Comeing. . . ." [22]

It is interesting to discover at how early a date it was possible to purchase the manufactured products of Old England in the shops in New England. It is known that George Corwin had set up a shop in Salem for the sale of fabrics and hardware as early as 1651, only twenty-three years after the first immigration. His shop was well stocked, and at the outset he was selling such luxuries as children's toys. Undoubtedly stocks of manufactured goods were on sale in the colony years before this time. In the matter of house hardware Corwin sold a considerable variety of locks. He carried stock locks of several sizes, spring locks with screws, single and double chest locks, warded outside chest locks, outside box locks, plain cupboard locks, and small and large padlocks, by no means a poor assortment for a small shop on the edge of the American wilderness.

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[20] *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society,* III. 180.

[21] William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1789* (Boston, 1890), I. 248.

[22] *Ibid.,* I. 249; cf. S. E. Morison, *Builders of The Bay Colony,* 170–178.

This shop a few years later was supplying the town with such articles as combs, white-haft knives, barbers' scissors, flour boxes, carving tools, carpenters' tools of all kinds, door latches, curry combs and brushes for horses, and a great variety of earthen and wooden ware. Its shelves held broadcloth, red-cloth rash, perpetuana, red cotton, sad-colored rugs, green rugs, green tammy, blue calico, crape, curley duroy, prunella, silk barronet, peniston, Persian silk, worsted faradeen, camblet, St. Peter's canvas, hall cloth, vittery, blue linen, and noyles, together with a great variety of hose, stomachers, ribbons, tape, fileting, silk and gimp laces, needles, pins, thread, buttons, and what not.[23]

The invoice of an importation made into Boston in 1690 contains such items as brass curtain rings, dressing glasses, square monument candlesticks, iron spring candlesticks, brass extinguishers and save-alls, tin lanterns, pocket nutmeg graters, bread graters, wooden rat traps with springs, and a great variety of other wooden ware. It seems strange that New England should import from across seas wooden plates and bowls, yet here they are: " 9 doz. best Maple Trenchers @ 30*s* per dozen " and " 1 doz. Porridge Dishes at 11*s* 4*d*." Here also are carved spoons, beer taps, hair sieves, sucking bottles, and milk trays.[24]

From the returns of outward and inward entries at the colonial ports, the records of which are now preserved in the Public Record Office in London, much may be learned concerning early shipping and trade in the Massachusetts Bay. Take, for example, the outward entries of shipping at the port of Boston for the last six months of the year 1714. During that time there were 236 clearances, not including, of course, fishermen and coasting craft. The rig is not stated in the first part of the register, but between September 21 and December 31 there were cleared forty-nine ships, eighteen brigantines, sixty-four sloops, two barques, one snow, one pink, and a "ship or snow" of forty tons. Not a schooner is mentioned. The largest ship measured 310 tons, and the smallest was the *Grayhound* of London, a British-built vessel of only 33 tons, carrying a crew of 5 men and a cargo of dyewood, turpentine, whale oil, barrel staves, and sugar. With the exception of five ships hailing from London, every vessel cleared was "plantation-built," that is, it had been built in one of the American colonies. Of the 236 entries, 147 of the vessels hailed from Boston; 18 were owned in London; 6 in Bristol; 4 came from the West Indies; and the rest hailed from New York, Virginia, Maryland, and other colonies. Most of them were small craft, averaging from thirty to sixty tons burthen.[25]

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[23] Curwen MSS. in Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

[24] John Caxy v. Joseph Mallenson, *Mass. Archives.*

The *Hopewell* of North Carolina, five tons, and a crew of two men, was loaded with rum and salt. The *Swallow* of Boston, twenty tons, and three men, sailed for Annapolis Royal with a cargo of tobacco, pitch, molasses, rum, pork, and English goods for the garrison. The sloop *Success,* owned in New York, twenty tons, with four men, sailed for home carrying four hogsheads of rum, pewter ware, a cart, chairs, and boxes, etc. The sloop *Pelican* of Boston, twenty-five tons, with four men, sailed for Virginia, loaded with forty-two barrels of salt, three hogsheads of rum, iron pots, etc. The sloop *Sea Flower* of Boston, forty tons, with six men, entered out, the third day of November, carrying bread, beer, onions, and peas for the logwood cutters in the Bay of Campeachy. The brigantine *William and Susanna,* owned in Salem, forty tons, and eight men, sailed for Virginia, carrying rum, lime juice, salt, earthen ware, etc. The sloop *Branch* of Boston, fifty tons, with six men, sailed for South Carolina carrying rum, blubber, onions, etc. The brigantine *Speedwell* of Boston, sixty tons, with seven men, cleared for Surinam, carrying ten pipes of wine and twenty horses. The ship *Brunswick* of Boston, sixty-five tons, two guns and ten men, sailed for Barbados, carrying thirty-seven hogsheads of fish, fifty boxes of candles, and fifteen boxes of soap. The ship *Mary Ann* of London, eighty tons, with four guns and ten men, entered out, bound for Lisbon, carrying 240 quintals of salted fish, "which is the whole cargo," states the register. The ship *Bedmunster* of Bristol, 100 tons, with 10 men, returned home with 18½ tons of dyewood, 507 barrels of tar, 307 barrels of pitch, 7 barrels of whale oil, and 40½ barrels of cranberries. The ship *Amity* of London, 130 tons, 6 guns and 14 men, returned with a cargo of 20 hogsheads of sugar, 5 bags of cotton, 168 tons, 9 cwt. 1 qr. and ¼ lb. of logwood, 10 barrels of pitch, pimento, wines, furs, and staves. The largest ship to clear was the *Sophia* of Boston, 310 tons, built in New Hampshire, armed with 18 guns and carrying a crew of 20 men. She sailed for Barbados carrying fish, corn, candles, and lumber.

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[25] Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 848–851; copies at Essex Institute.

Among the more unusual articles of merchandise enumerated in the cargo lists are "2 cases of returned pictures," shipped to London; pots and frying pans, to Maryland; apples, cider, Indian meal, and six sheep, shipped to Newfoundland; 230 barrels of cider shipped to Philadelphia; and rum, cider, iron and brass, saddles and bridles, etc. to North Carolina. Bricks, shingles, iron and wooden ware, hops, pickled sturgeon, beeswax, rice, furs, washed leather, linens, and calicoes are mentioned.

The West India trade called for lumber, horses, rum, food, and luxuries, and supplied in return sugar and molasses. Salt fish and pickled sturgeon were sent to Spain, Portugal, and the Western Islands — Roman Catholic countries. The important dyewood trade in the Bay of Campeachy required foodstuffs, and the coasting trade with the southern colonies called for manufactured goods of all sorts, supplying in return tobacco, pitch, turpentine, and tar, which were used in the New England shipyards and also reshipped to England. The fisheries in Newfoundland called for foodstuffs, while London and Bristol supplied markets for dyewoods, naval stores, furs, whale oil, sugar, manufactured lumber, and wines brought from Portugal and the Western Islands.

During the months of April, May, and June 1717, there were twenty-seven inward entries at the Salem Custom House.

All but three were plantation-built. Seventeen were owned in Salem; two hailed from London, two from Liverpool, and one from Bristol. There were eight ships, four brigantines, twelve sloops, and three schooners. The first of these schooners to enter was the *Fisher,* thirty tons, Timothy Orne, master, registered at the Salem Custom House, October 27, 1715. This is the earliest authentic record of a schooner I have ever found. Those vessels having the largest tonnage were the ship *Patience and Judith,* 100 tons, owned in London, carrying 6 guns and a crew of 14 men, and entering from the Isle of May with a cargo of 140 tons of salt; and, second, the ship *Friendship,* Captain Samuel Crow, 100 tons, owned in Salem, carrying 2 guns and a crew of 10 men, also entering from the Isle of May, with 90 tons of salt. Ten out of the twenty-seven entries brought in salt for the Salem fisheries. Rum and lignum-vitae wood came from the West Indies, and wheat, corn, beans, flour, flax, hides, pork, and lard came from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. The ships from English ports brought European goods.

During the last three months of 1754, eighty-seven vessels cleared outward at the Salem Custom House, sixty-eight of them schooners. The largest tonnage was the snow *Aurora* of Salem, 130 tons, built at Newbury that year, and sailing for Liverpool with a cargo of 15,000 staves and 40 tons of pine timber. Of the ten European clearances, seven were for Bilboa with salted fish; thirty-three cleared for ports in the West Indies; forty for southern colonies, and two for Newfoundland. The principal cargoes were salted fish, manufactured lumber, rum, sugar, molasses, salt, horses, sheep, and salted meats. Nearly all clearing for Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas carried cargoes of wooden, earthen, and iron wares, probably manufactured in Salem or its immediate vicinity. To the West Indies were shipped 26,000 bricks, and to South Carolina went 20 bales of hay. The two schooners clearing for Halifax were loaded with "dead meat," probably intended for the garrison.

During the first three months of the year 1762, fifty-three vessels, thirty-four of which were schooners, cleared from Salem bound for foreign ports and the southern colonies. The largest was the ship *Antelope,* 150 tons, a prize, registered at Salem in 1761 and owned by Richard Derby. She cleared for Guadeloupe with lumber, fish, train oil, and Fayal wines, one of nineteen to make for that port during those three winter months. Listed with the staples were these curious items: 7½ tons of prize soap, illegally imported, shipped to Guadeloupe, and 12,000 feet of oars, shipped to St. Christopher. There was a surprising diversity of ownership among these fifty-three vessels. No large shipowner had a considerable interest. Richard Derby of Salem owned three vessels; Robert Hooper of Marblehead, two; Jeremiah Lee of Marblehead, two; Nathaniel Ellery of Gloucester, two. The rest were owned by men who cleared only one vessel.[26]

The ships that plied between English and American ports at more or less regular intervals durings the eighteenth century not only brought an exchange of merchandise, but also carried passengers. Officials connected with the government, the customs service, and the military establishment, with a sprinkling of clergymen and scholars, were crossing on nearly every ship, and the New England merchant sailing to London to buy a new stock of goods for his shop, and the Englishman who came to the colonies bringing adventures of goods in great variety all helped to maintain the service. In the year 1737, the Boston newspapers mention by name eighteen persons who had arrived by ship or were about to depart. On January 31, John Banister, lately in business with his uncle, Samuel Banister, at Marblehead, advertised in the *Gazette* that he designed speedily to embark for Great Britain and requested a settlement of all accounts. Early in May, Thomas Phillips of Boston, merchant, advertised that he would sell his household furniture by vendue as he intended speedily for London. A week later Major Martin and family arrived from Antigua in the West Indies, proposing to reside in Boston for a few years. As late in the year as December 20, Edmund Quincy, on his way to England as Agent of the Province, was sailing for London, in Captain Homans, with several other unnamed gentlemen.

Very little is known at the present time concerning the intimate details of life on board ship in the early days and especially as to the accommodations provided for passengers.[27] On the vessels that brought over emigrants in any number, the necessity of crowding many people into limited space, the lack of necessary conveniences, and the meagre equipment must have made living conditions well-nigh intolerable. During the period of the German emigration and that from northern Ireland in the mid-eighteenth century, there was frequently a high mortality during the voyage, and sometimes when the crossing was of unusual length, the supply of food and water ran short, causing terrible suffering. It is known that in the more regular passenger service the main cabin was partitioned off at night by means of curtains. Small cabins were also built on the decks of the larger ships, and staterooms constructed below. Doubtless in general some attempt was made to separate the sexes and keep the families together, but from time to time cases are found in the court records giving clear evidence that living conditions on board ship in the early days were decidedly of a miscellaneous character.

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[26] C. O. 5: 848–851; copies at Essex Institute.

A steward was provided for the main cabin. There the food and service were undoubtedly better than that provided forward, where the passengers slept in canvas hammocks or upon pallet beds, and served themselves from the ship's galley. Foul odors below deck and unsanitary conditions were in those days almost a part of the law of the sea. " Ship feaver " (typhus) was well known to all physicians practising in seaport towns. In those days the cooking was done in an open fireplace. So, too, on shipboard there was provided an open " hearth " made of cast iron and weighing from four to eight hundred pounds. This was fastened to the deck and its " chimney " was screened by a " smoke sail." A smaller " hearth " was in the captain's cabin and supplied all the heat below. It must have been bitterly cold on board ship during a winter crossing, while at the same time the coals in these " hearths " were also a menace to safety, and required constant attention.

A communication printed in the *Boston News-Letter* describes an escape from fire on board one of these English packets. The writer, a good New England Puritan, first declares his suspicion that a certain military gentleman, a fellow-passenger from Boston, had brought on board a fair lady who was not his wife. The couple occupied a small cabin partitioned off from the main cabin, which had a curtained window looking into it. There were other curtains about. As the Boston shopkeeper sat near the "hearth," musing over his suspicions, a sudden lurch of the vessel swung a carelessly placed curtain into the coals, and in an instant it was aflame. The shopkeeper's shout of "Fire! Fire!" brought the major's inamorata to her cabin window, and an instant later she rushed into the main cabin with a certain necessary receptacle in her hands. One splash and the worst was over. The charred curtain was soon torn from its fastenings and the fire stamped out on the cabin floor.

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[27] See Winthrop's *Journal;* Higginson's *Journal;* Roger Clap's *Memoirs;* Richard Mather's *Journal;* Hanserd Knollys' *Autobiography* (copy at Congregational Society).

A study of the British Navigation Acts, beginning with that of 1651 and ending with the Townshend Acts of 1767, makes it plain that the whole theory of British trade administration was that the colonies should furnish raw materials in exchange for the manufactured products of England. "For colonists to manufacture like Englishmen was esteemed an audacity to be rebuked and to be restrained by every device of law." In spite of the smuggling of French and Spanish goods and the constant evasion of these Acts, the fact remains that much the greater part of the manufactured articles used in the colonies were British-made. Wherever the colonial product exists, worked in either metal, wood, or fabric, it will, with some exceptions, be found to exhibit elements of crudeness in design, proportion, or workmanship not to be noted in the imported article of the same period. Home industry, it is true, existed, but the refinements of life and also its luxuries, which might be obtained in the shops of the seaports and the larger towns, generally came from overseas in sailing ships of a type that is no more.

Mr. Richard Henry Dana read a paper on

The Reasons for Not Prosecuting Jefferson Davis

Why is it that sixty-three years have passed without making public the reasons of the counsel for stopping the prosecution of Jefferson Davis? It was generally understood that my father was one of the counsel, but his name did not appear in the court records. Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, who was collecting material for the life of my father which Charles Francis Adams was preparing, wrote to Mr. W. M. Evarts, who replied, August 26, 1890, from the United States Senate Chamber as follows:

> Immediately after Jefferson Davis was delivered by the military authorities to the civil tribunals, the conduct of his prosecution was intrusted to me by the Government. Gen. Rousseau of Kentucky and Gov. Clifford of Massachusetts were associated with me. This was in 1867, and an indictment was found against him in the Circuit Court of the United States in the Eastern District of Virginia at a court held in Richmond. The expectation of a trial upon that indictment was delayed upon public considerations, to which I need not advert; but early in 1868 preparations for the trial required the attention of the prosecuting counsel. By this time Gov. Clifford had relinquished his employment in the case, upon motives personal to himself, and Mr. Dana was selected to take his place. Our first duty was to examine the indictment which had been found under the direction of the U. S. Attorney at Richmond, before we had been employed in the prosecution. Upon this examination, made by Mr. Dana and myself, we were satisfied that the indictment was defective and that a new indictment should be prepared and laid before the grand jury at the earliest sitting of the Court. As at this time I was detained in Washington in the preparation for the trial of the impeachment of Pres. Johnson by his counsel, Mr. Dana came here to complete with me the indictment of Mr. Davis, which could not properly be delayed. The subsequent proceedings at Richmond did not require the attendance before the Court there of anyone but myself. If the trial had proceeded, Mr. Dana would have taken a principal part in its conduct. The proclamation of general pardon and amnesty, issued by President Johnson on the 25th of December, 1868, terminated the prosecution.
>
> I have written this statement of Mr. Dana's relation to this public prosecution in answer to your request for information for use for the forthcoming memoir of Mr. Dana by Mr. Adams. This statement explains why Mr. Dana's name did not appear in the public reports of the proceedings at Richmond, when Mr. Davis was admitted to bail, and there were no other proceedings in court after this in which either Mr. Dana or myself appeared. I am very glad to hear that the memoir of my dear and lifelong friend is so soon to be laid before the public.

Some eight years ago, Mr. William C. Endicott wrote me, enclosing this letter and copies of some others connected with the Davis case, and said: " If you should feel, sometime, like printing this in the Massachusetts Historical Society records, I think it would be very interesting." Among these letters were two giving reasons for not proceeding with the prosecution of Jefferson Davis. From one of these, dated February 26, 1868, and addressed to the then Attorney-General Stanbery, two pages out of six, the third and fourth, were missing. This was a more serious omission than I thought when I first undertook to prepare this paper. No trace of this letter complete or of its missing pages could be found in the office of the Attorney-General or in the Library of Congress, where many of their papers had been filed, even after extended research by the Congressional Library among all their papers of that year. Then I bethought myself of the Dana papers on file with this Society, and with the aid of letters from Mr. William M. Evarts I have been able to unravel a veritable tangle.

On January 25, 1868, my father wrote Mr. Evarts as follows:

My dear Evarts:

I think it is necessary for us to present the case of U. States v. Jefferson Davis to the Attorney General in the most serious manner, and at once, — *First,* to urge that the prosecution be abandoned, and *Second,* to say that if it must go on, we cannot do it with Mr. Chandler as U. States Attorney.

Why should the U. States voluntarily assume the risk of a failure, by putting the question of the treason of Jefferson Davis to a petit jury of the rebel vicinage? They gain very little by a verdict, and will be disgraced by a failure. Who can warrant that one man on the jury may not be a sympathizer with Davis, or be persuaded by fear or other influence to disagree. It is a " voluntary humiliation " excusable only in angels.

I am in a very responsible position to the House [of Representatives in Massachusetts], full of work, and, as you said you would come here, I must hold you to your promise. But we can write one letter to the Attorney General (or two letters, the latter *de bene esse*) without meeting. We should know at once whether we are to prepare on the law, and to draw indictments.

In a letter to Mr. Evarts two and a half weeks later (February 14), my father says: " I will join with you in a letter to the Attorney-General [Mr. Stanbery] earnestly recommending that the suit be *nol prossed.*" Two days later Mr. Evarts wrote my father from New York as follows: "I approve of the spirit of your letter. . . . If you will draw a letter to the Attorney-General, giving it as the result of our deliberations etc. that the Government will do better to proceed no further in the cause, and send it to me with your signature I will add mine to it." On February 26, Mr. Evarts wrote my father again, saying: "In the meantime, I am expecting your letter in favor of stopping the prosecution." On that very day my father was writing out the joint letter to Attorney-General Stanbery.

On March 3, Mr. Evarts again wrote my father:

> I duly received your letter to the Attorney-General and see no reason to criticise, as you are disposed to do. I cannot make up my mind to send it in the new situation produced by the impeachment trial and its probable result. I have also been kept in a little uncertainty from intimations that I was to be employed as one of the President's counsel, and might have to go to Washington. I have never thought this *probable,* though the matter was brought to my attention in such a way as to require me to take it into my calculations. If the President's trial is to occupy a long time, that disposes of our case for the present. If, as is nearly certain, it is to be brief, and to result in removal, then we have a new program, including a new Attorney-General. I wish you would write me whether you do not think we had better reserve our letter for the present. All this about the President's trial in any possible relation to myself, is, of course, *private.*

Strangely enough it happened that the impeachment of President Johnson was voted for in the House of Representatives the very day before this letter of February 26, 1868, was written to the Attorney-General. As is well known, the impeachment proceedings failed. Evarts was retained as one of the counsel, and after the verdict was, on June 20, 1868, appointed Attorney-General. Then, on August 10, 1868, Mr. Evarts wrote Mr. Dana: "I think you had better write me a spontaneous letter in regard to the case of Davis, and I will give the matter prompt attention."

Accordingly, on August 24, my father wrote such a letter, giving in almost identical words the reasons as stated in what we have of the Stanbery letter of February 26, which had never been delivered. Very likely the only copy Mr. Evarts had of Mr. Dana's reasons for discontinuing the case against Jefferson Davis was the Stanbery letter, and therefore he wished a new one, which he could submit to the President. As Attorney-General he wrote as follows from Washington, under date of October 9, 1868: "I have delayed until now any action upon your communication under date of the 24th of August, ulto., in relation to the prosecution of the pending indictment against Jefferson Davis in the District of Virginia. I have, however, to-day placed a copy of that communication before the President accompanying it with a letter from myself, a copy of which I enclose for your information."

A copy of the Evarts letter to the President reads as follows:

> I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter received by me some weeks ago from the Hon. Rich'd. H. Dana, Jr. of Mass., associate counsel for the United States in the prosecution against Jefferson Davis now pending in the District of Virginia, giving his (Mr. Dana's) views, in a careful and deliberate form, as to the propriety of the Government's remitting further prosecution of the pending indictment against Mr. Davis.
>
> Mr. Dana was associated with me as counsel for the Government in this prosecution about a year ago, and we acted together in making the preparations for the trial of Mr. Davis which we both expected would take place last spring. The opinions which Mr. Dana expresses were a subject of conference between him and myself while we occupied this common relation of counsel for the Government, and, had I remained in a private professional relation to the case and to the Government, his communication probably would have borne my signature also. The circumstance of my having been placed in an official relation to the case and to the Government, has occasioned the present form of Mr. Dana's communication, and I respectfully submit the same to your attention.

I have been able to get from the Congressional Library a photostat of this letter to Evarts of August 24, 1868, apparently a copy of reasons in the Stanbery letter of February 26, 1868. It reads as follows:

> SIR,
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> While preparing with yourself, before you assumed your present post, to perform the honorable duty the President had assigned to us,

of conducting the trial of Jefferson Davis, you know how much my mind was moved, from the first, by doubts of the expediency of trying him at all. The reasons which prevented my presenting those doubts no longer exist, and they have so ripened into conviction, that I feel it my duty to lay them before you in form, as you now hold a post of official responsibility for the proceeding.

After the most serious reflection, I cannot see any good reason why the Government should make a question whether the late civil war was treason, and whether Jefferson Davis took any part in it, and submit those questions to the decision of a petit jury of the vicinage of Richmond at *nisi prius*.

As the Constitution in terms settles the fact that our republic is a state against which treason may be committed, the only constitutional question attending the late war was whether a levying of war against the United States which would otherwise be treason, is relieved of that character by the fact that it took the form of secession from the Union by state authority. In other words the legal issue was, whether secession by a State is a constitutional right, making an act legal and obligatory upon the nation which would otherwise have been treason.

This issue I suppose to have been settled by the action of every department of the Government, by the action of the people itself, and by those events which are definitive in the affairs of men.

The Supreme Court in the Prize Causes (2 Black's Rep.) held, by happily a unanimous opinion, that acts of the States, whether secession ordinances, or in whatever form cast, could not be brought into the cases, as justifications for the war, and had no legal effect on the character of the war, or on the political status of territory or persons or property, and that the line of enemy's territory was a question of fact, depending upon the line of bayonets of an actual war. The rule in the Prize Causes has been steadily followed in the Supreme Court since, and in the Circuit Courts, without an intimation of a doubt. That the law-making and executive departments have treated this secession and war as treason, is matter of history, as well as is the action of the people in the highest sanction of war.

It cannot be doubted that the Circuit Court at the trial will instruct the jury, in conformity with these decisions, that the late attempt to establish and sustain by war an independent empire within the United States was treason. The only question of fact submitted to the Jury will be whether Jefferson Davis took any part in the war. As it is one of the great facts of history that he was its head, civil and military, why should we desire to make a question of it and refer its decision to a jury, with power to find in the negative or affirmative, or to disagree? It is not an appropriate question for the decision of a jury; certainly it is not a fact which a Government should, without great cause, give a jury a chance to ignore.

We know that these indictments are to be tried in what was for five years enemy's territory, which is not yet restored to the exercise of all its political functions, and where the fires are not extinct. We know that it only requires one dissentient juror to defeat the Government and give Jefferson Davis and his favorers a triumph. Now, is not such a result one which we must include in our calculation of possibilities? Whatever modes may be legally adopted to draw a jury, or to purge it, and whatever the influence of the court or of counsel, we know that a favorer of treason may get upon the jury. But that is not necessary. A fear of personal violence or social ostracism may be enough to induce one man to withhold his assent from the verdict, especially as he need not come forward personally, nor give a reason, even in the jury-room.

This possible result would be most humiliating to the Government and people of this country, and none the less so from the fact that it would be absurd. The Government would be stopped in its judicial course because it could neither assume nor judicially determine that Jefferson Davis took part in the late civil war. Such a result would also bring into doubt the adequacy of our penal system to deal with such cases as this.

If it were important to secure a verdict as a means of punishing the defendant, the question would present itself differently. But it would be beneath the dignity of the Government and of the issue, to inflict upon him a minor punishment; and, as to a sentence of death, I am sure that, after this lapse of time and after all that has occurred in the interval, the people of the United States would not desire to see it enforced.

In fine, after the fullest consideration, it seems to me that, by pursuing the trial, the Government can get only a re-affirmation by a Circuit Court at *nisi prius* of a rule of public law settled for this country in every way in which such a matter can be settled, only giving to a jury drawn from the region of the rebellion a chance to disregard the law when announced. It gives that jury a like opportunity to ignore the fact that Jefferson Davis took any part in the late civil war. And one man upon the jury can secure these results. The risks of such absurd and discreditable issues of a great state trial are assumed for the sake of a verdict which, if obtained, will settle nothing in law or national practice not now settled, and nothing in fact not now history, while no judgment rendered thereon do we think will be ever executed.

Besides these reasons, and perhaps because of them, I think

> that the public interest in the trial has ceased among the most earnest and loyal citizens.
>
> If your views and those of the President should be in favor of proceeding with the trial, I am confident that I can do my duty as counsel, to the utmost of my ability and with all zeal. For my doubts are not what the verdict ought to be. On the contrary, I should feel all the more strongly, if the trial is begun, the importance of a victory to the Government, and the necessity of putting forth all powers and using all lawful means to secure it. Still, I feel it my duty to say that if the President should judge otherwise, my position in the cause is at his disposal.

As proof that Andrew Johnson read this, there is the additional photostat attached, saying: "This opinion must be filed with care, A.J."

On the following Christmas, President Johnson issued an amnesty proclamation which included Davis, and, as a result, in the following February an order of *nolle prosequi* was entered, and Davis and his bondsmen were released, in which proceedings the public acquiesced. James Ford Rhodes has this to say of the transaction:[1]

> With a just feeling of pride may we honour the officials and citizens, the Republicans and the Democrats, who contributed to this grand result. For assuredly it was a sublime thing that, despite the contentious partisanship of the time, men bitterly opposed on almost every other question, could agree that the highest wisdom demanded that Davis be released from prison and that he be not punished or even tried; that those in control recognized what had hitherto been so little appreciated "that the grass soon grows over blood shed upon the battle field, but never over blood shed upon the scaffold."

"There is not a single example of such magnanimity in the history of the world," declared Carl Schurz in the Senate, "and it may be truly said that in acting as it did, this Republic was a century ahead of its time."[2]

Neither do I find these reasons for not prosecuting the case in the admirable life of my father by Charles Francis Adams. He says:

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[1] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1906), VI. 58.

[2] Quoted by Rhodes, *ibid.*

. . . it was felt the time had come when he [Davis] should either be tried or released on bail. The course finally pursued towards him is matter of history, and does not need to be repeated here. That, under all the circumstances, it was the proper, and, indeed, the only course to be pursued, no one longer questions. At the moment Dana, as counsel, strongly recommended it; for, though necessarily in any trial which might have taken place he must have occupied a large position in the public eye, he was too genuine a man and too good a lawyer, as well as patriot, to weigh in the balance a little cheap personal notoriety or professional reputation against the almost national ignominy involved in having the last scene of the great civil struggle fought out over a criminal charge against an individual, to be tried before a petit jury of Virginians in the United States district court-room at Richmond.[3]

Colonel BANKS presented photostat copies of the title page and the fly-leaves of a copy of Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations upon the Book of Psalmes* (2nd ed., 1617) now in the State Library in Richmond, Virginia. The obverse of the front fly-leaf is inscribed, "This Booke was giuen vnto me Giles Heale Chirurgion by Isake Allerton Tailor in verginia the x. of feburary in the yeare of our Lord 1620." From the inscription on the reverse of the rear fly-leaf it appears that the book was presented in 1621 by Heale, surgeon of the *Mayflower*, to his wife Mary Heale.

Mr. NORCROSS presented copies of letters in his collection from Admirals Foote, Farragut, Porter, and Wilkes, and from Captain John Percival, U. S. N.

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[3] Charles Francis Adams, *Richard Henry Dana* (Boston, 1890), II. 338.

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 14, 1931, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. George Wigglesworth, a record, in Dutch, of births in the Luyhassen family, 1649–1661.

From Allen French, photostat negatives of paper of Jeremy Lister, Ensign of the 10th Regiment of Foot in the British service in America, 1771–1776, who took part in the action at Concord and Lexington. The originals, owned by John Lister, Esq., of Shibden Hall, Halifax, England, were recently discovered by Mr. Richard J. Eaton, of Concord. The part relating to the "Concord Fight" is printed in a book with this title, lately published by Harold Murdock.

From Francis Hill Bigelow, ten small uniform volumes (London, 1801), for children and youth, on English Grammar, Arithmetic, History of England, Geography and Astronomy, British Heroism, Scripture History, Natural History, Botany, Moral Tales, and Mythology. These were used in his earlier years by Thaddeus William Harris (1795–1856), later Librarian of Harvard College, and by his son William Thaddeus Harris (1826–1854), and bear the youthful signatures of both. Peter Parley's *Arithmetic for Children* (Boston, 1834) was also included.

From Miss Susan Minns, a manuscript sermon preached at Templeton, May 8, 1774, and at Westminster, March 19, 1775, and several volumes, including Thomas Goodwin's *Retvrne of Prayers* (London, 1636), inscribed on the inside of the front cover, "Thomae Prince Liber 1707 pr 1*s*/4*d*," and on the second leaf, "Thomae Shepard me tenet 1652."

From Parkman Blake Haven, the Bible owned by his great-grandfather Andrew Cunningham (1760–1829), who married Mary Lewis (1764–1809), of Dedham, and later owned by his grandparents Joshua and Mary (Cunningham) Haven, and by his parents Richard Smith and Georgianna Guest (Penniman) Haven. The volume contains Cunningham and Haven family entries.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the estate of Henry Saltonstall Howe, a bronze statue, by Daniel Chester French, of Abraham Lincoln, seated.

From Professor D. Plooij, of Amsterdam, ten photographs and cuts showing the type of bridge in Holland called "kwakelbrug."[1]

From Miss Susan L. Oliver, the use of glass negatives of family portraits to print photographs of Benjamin Lynde, Sr., and his wife Mary (Browne) Lynde, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., and his wife Mary (Bowles) Lynde, and of Mary Lynde Oliver.

From Thatcher T. P. Luquer, of Bedford, N. Y., the medal struck in commemoration of the 250th anniversary celebration of Bedford, 1931.

From the City of Boston, the medal given in honor of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Japan, 1931.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary reported the receipt of letters from THOMAS HOVEY GAGE accepting Resident Membership in the Society, and from HAROLD WILLIAM VAZEILLE TEMPERLEY accepting Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death on April 10, 1931, of ROBERT GOULD SHAW, who was elected a Resident Member on April 10, 1919.

The chair called attention to the second serial of *Proceedings,* Volume 63, ready for distribution among members.

Mr. WOODBURY presented the report for the Committee to Examine the Treasurer's Accounts.

It was *voted,* That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Professor MORISON read the Report of the Publication Committee on the progress of Volume IV of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates.*

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: ALLAN FORBES, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART, and GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS.

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[1] See *Proceedings,* LXIII. 130.

Library: KENNETH B. MURDOCK, *Chairman;* ALBERT MATTHEWS, and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

House: FREDERIC WINTHROP, *Chairman;* JOHN WOODBURY, and ALLEN FRENCH.

Publication: SAMUEL E. MORISON, *Chairman;* FREDERIC WINTHROP, ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, FRANCIS R. HART, and LAWRENCE S. MAYO.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman;* WORTHINGTON C. FORD, and M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

Meetings: LAWRENCE S. MAYO, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART, and SAMUEL E. MORISON.

Building: CHARLES A. COOLIDGE, *Chairman;* JOHN W. FARLOW, and GEORGE H. LYMAN.

Mr. EDWARD MOTLEY PICKMAN read a paper on

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SCHOLASTIC HIERARCHY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

I

WHAT THIS HIERARCHY WAS

From the time of Plato to that of Galileo a single philosophical structure or explanation of reality was accepted by the *intelligentsia* of Europe. The only exception is the doctrine of Augustine,[1] but this violent reaction from pagan philosophy was soon smothered in the chaos of Rome's fall. The doctrines of the Pantheists, Manicheans, Epicureans, and Averroists each enjoyed a period of vogue, but none ever seriously threatened the supremacy of the traditional view. Protestantism denied the Pope's right to dictate his own interpretation of that view, but it did not challenge its substantial correctness.

This philosophy, which I shall call scholastic, was inevitably both eclectic and variable. To say that Clovis and Suarez shared a common philosophy is obviously preposterous. But I think I may say that each conceived of the hierarchy of powers in rather the same way. The sources of the view were the Old and New Testaments, Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus. At one time some one, at other times a combination

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[1] Alleging God's omnificence.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SCHOLASTIC HIERARCHY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

The dates given are those of birth

I What This Hierarchy Was

II The Collapse of the Divine and Human Hierarchies

	For Astrology		
1564 Galileo	1564 Galileo		
1567 François de Sales			
	1571 Kepler	*For Witchcraft*	
		1572 Tanner	*Against the Saints*
1575 Bérulle	1575 Fludd	1575 Laymann	1575 Bérulle
1576 Vincent de Paul			
			1577 van Helmont
			1579 Bourgoing
	1583 Wallenstein		
	1585 Morin	*Against Witchcraft*	
1585 Richelieu	1585 Vanini		
1587 Condren		1587 (Condren)	
	1588 Mersenne	1588 Hobbes	
1590 Gibieuf			
	Against Astrology	1591 von Spee	
1592 Gassendi	1592 Gassendi	1592 Gassendi	
1596 Descartes	1596 Descartes		1596 Bolland
		1600 Naudé	1600 Henschen
			1601 Eudes
			1603 Launoi
1604 Méré			
1606 Corneille			1608 Olier
III The Fall of Man			
In Virtue			
1611 Arnauld			
1612 La Rochefoucauld			
1613 Saint-Evremont			
1614 Retz	1614 Culpeper		
	IV The Collapse of the Natural Hierarchy		
In Understanding	1614 Sylvius		
1619 Cyrano			
1620 La Fontaine			
1623 Pascal	1624 Sydenham		
1625 Nicole			
In Body			
1626 Redi			
1627 Ray		V The Fall of God	
1628 Malpighi	1628 Malpighi		1628 Bossuet
1632 Leeuwenhoek		1632 Bourdaloue	1632 (Locke)
		1632 (Spinoza)	
	(opinion of 1684 cited by Bayle)		VI The Fall of the King
1635 Willughby			
1635 Hooke			
	1637 Magalotti		1637 Jurieu
1638 Swammerdam		1638 Malebranche	1638 (Louis XIV)
1638 Lister			
1641 Grew			
		1646 Leibnitz	
		1646 (Boisguilbert)	1646 Levassor
	1647 Bayle	1647 Bayle	
		1651 (Fénelon)	
			1658 Boulainvilliers

of two or more of these, was in the ascendant. Nor were the changes purely cyclical: for the advance from Clovis, in 500, to Suarez, in 1600, is enormous. Nevertheless, the changes were in the proportions rather than in the ingredients, and the frame or architecture, grown no less supple with the ages, had always been able to adapt itself to the strains. It is frequently said that the Thomist synthesis crystallized the doctrine, but this is to overlook the prestige of Scotus and Occam, whose own conceptions rivalled that of Aquinas during the whole period from 1310 to 1550. Thomism's first decisive victory was at the Council of Trent.

At the very peak of this hierarchy are the eternal truths — a relic, no doubt, of the Greek Fate. Conspicuous among them are the laws of logic and mathematics, and — though this was sometimes a matter of dispute — the fundamentals of physics and of human nature. Even Scotus, whose apotheosis of God's omnipotence and free will was an age-long scandal, had said:

> Nor does it follow that, so long as fire remains fire, it can be improved by being endowed with intellect and will, because it is not capable of possessing them.[1a]

Which means, according to Gilson, that, "even if God wished it, He could not endow fire with intelligence and will since this is contrary to its nature." And Suarez declared that God could not have made human nature other than it in fact was by nature.[2] Even as late as 1630 the Schools taught that God had not created and could not now change these eternal truths or essences of things.[3]

Exactly how these truths came to exist — whether preexisting from eternity, or created by God out of nothing — was not made clear. Presumably the truths of logic and mathematics were uncreated and eternal, being realities apart from any physical existence. The other truths, however, were originally contingencies or potentialities the actuality of which depended on God's creation. God might have preferred to create nothing, but, if He did in fact create, He was restricted in the nature of that creation: He could create life with a body and a rational soul only as the human nature we know; He could create matter only with such properties and peculiarities as those with which the earth's matter is, in fact, endowed. Thus only the existence, but not the nature, of that which He created was within the power of His free will to determine. And it was on this account that His understanding, which taught Him this nature, was necessarily something different from His will, by which He chose to bring it into being.[4]

[1a] Quoted in E. Gilson, *La Liberté chez Descartes et la Théologie* (Paris, 1913), 145, *note* 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 47–48.

[3] *Ibid.*, 55.

God was therefore not omnipotent; He was given principles and essences, not of His own making, with which to create what He could. Having created, and having put this creation into operation, He was then further obliged to see that it continued to function as He had intended that it should. God must be the First Mover for the simple reason that, if the universe were not constantly being moved, it would, like a watch, quickly run down and stop. He was thus not only justice but also energy, and He wielded both powers rather by superhuman than by supernatural methods — by mechanisms and agencies rather than by a mere *fiat* or exercise of will. Like a despot's, His will was law, but only because He acted as well as willed and because He also had subordinate forces to help Him.

The agencies which He employed in physical matters were the outer, or eighth sphere of the fixed stars and the seven inner spheres, in each of which a planet was embedded. Whether these functioned by purely mechanical laws or through star intelligences, was a favorite topic of scholastic controversy, and it was also a matter of debate whether the nine hierarchies of angels had any part in this transmission of purely physical energy.[5]

For the transmission of spiritual energy God's first agent after the Creation was the Devil, through whom God tempted Eve. The Fall which thus ensued greatly enlarged the scope of the Devil's operations, and at the same time made possible the creation of a privileged class — of prophets and saints —

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[4] E. Gilson, *Le Thomisme* (Paris, 1923), 58–77.

[5] Aquinas said that they did not: *ibid.*, 125 and 128.

organized to counteract the Devil's activities. By a skilful manipulation of these conflicting agencies God was able to actualize the potential good or evil latent in every human individual.

At times, as in Augustine's day, these saints and demons were merely helpless tools manipulated by God; at other times, as under the Merovingians, the saints became representatives of God with broad discretionary powers. The Devil, indeed, as we shall explain in a moment, was for a long time even thought to be capable of acting beyond his authority and so in defiance of God. But, whatever the details, it was always recognized that agents of one or another sort were indispensable for the proper realization and execution of God's intent.

This God, with His Old Testament disappointments and His Greek artifices, had therefore created the world and man only in the face of difficulties and at some risk to His peace of mind. It was hard to believe furthermore that, were He in fact omnipotent, He would have chosen to redeem man by so cumbrous and agonizing a method as was the Passion.[5a] Such was the divine hierarchy.

The second hierarchy was that of man. Since, by the Fall, man had been deprived of all knowledge of God beyond a "dim glimmering of light unput-out,"[6] even the revelations of God could not suffice to teach man the truth of virtue. The Church had therefore to be instituted, to guide men's feeble will and understanding toward the light. And since, too, by the Fall man had also lost control of his passions, the State — founded on the principles of natural equity and inalienable rights — had also to be organized to keep those passions from injuring, not the man himself, but other men. Here, therefore, was a twin hierarchy: at the head of each a single person, ruling, through agents, over his subjects. Sometimes, as by Leo the Great and Justinian, the agents were conceived as mere puppets of the ruler, at other times it was felt that the Councils must control the Pope, and Bishops be popularly elected, that the Emperor or King must be controlled by an hereditary nobility and by elective bodies. There were even times when the people felt that they had a right to elect their own saints.

[5a] See for instance Leo the Great, *Sermons*, #28, §3; and Gregory of Tours, *History*, VI. 5.

[6] Augustine, *Confessions*, X. 23.

Finally there was nature, created — as not even Augustine[7] and Bernard[8] allow us to forget — to serve as an earthly paradise. And although, as a result of the Fall, it had been transformed into a penitentiary, none the less it still subsisted exclusively in order to serve man's best interests. As Loyola said:

> And the other things on the face of the earth were created for man's sake and to help him in the following out of the end for which he was created.[9]

After the Fall, therefore, no less than before it, nature retained a purely extrinsic, anthropocentric significance.

Here then was a third hierarchy, and it ran from the beast through insect and plant to the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth.[10] The earth and water nourished the grass and crops for cattle and men; the winds not only brought the rain but, according to Scotus, also exercised the trees;[11] insects fed the birds which man might then eat. Animals[12] served man for food, clothing, cultivation of the soil, and transportation; trees gave shade, heat, and materials for houses and other conveniences; crops gave food; minerals gave salt, coal, iron, gold, and so on. And many of these served man's medicinal as well as economic needs: certain animal parts were thought cures for certain diseases, and della Porta prescribed herbs according to their supposed physical resemblance to the diseased organ or member, as pigwort for the glands, pulmonaria for the lungs and hepatica for the liver.[13] Paracelsus, although he revolutionized chemistry and medicine in the middle of the sixteenth century, believed that for every disease God had provided a specific medicine:

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[7] Augustine, *The City of God,* XXII. chap. 24, especially the last paragraph.

[8] Bernard, *Life and Works:* English edition by S. J. Eales (London, 1889–1896), II. 460–467.

[9] Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises:* J. Richeby, Ed. (London, 1923), 18; and the Peripatetics and Stoics so believed: Thomas Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists* (Cambridge, 1901), 115; so did Plotinus, *Enneads,* III. 2, §9; but Porphyry denied this: *De Abstinentia,* III. 20 and 21.

[10] Gilson, *Le Thomisme,* 127.

[11] Gilson, *Descartes,* 146–147.

[12] With a corporeal soul of blood and air, says Augustine: *De Spiritu et Anima,* chap. XXIII.

[13] C. G. Cumston, *History of Medicine* (London, 1926), 267 and 314.

> But now in nature the whole world is an apothecary. . . . All medicines are created for the sake of the sick. . . . Where there are sicknesses there too are the medicines.[14]

This much of the doctrine was a purely pagan inheritance; [14a] but Christianity had gone much further. It observed that a great deal in nature did not have any obvious economic or medicinal use. Why, then, was it created? Why might it not be as a natural revelation of Christian truths? As the ant warned men of the sin of sloth, as the fly was thought by Luther to exist in order to try men's patience, as to Loyola fresh flowers "recall the blooming of spiritual life," so to Bernard the mountains warned against the aspirations of the haughty and worldly. Animals, too, taught specifically theological truths by symbols — as did the unicorn, the phoenix, and the elephant. Through these symbols man's recollection of the mysteries of Christian theology was refreshed.[15]

Such, then, was the hierarchy: eternal truths, the Triune God, with His attributes and His divine agents, then His human agencies such as natural equity, the Pope and Emperor, their agents and the people, and finally animals, vegetation, and the four elements.

And in the year 1600 this conception was still intact [15a] — no longer so vividly convincing as five hundred years earlier, yet solid in its fundamentals even now. We must remember that the Renaissance revived the very Greek mentality which was the metaphysical foundation of the system; and, if the Protestants relied unduly on the Old Testament, the Catholics relied no less on Aristotle. The sixteenth century found much error in Greek science — in its physics, biology, anatomy, and geography — and it heartily disliked its dialectical method; it decreed the philosophy and science of the past to be fallible and therefore a fair field for critical inquiry; but it did not believe their fundamentals to be wrong — specifically, it did not deny, or even doubt, the essentials of the hierarchy.

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[14] Quoted in Heinrich Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (Jena, 1881), II. 97.

[14a] Cf. A. Reymond, *History of the Sciences in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, (English translation, New York, 1927), 210.

[15] *The Epic of the Beast*, William Rose, Ed.; *Broadway Translations* (London and New York, no date), 199, 222, and 201. See also on the wasp (239) for an explanation of the Creator's purpose.

[15a] If we except Calvinism, which was Augustinian, for seventeenth-century France repudiated it.

II

THE COLLAPSE OF THE DIVINE AND HUMAN HIERARCHIES

The first serious damage to the hierarchy was caused by Galileo's demonstration that God was not the present source of astral energy. Long before, Occam had said that bodies moved because carried along by their own momentum; [16] long before, Oresme had said that it was the earth, and not the heavenly spheres, which rotated.[17] More recently, Copernicus had shown that the earth moved not only in rotation but also in an orbit around the sun. In their day, however, the world had paid no attention to these theories; [17a] it was only when Galileo championed each one of them and added that the fixed stars, instead of being embedded in the circumference of a sphere, were at every distance from each other and everything else, that the intellectual world began to take notice.

The implications of Galileo's allegations were clear: if, as Oresme had said, the earth rotated, the heaven of fixed stars did not and so needed no Mover; and if the planets moved in their orbits and the earth rotated merely because, as must be inferred from Occam, there was no force to stop them, these, too, needed no Mover. Furthermore, if there was no sphere of fixed stars, there was no surface by means of which any of these bodies could be moved, even were there need to move them. Such a conservation of energy once granted, God as an astro-physical force became superfluous.[18] And there was a second implication: if, as Copernicus said, the sun and not the earth occupied the centre of the universe, it became less clear that man was the sole or even primary object of the Creation. Galileo thus raised two problems: if the stars and planets do not serve to transmit energy, why were they created; and, if man is the cause of the Creation, why is the sun in the centre?

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[16] *Quæstiones et decisiones in IV libros sententiarum,* II. question 26.

[17] Commentary on Aristotle's *De Caelo et Mundo.* See extracts in *Revue Générale des Sciences Pures et Appliquées,* XX. (November, 1909).

[17a] Bruno had, but was burnt at the stake for his pains.

[18] See Plato, *Laws,* Book X; and Augustine, *The City of God,* XXII. 24.

On the heels of this Galilean astro-physics appeared new theological speculations, which hinge, I believe, on the problem of evil. Augustine, we must remember, believed the source of evil to be, not matter or evil deities, but man's own fallen soul. But this theory did not long survive the invasions of the barbarians: to a race whose idea of justice was based on the hereditary feud the story of the Fall of man was sure to appeal and so the conviction was sure to arise that evil was due to God's wish to revenge Himself on Adam's descendants. Another view came with the revival of the Neoplatonic and Manichean doctrines, which led men to regard the source of evil as that Matter which God had neither created nor ever entirely subjected to His will. Finally, during the course of the fourteenth century, men grew more friendly to nature and, soon after, with the classical revival, more impressed with the innate nobility of human nature. But if the source of evil was not in God, or even in matter or man's own soul, where could it be? By process of elimination it was concluded that it must be in the Devil. Not that the scope of his activities was enlarged, for throughout the Dark and Middle Ages he had been able — directly or through human allies — to inflict damage on innocent persons, and more than this was never attributed to him even in the hey-day of the witchcraft epidemic. The difference was that after 1300 the suspicion arose that in doing this he was acting, not as the agent of God, but contrary to His wish and so as His enemy.[19] The medi-

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[19] With the beginning of the fourteenth century there appear a good many decrees declaring a belief in the Devil's independent power to be a heresy: S. Riezler, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse in Bayern* (Stuttgart, 1896), 84–85; Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess, etc.* (München and Leipzig, 1900), 267; G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1929), 50–59; J. Baissac, *Le Diable* (Paris, 1882), 481; G. G. Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels* (Leipzig, 1869), I. 353–354.

This view, which is substantially that of Hobbes, is the traditional and orthodox Catholic view which had been consistently held since Augustine;

æval conception of God had grown out of a Merovingianized Jehovah, still eager to avenge the insult of the Fall. The cruelties to which the Devil subjected man could reasonably be attributed to such a God. But the thirteenth century began to emphasize the sacrifice of the Redeemer and the mercy of His Virgin mother, and it thereupon became harder and harder to believe that a God Who harbored such tender feelings for men could countenance the cruelties which the Devil was still every day inflicting. It seemed impossible that with God the Devil had more influence than had God's only begotten Son and this Son's mother.[20] Yet, if the Devil were not in fact acting by express divine authority, he must be acting in defiance of that authority. And, if this were so, the Devil was in active rebellion — surreptitiously enticing men into his service to war against that virtue in man for the sake of which God had created him.

To this new faith — noble, and in so many ways enlight-

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this first change was not, therefore, in the view of the Church, but in that of a greatly increasing number of independent-minded individuals.

It was only in the fifteenth century that the magician or witch began to be prosecuted and executed, not as a heretic who believed in a power which did not exist, but as an evil-doer who allied himself with a power which did exist. Even then the Church would not recognize that the Devil acted without God's tacit consent — the evil done by the Devil and his servants was always declared a just judgment of God — but the pains taken to demonstrate this, and the nature of the arguments (in contrast to the intellectual vigor of Augustine), make it clear that there was rather a desperate clinging to traditional faith than a living conviction: see *Malleus Maleficarum,* 1489, Pt. I. questions XII. and XV.; and on Gabriel Biel (1425–1495) see Hansen, *Zauberwahn,* 267. The dilemma of the Church is well described by Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels,* II. 214: "In regard to witchcraft the Church acted inconsistently, for on the one hand she sought to exterminate the superstition — that is, she sought to eliminate all recognition of the Devil's power, representing it as a nothing; while on the other hand she herself nevertheless recognized that power, since she felt it necessary to set her own power in opposition to it, lest it should otherwise increase."

As in the law of agency, it is all a matter of degree, but when the point is reached where the agent acquires *de facto* powers so wide that those who seek favors deem it expedient to pay court to the agent rather than to the principal, we can safely say that the agent has independent power. A pertinent analogy would be the power of Richelieu the agent, in contrast to that of the principal, King Louis XIII.

[20] Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels,* II. 198, says, "The parallel advance of the cult of the Virgin and the belief in the [power of the] Devil is not to be overlooked, and it is this which explains the fact that both increase from the 13th century onward."

ened — the rise of the Inquisition was due, to it was largely due Europe's four hundred years of hideous religious persecution, to it we owe the founding — in the sixteenth century — of the Jesuit Order — directed to offer to God the service of all virtuous men in His titanic struggle against the Powers of Darkness. Observe Loyola's injunction:

> In all conversations by which we hope to win over others and bring them into the net for the greater service of God, Our Lord, let us follow the same course that the enemy follows with regard to a good soul, he all *ad malum,* we all *ad bonum.*[21]

And the early seventeenth-century Bavarian Jesuit, Tanner, explains that the persecution of witches, however deplorable, is necessary "in order to avenge the honor of God, and in order to chastise with just punishment the grievous injury inflicted upon God."[22] Where God's sovereignty, and so His justice, is in jeopardy, how can the end not justify the means? The end was no longer man's salvation — this was now but a means — the end was God's triumph over the Devil.

A generation after Loyola lived Teresa, she who declared that she loved God equally, whether he chose to damn or to save her. It was chiefly through this Spanish school which worshipped God for His own, and not for man's sake — specifically through Rodriguez and Alvarez[23] — that this "theocentric" worship entered Catholic France, touching three of her greatest men. The first was the famous Savoyard director of souls, Saint François de Sales; the second was Cardinal de Bérulle, founder of the French Oratory and the greatest intellectual figure in seventeenth-century France before Descartes; the third was the great humanitarian, Saint Vincent de Paul.

To what degree these three Frenchmen believed in the independent power of the Devil is not easy to determine: they were living at the very moment when men were beginning to shrink from the appalling results of the witchcraft persecutions and to express doubts as to the wisdom of trusting confessions and other testimony extracted by torture.[24] Certainly these three theologians did not emphasize the independent power of the Devil; it is very probable indeed that they were vaguely sceptical of it. There are two reasons for suspecting this: the first is that whereas the Spanish Jesuits advised trying to outwit the Devil by paying him back in his own coin — " let us follow the same course that the enemy follows " — the Frenchmen believed that a more effective policy was to try to win men from him through the infectious example of charity and love.[25] Does this not suggest a new confidence in God's power to protect the truly innocent and virtuous? The second reason for our suspicion is that Bérulle laid a very special emphasis on God's greatness; yet, manifestly, so long as God was thought incapable of protecting innocence against the assaults of the Devil, He could not be regarded as supremely great. The familiarity with which François de Sales was inclined to treat God shocked Bérulle.[26] If one believed God to be more virtuous and merciful than mighty, familiarity was perhaps natural — man and God were in that case comrades-in-arms as are the soldier and the general.[27] But, if God were alone mighty, and, through His complete ascendency over the Devil, alone the source and cause of all the cruelties and horrors of this world, it was just as well to treat Him rather with distant, if still loving, awe. This may well be the key to Bérulle's doctrine of God's greatness: a repudiation of that dualism which had pervaded Catholic thought for four hundred years, a demand that the prestige of God, undermined by an exaggerated idea of His benevolence, be rehabilitated.[28]

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[21] *Letters and Instructions of St. Ignatius Loyola,* English translation by D. F. O'Leary, A. Goodier, Ed. (St. Louis, Missouri, 1914), 57–58.

[22] Quoted in Riezler, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse,* 249.

[23] Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* (Paris), III. (1921) 132; V. (1920) II; VIII. (1928) 228–250; though Augustine and especially Calvin (E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin,* V. 28–39) were the direct influences.

We can well imagine Bérulle's excitement when, in the midst of his meditations on the forgotten greatness of God, he suddenly came upon an account of the Copernican theory. Here is what he says of it:

> Nicholas Copernicus has maintained that the sun, and not the earth, is at the centre of the universe; that this sun is immobile,

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[24] Especially by Adam Tanner (1572–1632): Riezler, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse,* 249.

[25] Especially Vincent de Paul: Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. 237–239 and 245.

[26] Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. 33–37.

[27] *Ibid.,* 62, on Loyola.

[28] M. Houssaye, *Le Père Bérulle et l'Oratoire de Jésus* (Paris, 1874), 4.

and that the earth, appropriately to its own rotundity, circles around the sun. This new theory, little regarded by the science of the stars, is useful and should be heeded by the science of salvation.[29]

What more appropriate symbol indeed, even to the newness of its revelation, than that of the sun,[30] representing God, at the centre, with the earth ever circling around it, reverentially and at a discreet distance?

Of no less importance to us is Bérulle's conception not only of God's greatness but of His unity.[31] He alone is to be worshipped — all else, except in so far as it is somehow a part of Him, is as a nothing.[32] What significance, then, is to be given to the saints? Bérulle urges their suppression as independent objects of worship since God is but One. To him the saints, and even the Virgin, are divinely real only in so far as they are expressions or manifestations of Him. "Speaking to you, Mary, we are speaking of Jesus." [33] Even Jesus he chooses to contemplate as the God of the Trinity rather than as the incarnated Redeemer of man.[34] That God should be worshipped in His human guise was not consonant with His transcendent majesty; that He should have chosen actually to suffer the agonies of the Passion for man's sake seemed to Bérulle a mystery to be passed over as lightly as was seemly.

This assault on the saints, once started by Bérulle, continued unabated for another generation. In Belgium van Helmont declared that the cures supposedly effected by their relics were actually effected by natural magnetism,[35] and there Bolland began the first systematic separation of the legendary from the historical saint in that first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum,* published in 1643.[36] Bourgoing and Eudes [37] carried on Bérulle's doctrine in the Oratory, and, following these, was Launoi, that "dénicheur des saints" who disproved some of the legends most dear to French tradition, and of whom it was said that he "has thrown more saints out of heaven than ten Popes have been able to collect there."[38] What we may call the *coup de grâce* was given a few years after this by Bérulle's disciple, Olier, who said that "Even to have the saints in mind, or the Blessed Virgin, or Jesus Christ in human guise, are all impediments to a pure conception of God."[39]

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[29] Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. 24.

[30] Gilson, *Descartes,* 166–169.

[31] Gilson, *Descartes,* 174; Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. chap. 2.

[32] Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. 93–95. See also Corneille's *Polyeucte,* Act I, Scene I, third speech of Polyeucte and first five lines of the fourth speech of Néarque. Cf. Council of Trent, Session XXV. Dec. 3, 1563; *Deinvocatione,* etc., etc.

[33] Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. 96.

[34] *Ibid.,* III. 63.

[35] William Osler, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1921), 141.

[36] *Realencyclopädie,* I. 148, lines 21 and 26–27.

[37] Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. 30–33 and 99–100.

The intellectual history of the years 1630–1660 is largely that of the evolution of Bérulle's doctrine to its logical conclusion. Three of his notable disciples: Condren, Gibieuf, and Descartes, each now pressed the assault on the divine hierarchy from a different point. The first was Condren, despiser of the Devil. Notice the language of one of his prayers: "Oh Lord, leave me rather in the clutches of the evil spirit to be tortured, and abandon me rather to his will than to my own. *He will do no more than punish me and execute Your justice.*"[40] If the Devil can do no more than execute the judgments of God, if his power is purely contingent on our misguided belief in it, he is then not to be feared but only to be despised.

That this view expressed by Condren is not mere pious repetition of a traditional axiom of belief, is indicated by the constant trouble he took to reiterate and emphasize this point. Why should he keep repeating: the Devil has no power to act except as God wills that he shall, unless many even pious persons believed the contrary? And why were witches still being executed if the magical powers they wielded were believed to be expressly granted by God?

Nor is Condren's emphasis an isolated case. On the contrary, it was precisely in these sixteen-thirties that the voice of enlightened Christendom first cried out in concert against the mad belief in witchcraft.[41] Among the influential protests were, in England, that of Hobbes,[42] in Germany that of von Spee,[43] in France, shortly after Condren, those of Gassendi[44] and Gabriel Naudé.[45] Law naturally moved more sluggishly, and condemnations occurred for another generation.[46] Among ignorant people and in backward communities the belief lasted even longer.[47] But from now on it was, as an intelligent opinion, dead.[48]

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[38] Quoted in *Kirchenlexikon,* VII. 1514–1517.

[39] Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. 506.

[40] Quoted in Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* III. 316; and see also 315.

[41] Earlier allegations that witchcraft was a delusion were made by Johann Weyer or Wier (1516–1588) and Cornelius Loos (1546–1595), *Allgemeine*

The second of Bérulle's notable disciples was Gibieuf,[49] who declared that God no more ruled the universe as does a King than He eats like a King. God is, after all, a God, and therefore to suppose Him an overworked and harassed ruler, striving by an agile use of a miscellany of agencies and bodies to keep the universe steadily on the course He has laid out for it, is unimaginatively to suppose Him a mere superman. Prompted by the implications of the new theory of physics, Gibieuf suggested that God was not, in the human sense, striving for any end, but had, on the contrary, so devised things that they must, inevitably, by their own inherent natures, themselves proceed unerringly toward their end.[50] For the same reason, then, that Bérulle and his successors belittled the power of the saints and the Devil, Gibieuf dis-

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Deutsche Biographie (1893), article on "Spee"; and by Jean Uvier (*ca.* 1530–?) and Reginald Scott (*ca.* 1538–1590), *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Ed.), "Witchcraft," 757c. But Spee's work — *Meyer-Lexikon* (1929), XI. article on "Spee" — and the papal decree of 1635 — Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1929), XIII. 613–614 — were the first denials which had an effective influence.

[42] *Leviathan,* Part I. chap. 2. But Hobbes favors punishment because the belief that one is a witch is itself a heresy.

[43] *Realencyclopädie* (1906) article on "Spee"; *Meyer-Lexikon* (1929) article on "Spee."

[44] Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (New York, 1930), I. 452.

[45] Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels,* II. 360 *note* 2.

[46] See P. Carus, *A History of the Devil* (Chicago, 1900), 374–380.

[47] Especially did the belief last longer in England and above all in Scotland: M. A. Murray, *The Witch-cult in Western Europe* (Oxford, 1921), 10.

[48] It can hardly be a coincidence that the last great religious war ended in 1648, and that this war, originally due primarily to religious differences, was prolonged primarily because of political differences. For France, see J. Baissac, *Les Grands Jours de la Sorcellerie* (Paris, 1890), 507 ff., 540–544, 545, 563, and chap. XXIII.

[49] Gibieuf succeeded Bérulle as head of the French Oratory in 1629: Gustave Cohen, *Ecrivains Français en Hollande* (Paris, 1920), 442.

[50] Gilson, *Descartes,* 172–173 and 189–199.

credited the power of the stars: a truly great God does not have to rely on such clumsy expedients. It was, therefore, not only because of the complications created by the discoveries of the telescope, but also because of the doctrines of Bérulle, Condren and Gibieuf, that the power of the stars was now relegated, with that of the saints and demons, to the limbo of superstition.

When, in the course of the thirteenth century, astrology had again fired the imagination of Europeans, it was believed that man could himself learn to read the future in the stars. Not only, however, did the astrologers' prophecies soon raise doubts, the worst of it was that they could not even give good reasons for their bad prophecies. By many their failure was attributed to the loss of understanding resulting from the Fall.[51] Since it is only with reluctance, however, that men will abandon the hope of reading the future, and since it then still seemed clear that the earth's energy was transmitted from the stars, there remained the practical question of devising some method by which the nature of this influence could be diagnosed and so utilized. It was soon after this, in the early fourteenth century, that men began to attribute independent powers to the Devil. Now theology had always taught that, although the Devil had no more access to divine knowledge than had man, he was, because of his longer experience and greater cleverness, infinitely skilful in all natural knowledge. In that case it was more than likely that he had mastered the intricate science of the stars. But how was a decent person to get this knowledge without himself compacting with the Devil? This was very simply arranged: he consulted a physician or astrologer who, in turn, consulted the Devil. The client was told, of course, that the physician or astrologer himself read the stars, but he knew better, and they knew that he would never have consulted them had he not expected them to get their information from the Devil.[52] But now, just as the Devil was falling into discredit, Gibieuf further embarrassed the situation by suggesting, on the strength of the new astro-physics, that God governed by no such clumsy physical

[51] As by Ronsard and Shakespere: Franz Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1919), 48–49.

[52] See Bayle's *Dictionnaire,* "Ruggieri," *note* D.

methods. This raised the awkward question of whether there was in fact any science of the stars for the Devil or any one else to master. If not, the Devil could not thereby learn the future, and in that case he was quite as much of a hoax as any physician or astrologer.[53] Condren had been entirely right to say that he deserved only contempt.

By this alliance of theology with physics, astrology was now cornered. It had been the general faith of the earlier generation — of Galileo [54] and Kepler, and, more recently, of Fludd, Wallenstein, Morin,[55] and Vanini. Just after them came the Franciscan, Mersenne, who, in a hopeless way, asks how, since God created the sun in order to give man heat and light, it can seriously be asserted that God did not create the stars and planets for some analogous purpose.[56] His question was not answered, but faith in astrology none the less now quickly collapsed. Already in 1628 a law had been passed forbidding " the insertion in almanacs of all predictions except those relating to the weather, to phases of the moon and to eclipses, on the . . . ground that whatever exceeds these limits is uncertain." [57] And at the birth of Louis XIV, in 1638, Morin was secretly summoned to be present in order to be able to cast the horoscope with proper accuracy, yet was hidden that his presence might not be generally known.[58] It was at just this time that Gassendi wrote his important work against astrology,[59] and that Descartes soon added the weight of his support.[60] Within a decade thereafter it was to the cultivated Frenchman already a matter of ignorant superstition.[61]

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[53] See, on this relation, *Malleus Maleficarum,* 1489, Pt. I. question 5.

[54] Franz Boll, *Sternglaube,* 51.

[55] F. Boquet, *Histoire de l'Astronomie* (Paris, 1925), 331. He says: " Morin qui fut, heureusement pour l'honneur de la France, l'un des derniers représentants de l'Astrologie en notre pays et aussi l'un des derniers défenseurs du système de Ptolémée."

[56] Gilson, *Descartes,* 153–154.

[57] Preserved Smith, *Modern Culture,* I. 430.

[58] *La Grande Encyclopédie* (1887), IV. 373b.

[59] In his *Vanity of Judicial Astrology.* In chapter V. he lays great stress on the change since Greek times because of precession.

[60] Preserved Smith, *Modern Culture,* I. 431.

[61] *Ibid.,* I. 341, citing La Fontaine and Molière. But Boulainvilliers (1658–1722) was a believer: F. Boquet, *Histoire de l'Astronomie* (Paris, 1925), 403.

And it was Gassendi who also took the next logical step. Galileo had demonstrated that heavenly bodies could conserve their energy, but he had not properly shown how other energy maintained itself. Yet this also had to be explained before it could be clear that no influences were being showered down from the heavens. Gassendi does this by supposing that matter is composed of atoms each of which is endowed by God with an innate energy. When a composite body is at rest, this is only because its atoms are consuming their energy in banging against each other. It is this agitation which causes the sensation of heat, which causes the sensation of light as communicated from the sun, which causes the phenomenon of falling bodies.[62] Such a theory was dangerously close to materialism,[63] and yet, if men were to reject astrology and so God's infusions of physical energy, the alternative was to accept, not only the inertia doctrine of Galileo, but also this innate agitation doctrine of Gassendi. Yet, suppose the whole were adopted, might it not be all too plausibly alleged that the universe was ruled rather by the laws of physics than by the laws of God? The ground was now cleared for the third and greatest of Bérulle's disciples, René Descartes. Trained first in science, then by Gibieuf and the Bérullian school, Descartes soon found himself confronted by a fundamental dilemma, and he determined to devote his life to its solution.

Whether the greatness of God or the reliability of exact science was his deepest conviction, has been a matter of learned argument. Could he himself have answered that question? How, indeed, may a new philosophy more properly start than on the foundation of two equally deep convictions? We have already explained that one of the most uncontroverted of scholastic doctrines was that which assumed the existence of certain eternal truths whose nature God had not created. He had actualized these truths, but in doing so He had had to create them exactly as they already potentially were by nature. And even Scotus had agreed that God could not, even after this creation, change their nature.[64] But if, thought Descartes, this were really true, it follows that God is not omnipotent, and, if not omnipotent, where shall we say that His potency begins? If matter, for instance, was already a potentiality before the Creation, and if God was in fact unable to endow any one of its elements, as fire, with intelligence or will, can we logically say that God created these recently discovered laws of motion and of heat, and if He did not, how can we be sure that events are proceeding so precisely as He wishes them to? Only so long as He was thought of as the sole and immediate source of physical energy, was it reasonable to believe this. But according to the new astrophysics, He might conceivably have started the universe and yet now be no longer able to control it. As a matter of logic, indeed, there was now no physical proof that God at the present time any longer existed.[65]

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[62] E. Gerland, *Geschichte der Physik* (München und Berlin, 1913), 462–465.

[63] This has been described as the age of the philosophical libertines: H. Sée, *Idées politiques*, 338–339.

[64] And Suarez: Gilson, *Descartes*, 50–55.

Descartes' momentous solution — that God is Himself the Creator of each and all the eternal truths — was thus wrung from him by an acute pressure. It is only because God of His majestic free will chose it to be so that two contradictory things are not both true, that 2 and 2 equal 4, that the angles of any triangle are equal to two right angles.[66] Only because of His free will is there matter and space; [67] only because of it do the virtues of the saints merit an eternal reward.[68] God is the cause and creator of every order, law, and essence of truth and goodness.[69]

By this theory, too, the Unity of God, a conception so dear to Bérulle, is metaphysically explained: God does not need the anthropomorphic attributes of understanding and will about whose precedence Aquinas and Scotus so elaborately disputed,[70] for His only understanding can be of His will.[71]

A final difficulty remained to be solved: [72] if God's free will was so complete, why might He not at any time change the truth by changing His mind? To this Descartes answers that since this involves imperfection and God is perfection, there is this single limitation on His free will — He can not change his mind because He can not change the perfection of His own nature.[73] Thus, through the genius of Descartes, the greatness of God grew from a relatively obscure devotional conception into a complete philosophical and even scientific demonstration.

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[65] See Gabriel Maugain, *Étude sur l'Évolution intellectuelle de l'Italie de 1657 à 1750 environ* (Paris, 1909), 158.

[66] Gilson, *Descartes*, 14, 23, 29, and 32.

[67] *Ibid.*, 22.

[68] *Ibid.*, 29.

[69] *Ibid.*, 30.

[70] *Ibid.*, 130–136 and 147.

[71] *Ibid.*, 55–57. This is comparable to Plotinus: Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, 60.

[72] That of Scotus and Suarez.

. . . . . .

And the history of seventeenth-century absolutism has other ramifications: as to Bérulle in philosophy must be added Gibieuf and Descartes, so to Bérulle in theology must be added, not only his disciples, such as Condren and Olier, but also the beginnings of the Augustinian revival — with Saint Cyran and Jansenius. Nor may another manifestation be overlooked: if God is omnipotent and to be worshipped for His own sake because sovereign over truth as well as over man and nature, it was the more natural to conceive, as did Richelieu, that the king was to be venerated for his own sake because sovereign over law and justice as well as over the people.[74]

It was not only God, indeed, Who was now being unshackled from His hoary scholastic impediments: the king was to be unshackled too — from his hoary feudal impediments. But observe — as did Richelieu — this corollary: being perfect, God could not change the nature of the very truth He had, according to Descartes, Himself created, but the king, being imperfect, was virtually under the necessity of seeking to perfect the nature of the State. To the political theorists of the Middle Ages, the State was founded on certain definite principles of equity; on these principles — their fundamental law of inalienable rights[75] — the existence of the State depended, and neither king nor States-General had the power to abrogate or amend them. But, just as Descartes had declared that eternal truth was the free creation of God, so Richelieu declared that even the fundamental laws of the State were the free creation of the king.

[73] Gilson, *Descartes,* 15, 24, 51, and 55–56.

[74] H. Sée, *Idées politiques, etc.,* 48–61.

[75] See, for instance, John of Salisbury, *Policraticus,* IV. 2

By 1660, therefore, instead of an elaborate divine and an elaborate human hierarchy, there remained no divine hierarchy, but only God and the shadowy figures of helpless saints and demons; and, of the human lay hierarchy — of fundamental laws, customs, royal prerogatives, and feudal and municipal rights — there remained, above the people, only the absolutism of the king.

It would be interesting to know whether, while the great Cardinal Bérulle and the great philosopher Descartes were so absorbed in championing the omnipotence of God, either of them was at all struck by the coincidence that another great Cardinal, Richelieu, was just then no less absorbed in championing the omnipotence of the king.

III

THE FALL OF MAN

Until 1660, man had been able to retain a good deal of optimism about himself: he had free will, noble intentions, self-control, and, through reason and experience, a solid comprehension of truth. These comfortable illusions were now to be destroyed by the collaboration of pious Jansenists and sceptical nobles. In the sixteen-fifties Méré had expounded the philosophy of the *Précieux*, which identified social charm with virtue,[76] and Corneille had dramatized the philosophy of the warrior nobility, which identified personal honor with virtue. These doctrines the Jansenist Arnauld exposed to ridicule, showing that charm merely inclines others to treat you as if they thought you virtuous and so enables you to think yourself so, and showing that personal honor is based on man's hope that if he can delude others into admiring him, they may be able to delude him into admiring himself. Of captains he says that only the prospect of unusual reward and honor "diverts them from the considerations of danger and death." [77]

The earlier seventeenth century was also the hey-day of the Jesuit casuists,[78] who argued that a man sinned only if he did evil with calculated intent.[79] But to say that a man did no wrong so long as he did not think he was doing any, was to set a premium on self-ignorance. No less than Corneille, the Jesuit was generous and romantic. The courtier-noble, La Rochefoucauld, however, was neither: " The acts of men which the world regards as virtues are very often merely their image and likeness." [80] The virtue we call constancy is likely, he says, to be the vice of dejection, resolution to be stupor,[81] pity to be foresight of our own fragile predicament.[82] And he observes that even " solemnity is a mystery of the body invented in order to hide the defects of the mind." [83] This is not hypocrisy but self-deception: there are, for instance, but a very few men who have not managed to persuade themselves that they do not fear death.[84] Another courtier-noble, Saint-Evremont, says that men who despise preferment at court do so for fear that it might otherwise despise them. He therefore adds that it is " not strange for a man of honor to despise the court, . . . but . . . ridiculous of him to take pride in despising it." [85] And with Cardinal de Retz this fear of self-deception approaches a mania:

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[76] See Edmond Chamaillard, Ed., *Le Chevalier de Méré* (Niort, 1921), 132–140.

[77] *Logique de Port Royal,* I. chaps. 9 and 10.

> There is nothing so subject to delusion as piety. All sorts of errors creep in and hide themselves under that veil; it gives a sanction to every kind of fancy; and the most honest intention is insufficient to guard against its vagaries.[86]

On being appointed Archbishop of Paris, he therefore decides that he will at all costs avoid " the most dangerous absurdity to which our profession is liable: the jumbling together of sin and devotion." [87] In his eagerness to achieve the newly revived Augustinian virtue of learning the full extent of his own depravity, he chooses to shun all the other virtues — lest in the search for them the virtue of self-knowledge be in some way tainted.

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[78] *E.g.*, Laymann (1575–), Petau (1583–), Escobar (1589–), Diana (1595–), Busembaum (1600–).

[79] H. Boehme, *Les Jésuites*, French translation by G. Monod (Paris, 1910), 238–239.

[80] *Discours sur Les Réflexions ou Sentences et Maximes morales* (1665).

[81] *Réflexions morales*, no. 420.

[82] *Ibid.*, no. 264.

[83] *Ibid.*, no. 257.

[84] *Ibid.*, no. 504.

[85] *Œuvres melées* (1705), I. 86.

[86] *Mémoires*, I. 1629–1632.

[87] *Mémoires*, I. 1643.

From this time forward, therefore, until the rise of the fatuous Encyclopædists, there could no more be a non-Augustinian ethics than a non-Euclidean geometry: [88] Jesuit ethics was under chronic papal fire from 1655 to 1690,[89] and in 1676 the *Essays* of Montaigne were put on the Index [90] — the crime of both was that of harboring a weakness for human weakness.

The first generation of psychologists had demonstrated that man was as hopelessly the slave of his self-love as was any beast — there was no indication that man's will, at any rate, had ever been especially created in the image of God. The second generation was next to demonstrate that neither did man's understanding seem to be so created; that even the definition of man as a rational animal — which Aquinas had taken from Aristotle — had no more solid basis than vanity. Descartes had, shortly before, been so impressed by the contrast between the human and the bestial mind that he declared beasts to be mere automatons or machines — superior to clocks only as God was superior to man.[91] To the new generation of the sixteen-sixties this was bound to seem preposterous. One of the earlier rejoinders was that of Cyrano de Bergerac. Describing an imaginary community of birds, he reports that there the average bird

> . . . believed that it was shocking to suppose that a beast [such as man was] who did not have a face like theirs could be endowed with reason. "What" they muttered to each other, "it has neither beak, nor feathers nor claws, and yet has a spiritual soul? Oh, ye Gods, what an impertinence!" [92]

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[88] See Bossuet, *Élévations à Dieu sur tous les Mystères de la Religion Chrétienne,* 4th Week, 3rd Elevation. On non-Euclidean geometry, see F. Cajori, *History of Mathematics* (New York, 1926), 302–306.

[89] Fülöp-Miller, *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits* (New York, 1930), 195–196: Popes Alexander VII, Innocent XI, and Alexander VIII. And it was adversely criticized by the Order itself 1664–1694: H. Bœhme, *Les Jésuites,* 242, *note* 1.

[90] F. T. Perrens, *Les Libertins en France au XVII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1896), 325. Index date taken from lecture by Pierre Villey, at Harvard, May 4, 1931.

[91] *Discours de la Méthode,* Part v. next to last paragraph.

[92] *Œuvres* (Amsterdam, 1709), II. 220–221 (*Histoire comique des États et Empire du Soleil: Histoire des Oiseaux*).

And La Fontaine, after relating several stories to show the intelligence of beasts, concludes in all seriousness:

> As for me, were it for me to say, I should grant intelligence to beasts as well as to children. Do these latter not think from their earliest years? One may think then, though not conscious of oneself.[93]

Could it not still be maintained, however, that the intelligence of the beast is nevertheless fundamentally different because only man's understanding is rational enough to realize that the universe is subject to a divine Providence? But this Pascal denies, if by it is meant that man's reason has ever enabled him to recognize what the divine virtue is: "Stealing, incest, the murder of children and of fathers, all these have at some time been regarded as virtuous acts."[94] And Nicole goes on to show that man's understanding is quite incapable of distinguishing which acts of man are dictated by the bestial instinct of self-love and which by the divine guidance of grace. Since man's happiness depends on the admiration of others, his life will tend to be exclusively devoted to acquiring a reputation for virtue. Consequently,

> Although there is nothing so in contrast to charity, which is directed only towards God, as self-love, which is directed wholly towards itself, nevertheless there is nothing so closely resembling the effects of charity as the effects of self-love; they follow indeed so identical a course that there is hardly a better way of learning the route which charity should take than to learn the route taken by an enlightened self-love which knows where lie its true interests and is proceeding rationally towards the end it seeks.[95]

Man is, therefore, unable to tell whether another's — or even his own — desires and behavior are dictated by the beast or the God in him.[96]

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[93] *Fables,* Book x. Fable 1. As Aristotle (*Hist. Animalium,* VIII. 1) had said, and also Porphyry (*De Abstinentia,* III. 6 and 23).

[94] *Œuvres,* Léon Brunschvicg, Ed. (Paris, 1921), XIII. 217; also 216–220 and 224–234.

[95] *De la Charité,* chap. 1; see also Pascal, *Œuvres,* XIII. 306–307 and 365.

[96] Aristotle, *De Anima,* III. x, 6, had said that that reason which leads to action differs from appetite only in seeing its good beyond the immediate present.

Nor can man any better recognize the hand of the Redeemer by a scrutiny of nature: Pascal says:

> Nature shows me nothing which is not a subject for doubt and worry; if I saw nothing to indicate a Divinity I could decide in the negative; if I saw everywhere the signs of a Creator I could rest peacefully in a state of faith: but, seeing too much in order to be able to deny and too little to be certain, I am in a deplorable state.[97]

For centuries men had seen God's hand everywhere in nature. Why should Pascal not see what had been so obvious to men far less intelligent than he? Galileo's and Gassendi's astronomy and physics was, of course, one reason. But there was another: the new facts recently made known through the microscope and through exploration.

The argument suggested by the microscope was chiefly psychological. Revelation's statement that man was created in God's image was, of course, to be taken to refer to man's soul only, not to his body. Nevertheless, at least since the Renaissance, man's body was much admired. The elaborate structure and mechanics of this body seemed to be peculiarly designed to serve the noble soul which it encased.[97a] It was perplexing enough to learn that man seemed to behave with this soul almost as do the animals without it, but to this perplexity was now added the discovery of the naturalists that man's body, too, as well as his will and understanding, differed from that of other organic things only in degree.[97b] One of the first to feel this close resemblance was the Italian, Malpighi. In undertaking the study of the essence of life, he says that he first concentrated on the structure of the higher animals:

> But since this branch of study, clouded as it is in very particular darkness, still remains in complete obscurity, it requires a comparison with simpler phenomena, and it was in this way that I was attracted to an investigation of insects; finally, since even these offered difficulties, I have now come to the study of plants. . . .

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[97] *Œuvres,* XIII. 138. Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721) makes an elaborate plea for scepticism in his *Traité philosophique de la Foiblesse de l'Esprit humain.*

[97a] This had also been Aristotle's view. Eduard Zeller, *Aristotle* (Eng. trans., 1897), II. 10 and 92.

[97b] Aristotle had shared this physiological view. *Ibid.,* II. 24–25.

Nor does he feel sure that plants really hold the key. "Yet perhaps even this is not enough, for the kingdom of minerals and elements ought to come first of all."[98] In the course of these new microscopic investigations, of his and of many others between 1676 and 1690, it became apparent that not only the higher beasts, but even insects and plants, were physiologically extraordinarily like man. To a far greater degree than was the case even ten years earlier they became convinced that these multifarious organisms breathed,[99] ate,[100] digested,[1] excreted,[2] and copulated,[3] substantially as did human bodies. In many there seemed to be a circulation of something analogous to blood[4] and even a nervous system like man's.[5] And nervous systems could hardly serve any other purpose than in order to register pleasure and pain.[6]

By 1690, then, the evidence rather clearly showed men that they differed from beasts neither in virtue, understanding, nor body. And, in ruminating on the acuteness of their perplexity, we must not forget that for the last four hundred years every one of education had known that Aristotle thought man to be simply the final and most successful productive effort of nature.[7]

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[98] *Anatomes Plantarum Idea,* introductory paragraph (written 1671).

[99] Swammerdam in L. C. Miall, *The Early Naturalists* (London, 1912), 195; and Malpighi in *ibid.,* 149–150 and 160.

[100] Malpighi in *ibid.,* 154.

[1] Redi in *ibid.,* 228.

[2] Malpighi in *ibid.,* 156; Swammerdam in *ibid.,* 195–196; and Leeuwenhoek in *ibid.,* 207.

[3] Redi, *Esperienze Intorno alla Generazione degl'Insetti, passim;* Malpighi on flowers; Swammerdam; Hooke; Leeuwenhoek on fleas, and on shell-fish; Lister on insects; Grew on plants: Miall, *Early Naturalists,* 156–157; 190; 141 and 144; 208 and 211; 132; 125 and 171–172.

[4] Malpighi in *ibid.,* 151 and 162–163; Swammerdam in *ibid.,* 195; Leeuwenhoek in *ibid.,* 203–204.

[5] Malpighi in *ibid.,* 160; Swammerdam in *ibid.,* 160–161 and 196.

[6] Redi, *Esperienze,* English translation by Mab Bigelow (Chicago, 1909), 98, speaking of plants says, "and perhaps . . . possessing the proper organs, they might complain and break into lamentations on being injured." Hooke in Miall, *Early Naturalists,* 144 — but Miall is not clear here. See Aristotle, *De Anima* II. ii, 8–9: "For, where there is sensation, there also is pleasure and pain."

[7] Zeller, *Aristotle,* II. 21–28; 90–92.

IV

THE COLLAPSE OF THE NATURAL HIERARCHY

But was there not, at least, this difference: that nature was created for man's sake? Was not this basis of differentiation still a valid one?

The best evidence in proof of this hypothesis had always been the remarkable number of things in nature which served man's economic wants. How could a cow's usefulness to herself possibly compare with her usefulness to man? The cow was just as useful to the Frenchman of 1680 as she ever had been to Greek or early Christian, but that usefulness became less and less convincing an argument as the microscope and exploration revealed more and more thousands of species — animal, vegetable, and mineral — almost none of which, apparently, was of the slightest economic use. But might not many of them have been created for therapeutic purposes? The physicians answered that they only wished they could honestly say so. Paracelsus, as we have mentioned,[8] believed all nature to be an apothecary; so, apparently, did della Porta[9] and Bœhme.[10] Even now there were still reputable physicians who trusted in this teleological view of nature. Speaking of woodbine, the English physician, Nicholas Culpeper, who was born in 1614, remarks: "Well, then, if it is not good for this, what is it good for? It is good for something, for God and nature made nothing in vain."[11] And Culpeper therefore still clings to the theory of *signatures*, inferring that heart trefoil strengthens the heart "not only because the leaf is triangular, like the heart of man, but also because each leaf contains the perfect icon of a heart, and that in its proper colour, viz. a flesh colour."[12] But the really distinguished physicians of this time were no longer relying on any such theoretical principles. Sydenham, who was eleven years younger than Culpeper, shocked the English medical world by depending on empirical methods,[13] and the

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[8] See quotation, *supra*, pages 217–218.

[9] C. G. Cumston, *History of Medicine*, 267 and 314.

[10] But Bœhme does not desire — so far as I can see — to get beyond the philosophical principles.

[11] *The English Physician* (1770 Ed.), 356.

[12] *Ibid.*, 341.

[13] *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Ed.), "Sydenham."

Dutch-German, Sylvius, just of Culpeper's age, was one of the first to react against the traditional theory that the human organism is specifically designed in order to combat each possible disease.[14] Thus neither relied at all on the age-long theory of an artificial synchronism between the human body and outer nature. Nowhere, to them, were there ready-made, accessible therapeutic tools; there were, at best, only the raw materials out of which man's wits might, or might not, be able to fashion these tools.[15]

The third and fourth purely human uses for which nature had supposedly been designed — in order to teach moral and dogmatic doctrines by resemblances and symbols — were by 1680 no longer receiving much serious attention. The *Physiologus* stories or Bestiaries, in which this lore was chiefly collected, had not survived the sarcasm of the humanists. Yet even now there were still whimsical traces of the old tradition. The Italian humanist, Magalotti, for instance, having learned on what seemed to him impeccable authority that the unicorn had been recently seen in Africa, makes this bewildered observation:

> Thus the most famous and perhaps the noblest and finest of all animals serves as an amusement, as a convenience, and even perhaps as a gift, to the most barbarous and savage of men.[16]

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[14] Max Neuburger, *Die Lehre von der Heilkraft der Natur* (Stuttgart, 1926), 46–47.

[15] Historians of medicine may here be reminded that the indirect or negative help given to that science not only by Galileo, van Helmont, Gassendi, Descartes, etc., but also by the Bérullian and Jansenist theologians, may be quite as significant and influential as the direct and positive help given by Harvey, Sylvius, Sydenham, etc. At least for the history of pathology and therapeutics three developments of the middle seventeenth century are of capital importance:

1. The discovery that nature has not been endowed with therapeutic signatures.
2. The discovery that the stars and so the horoscope are no indication of the condition of a patient's health — past, present, or future.
3. The discovery that God, rather than the Devil, is the cause of disease. It was not easy to believe that God specifically inflicted painful diseases on apparently worthy and upright persons, and He, as well as the Devil, was therefore soon dismissed as the immediate and decisive cause. Thus for the first time was a theological basis outlined for a belief in intermediate natural causes of disease. Until that time any systematic, widespread search for natural causes was not to be expected.

[16] Lorenzo Magalotti, *Relazione di Cose esotiche: Dell'Uccello di Paradiso, del Pellicano e dell'Unicorno.*

Here is the unicorn, for centuries the acknowledged and familiar symbol of Christ,[17] relegated to the interior of Africa!

Yet the unicorn was but one of many thousand species which seemed to serve no conceivable human end. Of what possible use, for instance, were those worms that live in the stomachs of horses? Malpighi thus describes them:

> In these worms the two openings of the air-vessels, as we shall in due course show, are close to the anus, and these air-vessels follow the length of the flanks, proceeding towards the head and sending branches to the right and to the left to spread among the viscera. In the case of these animals, therefore, which live submerged in fluids, nature seems to have arranged that, for their breathing, they should have few orifices, and these so specially situated that they may be able to breathe the air at the most opportune time and place.[18]

Here was an obscure and only recently studied creature whose organism is designed with a skill vying with any of the most admirable of God's works, and yet all this design seems as perfectly suited to facilitate its own prosperity and survival as it seems unsuited to affect the horse — not to speak of man — in any way, for either better or worse.

What right then has man to assume that nature was created only for his sake? Suppose that by some chance the poor beasts were created rather for their own than for man's sake? Observe the attitude taken in an anonymous article of 1684, as paraphrased and probably somewhat embellished by Bayle:

> The soul of the beasts has not sinned and yet is liable to suffering and misery; it is made the slave of all the ungovernable desires of the creature which has sinned. How do we treat the beasts? We make them maul each other for our entertainment; we cut their throats in order to feed ourselves; while they are still alive we rummage about in their entrails in order to satisfy our curiosity, and we do all this by virtue of the sovereignty which God has given us over the beasts. How illogical that the innocent creature be the victim of every caprice of the criminal creature! There is not a casuist who believes that one sins in setting dogs on bulls, and in resorting to a thousand ruses and violences in hunting and in fishing in order to destroy animals. . . . Is there not cruelty and injustice

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[17] Rose, Ed., *The Epic of the Beast*, 199.

[18] *De Bombyce*, last paragraph.

> in subjecting the innocent soul to so many miseries? We are freed from all these difficulties through the doctrine of Mr. Descartes.[19]

But if nature was not created for man, was there any valid reason for regarding it as a hierarchy? If the beast was not created in order to serve man, neither was the wind created in order to exercise the trees nor the insect in order to feed the birds.[20]

V

THE FALL OF GOD

By 1690, then, man seemed to be in the very jaws of nature.[21] One of the first to perceive this clearly had been Pascal, whose despairing cry to God for His help lest man be wholly a beast, has echoed down the ages. Only the Redemption stood between man and matter; [22] only because Christ loomed above this nature, could Pascal have faith. To him the least unconvincing natural proof of God was size — the minuteness revealed by the microscope and the hugeness revealed by the telescope. Descartes' opportune assurance that God had created everything, including terrifying space, was consoling.[23] But wait a moment. The scholastics had always been careful to differentiate God from nature — it was because of His power to divert or suspend its operations that man trusted to Him in times of disaster — of plague, earthquake, flood, drought, and invasion. But Descartes' God was a new God, Who, being the creator as well as the ruler of nature, was not so easily differentiated from it.[24] Scotus and the other scholastics had said that God could amend its physical laws; this was a scientific basis for a belief in miracles, but Descartes had declared that because God Himself created them, it was inconsistent with His perfection that He change them. Thus the laws of nature *were* God, as perfect and unchangeable as He was.

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[19] Bayle, *Dictionnaire,* article on "Rorarius," *note* C; see also L. C. Miall, *History of Biology* (New York and London, 1911), 48.

[20] According to modern Catholic doctrine, the beast, having been created for the exclusive sake of man, suffers the fate of his master. Before the Fall he shared with man a life where there was only pleasure; in consequence of the Fall the beast shared in the punishment and was therefore doomed to a life in which pain predominates. Thus, to the Church, the beast's predicament is like that of man in the eye of an unbeliever: though personally innocent of sin, he is doomed to great suffering and imminent annihilation by death. His is an unmoral world, without virtue or sin, and without rewards or punishments, present or future.

[21] F. T. Perrens, *Les Libertins, etc.,* 316 and 394–395.

[22] *Œuvres,* XIII. 177, 420 and 429–430.

[23] *Œuvres,* XII. 73 and 82; and XIII. 127.

[24] See Bossuet, *Élévations,* 3rd Week, 2nd, 3rd and 5th Elevations; and *De la Connoissance de Dieu,* IV. 5.

From this premise it was only a step to infer that, since human nature was a part of nature, this, too, was in a sense divine. The doctrine of Nicole — that enlightened self-interest was man's best criterion of what might be the effects of divine grace — was an ominous premonition. Soon after, Bourdaloue declared that there is not a divine mystery which transcends ordinary human comprehension.[25] Finally to Malebranche,[26] Leibnitz,[27] and Bayle,[28] man's reason — that is, his logic and mathematics — offers a reliable criterion of what these eternal truths in fact are, and man's conscience, or natural intuition of justice, offers a reliable criterion of what must be God's justice. The biblical Revelation thus became a superfluous corroboration of what man could find out by natural means.

Spinoza had said, rather bluntly, what thousands were feeling and not saying: if nature is God, let us trust her, let us submit ourselves to her wishes. Man is henceforth to be saved by following her divine dictates. This is the beginning of *laissez faire,* not only in ethics and science, but also in economics with Boisguilbert[29] and in education with Fénelon.[30]

Such, then, by the end of the century, was the sad plight of religion. Because to the men of the seventeenth century God was inseparable from the traditional hierarchy, its collapse brought about His also. It was the penalty paid for an impure, anthropomorphic conception of Him. That there may be something higher than nature, higher than man, and that the least inarticulate description of that something is to be found in the Bible and the great commentaries inspired by it, was just as obvious in 1700 as it is to-day. It is only with difficulty, however, that man can live by faith alone — he is therefore ever tempted to clothe that faith with concrete accessories. But these are man-made and so ephemeral, go rotten in course of time, and, in rotting, give man the momentary illusion that the faith has rotted too.

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[25] Bremond, *Sentiment religieux,* VIII. 319–327.

[26] Désiré Roustan, in Bédier and Hazard, *Histoire de la Littérature française* (Paris, 1923), I. 309d–310a.

[27] Alfred Weber, *History of Philosophy,* English translation by Frank Thilly (New York, 1906), 365–366; Bédier and Hazard, *Histoire de la Littérature française,* I. 310a.

[28] L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Les Tendances générales de Bayle et de Fontenelle,* in *Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie,* January–March, 1927, 56–60; and see H. Sée, *Idées politiques, etc.,* 344 and 348–350.

[29] *Recherches sur la France, passim;* and also H. Sée, *Idées politiques,* especially 332–334.

[30] *Télémaque, passim.*

VI

THE FALL OF THE KING

Richelieu and his successors had reduced the human hierarchy from feudal multiplicity to the simple duality of ruler and subjects. Just as the simplification of the divine hierarchy facilitated the fall of God, so Richelieu's doctrine facilitated the fall of the king.[31] So long as the old God survived, there was still a major hierarchy to support this minor, human one, but, with God precipitated into nature, the only valid claim of the kingship could now be that it was natural. But this was perhaps the one argument that could not be made, since it had long been the favorite argument of the monarchists that God had instituted kings for the exclusive and specific purpose of controlling and suppressing the social disorder towards which our fallen nature tended. Bossuet had repeatedly said that revolution was the order of that nature;[32] Locke and the Protestant refugees, Jurieu[33] and Levassor,[34] needed only to take him at his word in order to proclaim that, whenever natural man felt impelled to revolution, it was just that such a revolution take place.

At the turn of the century, therefore, of the whole scholastic hierarchy, there remained only Louis XIV, and all the anti-scholastic forces were now concentrated on his destruction too. The first categorical denial of hereditary monarchy seems to have been that of Boulainvilliers;[35] with this declaration our story of intellectual evolution ends: the razing of every sub-hierarchy and hierarchy is at last complete, and not only God and man, but even the king, appear as merely so many manifestations of a single almighty, all-inclusive nature. To the outward eye, and to the average man, God, with His saints and devils, and the king, with his ministers and nobles, lived on, but in the flesh only, not in the spirit. The great minds had for the time being moved on. In 1789 was merely practised what had already been preached under Louis XIV.

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[31] See Bayle, *Dictionnaire,* article on "Ruggieri"; and Aristotle, *Politics,* v. 10.

[32] H. Sée, *Idées politiques,* 151, 155, 158, and 168.

[33] *Ibid.,* 205; Bédier and Hazard, *Histoire de la Littérature française,* II. 42c and d.

[34] H. Sée, *Idées politiques,* 196–197.

Mr. FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL read a paper on

GLIMPSES OF THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN ROBBINS CURTIS

Benjamin R. Curtis was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1809, the son of a sea captain who died early, leaving him and his brother, George Ticknor Curtis, to be brought up by a devoted mother with very little property. He graduated from Harvard in the Class of 1829 and was one of the first students in the reorganized Harvard Law School under Judge Story and John Hooker Ashmun. After about a year and a half of study there, he fell in love with Eliza Maria Woodward, the daughter of the defendant-in-error in the Dartmouth College case, and, in order to secure an income, left the school to take over the practice of General Nevers, an old lawyer with a collection practice in Northfield, Massachusetts, who was appointed Sheriff of Franklin County. Curtis remained three years in Northfield where he saturated himself with law reading in his spare time, and then moved to Boston where he became associated with Mr. Charles P. Curtis and began his rapid rise at the bar. His practice was varied, and his unusual versatility in grasping every kind of question presented was compared in those days to that of his English contemporary, Sir William Follett.

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[35] H. Sée, *Idées politiques*, 276. He maintained that the French king must be elected by the nobility: *Hist. Zeit.* 145, 158.

In 1836, he appeared before Chief Justice Shaw and the full bench of the Supreme Judicial Court in a slave case[1] in support of a proposition similar to that which he himself answered later from the Federal bench in his dissenting opinion in the case of Dred Scott.[2] In 1851 he was made chairman of the Commissioners appointed in accordance with legislative resolve "to revise and reform the proceedings in the courts of justice" in the Commonwealth, and was elected to the legislature of that year to put through their recommendations. While there, he drew up the public address to the people, signed by one hundred and sixty-seven members of the legislature, denouncing what he described as the "corrupt bargain" of the coalition between the Free Soilers and the Democrats which made George S. Boutwell governor and sent Charles Sumner, the unspecified Free Soiler in the "bargain," to the Senate.[3]

On September 4, 1851, a vacancy occurred in the Supreme Court of the United States, and on September 10, President Fillmore and Daniel Webster each sent to the other, in letters which crossed each other, the suggestion of Curtis, then forty-two years old, for the place. Although demonstrating from the first his exceptional judicial and juristic qualities, it was his dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case which electrified the country. Almost by itself it steadied Northern sentiment and checked the tide of popular disrespect which threatened the authority of the court as a result of Chief Justice Taney's unfortunate opinion. In that dissent he provided a legal foundation on which the more temperate men of the North could join the Republican Party and support Lincoln.

In that same year he resigned, mainly because the salary was not sufficient to enable him to live in Washington and support and educate his family. After his resignation he returned to active practice, which he continued until his death in 1874.

[1] *Commonwealth* vs. *Aves*, 18 *Pickering*, 193.

[2] *Scott* vs. *Sandford*, 19 *How.* 393.

[3] See *Memoir of Benjamin Robbins Curtis* (Benjamin R. Curtis, Ed., Boston, 1879), I. 136–150; Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston, 1918), 49 ff.

Everyone is familiar with that professional obituary eloquence which illustrates the friendly art of exaggeration, but here was a man who set professional standards of character, capacity, effort, and accomplishment. Some of the things said about him by men of distinction are arresting. For instance, Mr. Justice Miller, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in an address before the Iowa Bar described Curtis's place in his profession in these words:

> In this sense I pronounce Benjamin R. Curtis the first lawyer of America, of the past or present time. I do not speak of him as an advocate, alone or specially, nor as a counsellor; I speak of him as a lawyer in full practice in all the courts of the country, as engaged in a practice which embraced a greater variety of questions of law and of fact than is often to be found in one man's experience.[4]

This is strong language, not of local pride, but from a distant state at a time when large offices and stenographers and telephones and all the present helps of modern business were unknown. Sydney Bartlett said of Curtis: " In his favorite science he had among us no superior and but few equals "; and Webster said: " In clearness, he has probably never been surpassed at the bar." If one reads enough (and it does not require much) about the critical period between 1865 and 1868, to visualize the dramatic crisis with which the Federal Government was faced in 1868, and then reads the answer to the impeachment charges which was prepared for the President by Curtis, working, it is said, for thirty consecutive hours without rest or sleep, the force of Webster's remark appears.

That impeachment trial was a veritable Thermopylae for the government of the United States with the pass held by Curtis supported by his four associated counsel, twelve Democratic and seven Republican senators, twenty-two men in all. Against them was a horde of inflamed, vindictive people, led on by earnest but self-righteous, fanatical graspers for power like Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, aided by Ben Butler, Boutwell, Henry Wilson (all but Stevens from Massachusetts), and others, all of whom persuaded themselves, or professed to believe, that the entire sovereignty of the United

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[4] *American Law Review,* May, 1880.

States was in Congress. There was an unholy alliance of professed saints and political sinners, with the presidential aspirations of Ben Wade of Ohio, the presiding officer of the Senate, in the immediate background, and with New England leading the way (for Stevens was born in Vermont). As Garfield, then in Congress, characterised the situation, many persons in Washington were doing extravagant things to prove themselves radicals; he was trying " . . . to be a radical without being a fool," by the looks of things " no small difficulty."[5]

Andrew Johnson was a great figure, but in a sense an incidental one in that struggle for power, for it is evident that the same tactics would have been used against Lincoln if he had lived. The real issue involved was whether the independence of the executive office would survive the attempted usurpation of its powers by a headstrong Congress. Johnson refused to yield the powers which he believed had been entrusted to him by the Constitution, and Curtis defended his position. In 1926, the issue was raised in a judicial proceeding for the first time since 1789, and the Supreme Court of the United States decided that Andrew Johnson was right in his refusal to obey the Tenure of Office Act of 1867, which was the basis of the impeachment charges.[6]

Joseph B. Warner, in his essay on Curtis in *Great American Lawyers*[7] speaks of the fading dramatic interest in the impeachment trial. But he did not foresee the appearance of the recent books which rescue the strength of Andrew Johnson from mountains of fanatical abuse, bring out the contemptible and dangerous sides of his opponents, and set forth anew all the drama inherent in the trial. The team play of the counsel for the President seems to have been perfect, Evarts with his wit, Stanbery, Nelson, and Groesbeck with their earnestness born of personal knowledge of the President. But the real turning point of the trial was at the opening, when the clear intellect and the impressive character and bearing of Benjamin R. Curtis set the tone of the defence of the

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[5] Theodore C. Smith, *Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield* (New Haven, 1925), I. 397.

[6] *Myers* vs. *U. S.*, 272 *U. S.* 52, p. 176.

[7] William Draper Lewis, Ed., *Great American Lawyers* (Philadelphia, 1908), v. 419.

President in answer to the opening by Benjamin F. Butler for the impeachment managers.

After reading various accounts of the trial and of the ordeals to which the seven Republican senators, and particularly Senator Ross of Kansas, were subjected, and then reading over the opening of Butler for the managers and the opening of Curtis for the defence, I think the really controlling issue in their minds was the constitutional nature of their position as judges.

Lawyers are familiar with the remark of Causten Brown — or whoever it was — in regard to some judge: that he had to work twice as hard as other judges because he not only had to decide what was the right thing to do but, after he had determined that, he had to make up his mind whether to do it. In the same way, the seven Republican senators were satisfied that there was no case from a judicial point of view, and since they had been required by the Constitution to take an oath to do impartial justice, their struggle was to preserve their judicial character in the face of every form of pressure to act on political grounds. Stevens and Sumner cared nothing for the constitutional character of the proceeding, and Butler opened with a specious argument that the Senate was not sitting as a court, but merely as a Senate conducting, not a trial, but " an inquest of office " with " none of the attributes of a judicial court as they are commonly received and understood." Curtis answered that argument with impressive clarity of statement in his opening sentence when he said:

> Mr. Chief Justice, I am here to speak to the Senate of the United States sitting in its judicial capacity as a court of impeachment, presided over by the Chief Justice of the United States, for the trial of the President of the United States. This statement sufficiently characterizes what I have to say. Here party spirit, political schemes, foregone conclusions, outrageous biases can have no fit operation. The Constitution requires that here should be a " trial ". . . .[8]

The contrast between the conception of the government suggested by Curtis and that suggested by the opening of

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[8] *Trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States* (Washington, 1868), 251.

Butler is intensely dramatic when one reads the accounts of what happened and the closeness of the vote.

There was no foundation for the impeachment, but the court was politically packed and the impeachment was lost by only one vote. While Senator Fessenden of Maine, and, perhaps, one or two others seem to have realized their position from the start, it seems clear that the mind and character of Curtis held some and welded the rest of the seven Republican Senators to their judicial oaths. Perhaps Massachusetts has never been more impressively represented in Washington than in that argument when one of her sons successfully defended the nation against itself in the rancorous attack led in the main by five other sons of New England.

Mr. Norcross communicated copies of letters in his autograph collection from Aaron Burr, George Clinton, and Elbridge Gerry.

EDWARD CHANNING · A MEMOIR

BY

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

ONE autumn morning about eighty years ago Judge Keyes of Concord was standing in front of his residence, the "bullet-hole house" opposite the Old Manse. Down the road came Ellery Channing, the poet, trundling a trunk on a wheelbarrow. "Where are you going, Mr. Channing?" inquired the Judge. "Going to Rome!" And to Rome he went, without the formality of saying good-bye to his wife and children, or making any provision for their support. After rambling over France and Italy for several months, Ellery returned to Concord and was forgiven and begot another child. Not Edward, but one of the four elder of the five children who were born to the poet and his wife Ellen, the sister of Margaret Fuller, Countess d'Ossoli.

About nine or ten years later, in December, 1855, this elfin father indulged in one of his "riparial excursions" at Concord with Henry Thoreau. In reply to Thoreau's inquiry as to where he was living, Ellery Channing replied, "that he did not know the name of the place."[1] The place then happened to be Dorchester, where his fifth child, the subject of this memoir, was born on June 15, 1856. Ellery at that time was in New Bedford, attempting journalism. Three months later Ellen Channing died of tuberculosis. Ellery completely washed his hands of all responsibility for the five children, and went his own way during the remaining forty-five years of his life. Edward remembered having seen his father just once.

This may serve to explain a certain impatience of Edward Channing with ideals and idealists, especially those of the Concord School; why any youthful expression of enthusiasm for New England's favorite 'isms was apt to be met by an explosive "Bah!" Transcendentalism may have been a leaven to New England materialism, he might grudgingly admit; but that it did not produce thrifty citizens or "good providers" he had experienced. He was in almost every respect the opposite to his father. His attitude toward life was realistic. He had a hard head for business, and knew how to get on in the academic and literary world. For fame, though not for notoriety, he had a wholesome appreciation; for royalties and salaries, a keen though not exaggerated sense of value. One can trace in him that drive and persistence of the "fighting Fullers" which made Margaret such an intellectual prodigy, and enabled Ellen to bring up four children with a casual poet for a husband. But Channing's drive and energy were directed toward a tangible and attainable goal, the writing of a great History of the United States, and the only thing that could make him deflect from that goal even for a month, was the necessity of providing for his family. It would seem that heredity and environment drove Channing into contrariety. The son of a poet, he cared naught for poetry. The offspring of a man who was "all genius and no talent," as Thoreau said, he was all talent, talent carried to a high degree by hard, unremitting industry. Nor did Channing react toward another side of his inheritance, the solid ballast of mercantile Higginsons, Cabots, and Perkinses, which might have been expected to sink his individuality in the genteel tradition of Boston. He spurned the Federalist-Whig-Republican yardstick by which Cabot Lodge measured history. In other words, Edward Channing was Edward Channing, and nothing else. He followed his own bent and formed his own opinions, independent of fashion, example, and influence.

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[1] F. B. Sanborn, Ed., *Familiar Letters of Henry David Thoreau* (Boston, 1894), 323: Letter to Daniel Ricketson, March 5, 1856.

Independence was in the Channing tradition. No less than six Channings, all born within the forty years 1780–1820, may be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography,* sandwiched between Chang the Siamese twin and Chanute the aviator. They were not of the early Puritan migration. The first of the family came over from Dorsetshire and settled at Newport, Rhode Island, sometime about the year 1720.[2] A son John (1714–1771) became a prosperous merchant there, and his son William (1751–1793) married Lucy, daughter to William Ellery the "signer," and for this relationship received an appointment from President Washington. Up to this time the Channings seem to have been a prudent and plodding sort of family, but the Ellery blood woke them up, as it has other families (like the Sedgwicks) with which it mingled. Three of the ten children of William and Lucy Channing became famous. William Ellery Channing was the colossus of New England Unitarianism.[3] Edward Tyrrell Channing, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric at Harvard, taught English to Emerson, Holmes, and Lowell, and established the classical diction of New England. Walter Channing, our Edward's grandfather, was an eminent obstetrician and medical professor. He married a daughter of one of the wealthy and philanthropic Perkinses of Boston, bringing also the cool Cabot blood and the ardent Higginson strain into the family crucible. Their only son was the poet, who married in 1841 Ellen Kilshaw, youngest of five children of the Hon. Timothy Fuller, sometime state senator and Member of Congress, and a descendant of the early Puritans.

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[2] Edward T. Channing, *Notes Concerning the Channing Family* (Boston, 1895), 3.

Enough of forbears. We left the future historian motherless and as good as fatherless at the age of three months, in September, 1856. When his mother died, it seemed likely that the seven-months baby would follow her to the grave. Just in time a proper nurse was secured, a shoemaker's wife of South Abington. With her and her husband, excellent people, Edward passed the first three years of his life. One Sunday a relation who came to see how the baby was doing, found him alone in the house lying in a deep drawer where the shoe findings were kept, contentedly sucking a lobster's claw. At some time during the year 1860 the little boy said good-bye to his foster parents, and came up to Boston to live with his Grandfather Channing and his Aunt Barbara, in a big house on Tremont Street.

The baby had been named Henry[4] — possibly after Henry

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[3] "My father wished me to inquire what relation you were to the great Channing?" once inquired a shy student of our Edward. "I *am* the great Channing!" was the characteristic reply, delivered with a thump on the breast bone.

[4] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* VIII. (1859), 319;

Thoreau — but the name Henry, especially in that connection, was not likely to attract gifts or legacies. With a thrifty view to his eventual prosperity, his grandfather had him renamed and formally christened Edward Perkins Channing. Edward for his great-uncle the Boylston Professor, who died the year he was born, leaving a widow (an Ellery cousin) who had some money but no children; Perkins for his paternal grandmother's people, who had plenty of money but a great many children. Edward liked his first name, although he never got anything for it but a bad fall from the widow Channing's porch, when brought out to Cambridge as a child to remind her of his existence. The middle name he hated. Boys nicknamed him " Perky "; Perkins relatives patronized him. After graduating from college he dropped the Perkins, and it never appeared on any of his books.

Dr. Walter Channing, like every member of his family, was a " character." After being expelled from Harvard College, along with his brother Edward, for refusing to grovel to the Faculty after a student rebellion, he obtained a medical education at Philadelphia and Edinburgh, and eventually became Professor of Obstetrics and Dean of the Harvard Medical School. It was he who introduced the use of anaesthetics in childbirth. A temperance reformer, abolitionist, pacifist, and a brilliant talker as well, he did not fit in with the conventional notion of a family physician, and was usually called in at the last moment, in desperate cases. For that reason he slept on a hard couch in a room by the front door, in order to respond to nocturnal summonses. By the time his little grandson came to live with him Dr. Channing had so large an obstetrical practice, and had accumulated so comfortable a fortune, that in a few years he moved to Dorchester to escape importunate calls, and then to Brookline to escape the tax assessors. His daughter Barbara, who kept house for him, did not hold with her father's allopathic ideas, but kept a complete pharmacopoeia of homeopathic medicines with which to dose herself at need. Edward Channing always remembered his horror at seeing his grandfather, on one occasion, empty a whole bottle-full of these pellets into his hand, clap his hand to his mouth, and

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MS. letter of T. W. Higginson, Higginson MSS., Harvard College Library, no. 683.

eat the lot. The old gentleman had felt a craving for sweets, and, unable to find sugar in the pantry, chose the sweetest of his daughter's assortment!

Miss Barbara Channing was one of those forthright New England spinsters who always did as "she'd a mind to," with a lovable character and a warm heart which went out to the motherless little boy committed to her charge. For her, Edward Channing felt a deep and lasting affection. Beside her, family he had none, in the ordinary sense. His grandfather was kindly but aged. His two sisters [5] were ten or more years older; his brothers Walter and Giovanni Eugene [6] were distributed among other aunts' and uncles' families. Edward was a lonely little boy, with a passionate love for companionship which was never satisfied. So the tiny tot created an imaginary companion whom he called Mr. Dowdy. There is a charming description both of Edward and Mr. Dowdy in a letter of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, dated January 21, 1861:

> Speaking of Channings, I think Anna will break her heart over little Edward (né Harry) who is becoming one of the most fascinating little creatures who ever lived; a sort of male fairy; blue eyes, long soft hair and the most plaintive little expression, with a low tender voice like a nursing angel and all the character and individuality of a Channing and a Fuller combined. He is not shy or piteous now, but healthy and gay, only on a low gentle scale, his loudest warwhoop a sort of meditative soliloquy. His one chosen companion is the imaginary Mr. Dowdy, whose individuality is hopelessly intertwined with his own, he is Dowdy, but Dowdy is not he; — in fact, as he confidentially whispered to me "*There's a great many of them*"; he peoples the world with Dowdies. All his small rebellions, not very frequent, are conducted with reference to novel first principles. "Don't you want to be good" remarks Auntie solemnly; "No" says the seraph very gently, shaking his tresses, as if he saw no force in that aspect of the case — "*I* don't want to be good." "Don't you want to please your friends?" "No," answers the little saint sweetly, '*I* don't want to peese my fends"; and thus the ordinary grounds of domestic dis-

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[5] Margaret Fuller Channing, who married Thacher Loring, and Caroline Sturgis Channing, who married Follen Cabot. Caroline was the only one of the brothers and sisters who lived for a time in the same household with Edward and their grandfather.

[6] Walter Channing became a well-known neurologist; and Eugene a special agent in the United States Customs Service.

> cipline prove hopeless. What to do with a disputant whose tones only become more soft and celestial amid sin and retribution? [7]

Truly, this boy was father to the man! Edward Channing never did " want to be good," nor was he ever much concerned with pleasing his friends or any one else.

The world of imagination was so much more real to this flaxen-haired little boy than the world in which his maiden aunt and his grandfather moved, that he remembered little of the stirring events of 1861–65. Just a vague impression of fluttering flags and marching men, and one vivid picture of his ninth year, when the terrible cry "Lincoln is murdered! " was heard in the house, and Edward was allowed to go out into Tremont Street alone for the first time to buy a paper.

Physicians seldom took a summer vacation in those days. But as the little boy's health was frail, and his guardians feared tuberculosis, he was " put out to grass " as he called it, during the summers of 1865 and 1866. " Mother Hewes," wife of an excellent farmer in Weston, known to Dr. Channing because she made clay stoppers for carbolic acid jars, took Edward to board. He was initiated into country life by being tossed by the village boys into a poison ivy thicket, whence he ran howling home to Mother Hewes. But he proved to be immune, and soon joined the neighbors' lads in persecuting the reputed witch of Weston. She was, he remembered, " an old woman, long and lank, and whenever we threw stones at her front door she would come out with a broom — preparatory to riding through the air, as we thought, but no doubt desirous of banging her persecutors."

Nor was this the boy's only contact with the seventeenth century. As he recalled in later life, " the Sabbath was then the Sabbath."

> It was not a day of rejoicing and of tearing around the country — on the contrary, it was the day to reckon up one's misdeeds of the past week and make resolves for better doings. On Saturday night the gate leading into the front yard was closed at sundown, the horses were given a day of rest; feeding the stock, milking the cows and driving them to and from pasture was the only work that

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[7] Higginson MSS., no. 699. Cf. T. W. Higginson, *Part of a Man's Life* (Boston and New York, 1905), 36–38, for more " Mr. Dowdy " anecdotes.

> was done on the farm. . . . Every one put on his or her best attire. On one occasion, Albert the grown-up son, pulling on his Sunday boots with great difficulty, ejaculated " By George, that hurts! " Whereupon his mother told him to stop swearing, which he did immediately. We walked to meeting in the morning and the small ones stayed after to attend Sabbath School. We had a cold dinner and went back to meeting for the afternoon. After supper we boys gathered in the road in front of the house and gazed hopefully into the sky for the sight of the first star, when one could play; for in those days the Sabbath began at sundown on Saturday and ended with the coming of the first star on Sunday.[8]

Soon after this Dr. Walter Channing's household moved from Tremont Street to Dorchester, near Savin Hill Bay.

> The Dorchester Estate [Edward remembered] had land around it which was then an orchard and a garden. My aunt was fond of gardening and as I was too young and frail to do much in the way of attending school, I was set to work in the garden and have hated the smell of soil and of growing plants ever since. . . . It was at this period of my existence that my Aunt Barbara thought that I would better acquire some of the graces, so I was sent to dancing school and my sister undertook to give me lessons on the piano. It seemed to me that dancing was about as silly a performance as could be thought of . . . and I . . . do not know how to dance to this day.

Nor did his sister have any better success with the piano lessons.

About the year 1870 Dr. Channing moved to Brookline, in a house near Edward's two married sisters. There he made the acquaintance of sundry Cabot, Perkins, and Higginson cousins, and attended somewhat irregularly, on account of his poor health, William B. Eayres's private school in Boston. He had constant headaches, and was a dull scholar. It was not until after his marriage that Dr. John Morgan, an oculist who had studied in Vienna, discovered that astigmatism had been the entire cause of Edward's weakness.

Life at Brookline was very pleasant. There were plenty of open spaces, and an opportunity to raise chickens — a hobby which Professor Channing found to be a useful topic of conversation some fifty years later when the Crown Prince and Princess of Sweden were brought into Widener 417 by President Lowell. Dr. Channing, always solicitous of his grandson's health, sent him one summer to a camp on Lake Winnipesaukee, and in due time procured him a boat and arranged to have him go cruising with Lindsay Swift. But he had little boyish companionship. He was too slight to take much part in boys' sports, and although he manfully tried football, it resulted in his right arm (already once broken accidentally) being badly wrenched, so that ball games had to be abandoned. He was considered lucky to pass the entrance examinations for Harvard with six "conditions," which had to be made up during the college course. In the fall of 1874 he entered with the Class of 1878.

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[8] This quotation, and several others, as well as many facts in this memoir, are taken, by Mrs. Channing's kind permission, from the manuscript of an incomplete autobiography which Channing dictated in 1929–30, and which he intended to publish under the title " Memoirs of a Hitherto Truthful Man."

Harvard was not much better than school for the first two years. President Eliot, at that time only forty years old, had not yet got the elective system extended to the Freshman and Sophomore classes. Edward Channing, with splitting headaches, conditions to be worked off, and prescribed studies which he loathed, was able just to stay in college. In the social life of the university he had slight part. He did not care much for his classmates, nor they for him. In the Sophomore year only did he have a chum, Lincoln L. Eyre. Junior year he roomed in Matthews 42 with a dog "Tim," and subsequently in Stoughton, where the proctor was less tolerant, with a cat; later, as a resident graduate, his pet and companion was a parrot.[9] Still frail in physique — weighing only 117 pounds at graduation — and shy in the sense for which the French have the word *sauvage,* he kept much to himself, belonged to no clubs or societies, and made no athletic teams.

This is not to say that Channing was a bookworm, with no taste for outdoor life. He had a deep love for the sea, in which he was able to indulge during the summers that he spent at Nantucket with his sister, Mrs. Follen Cabot. It was typical of Channing that his boat should be the ideal one for a lone hand, a Rob Roy sailing canoe, built to his order from John Macgregor's design. Dr. Gardner Weld Allen, Harvard '77, remembers how Channing would paddle the canoe several miles out to sea and lie there basking, drinking in the beauty of sky and ocean, absorbing the strength that comes with sunlight and clean air. The Rob Roy, which he kept for six or eight years, served him also for lonely longshore cruises. This sailing experience made Channing an excellent amateur seaman, deepened his love of the sea, taught him self-control, and proved most useful in his historical work. For there is no art, science, or experience that can not be turned to the service of Clio.[10]

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[9] Curiously, this seems to be the only trait that Channing had in common with his father. Cf. Thoreau's *Journal* (Bradford Torrey, Ed., IV. 294): "C[hanning] says he keeps a dog for society, to stir up the air of the room when it becomes dead, for he experiences awful solitudes. Another time thinks we must cultivate the social qualities, perhaps had better keep two dogs apiece." Again (VI. 75), "When I was at C's the other evening, he punched his cat with the poker because she purred too loud for him."

It was on one of his cruises, in the summer of 1884, that Channing performed his first experiment in iconoclasm, or what would today be called "debunking" history. Ascertaining from the United States Coast Survey the time of high water at Plymouth on December 21, 1620, the day of the "Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers," Channing chose a summer day when high tide came at the identical hour, passed the night before on Clark's Island as the Pilgrims did, and pushing off early next morning in his Rob Roy found that the current carried him well up toward Jones River and Duxbury Harbor; that Plymouth Rock was out of the question as a landing place. That convinced him that Elder Faunce, when in 1741, at the age of 91, he pointed out that rock as the place where the forefathers landed, suffered a lapse of memory. Of course Channing had the common sense to know that his experiment proved nothing, and never in print claimed that it did.[11] But the episode served his courses for many years as an excellent illustration of the untrustworthiness of old men's memories, and of popular tradition.

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[10] Channing had a sure touch when dealing with matters of naval warfare and maritime commerce. In his third volume, for instance, he points out for the first time a fact that even Alfred T. Mahan had overlooked: that the French naval victory off the Capes of the Chesapeake on September 5, 1781, was the determining factor in the Yorktown Campaign. "The American Revolution was won in the dockyards of Brest and Toulon," was one of his aphorisms. He liked to read such books as *Treasure Island, Tom Cringle's Log,* and Southey's *Life of Nelson* for relaxation; and the only time he was known to express any regret at taking up history as a profession, was when he saw the experimental naval tank of a professor of naval architecture.

[11] Note his guarded statements on "The Landing on Plymouth Rock," with references to his periodical controversies on the subject, in his *History of*

It was not until his Junior year that Channing found his chosen cult; and the high priest who conducted him into the temple was Henry Adams. For in that year he was admitted to Henry Adams's famous seminary on mediaeval institutions. Let him tell the story himself:

> I cannot express, no words of mine could, the debt that I owe to Henry Adams. He was the greatest teacher that I ever encountered. He could draw out from a man the very best that was in him. In my Junior year, I took his course in Advanced Mediaeval Institutions. I remember him well, sitting perched on his throne in one of the little rooms in University Hall. He would twist his legs around the chair legs, lean forward and lecture for an hour without books or paper. . . . The subject he assigned to me was "The Influence of the Canon Law on English Common Law." I knew nothing about Canon or Common Law, but it was my business to find out. I abandoned all other work and devoted myself for a month, more or less, to both. Finally, fully primed and quaking in my shoes, I stood up to read my report to the class when the door opened and in walked President Eliot with a stranger, an Englishman. Adams uncoiled his legs, arose to his full length of about five foot three, greeted the Englishman warmly, gave him a seat, and President Eliot departed. Then Adams without a blush said, "I will conclude my remarks on the Career of Simon de Montfort," of whom he had never mentioned a word. But he proceeded with so much learning that the Englishman was amazed, and so was I. And Adams forgot all about my lecture, for which I was duly grateful. However, I had to write a thesis on a comparison of the marriage institutions of the Germans in the time of Tacitus and those of the North American Indians. I knew nothing about either, but went to work to find out, again abandoning all other attempts at learning. My chum, who was a Latin scholar, helped me with Tacitus, and I proceeded on my own hook to find out what I could on the North American Indians. One day in the library in old Gore Hall, Adams suddenly came in. He spied me and asked if he could help me. I told him that I could not find much about the Indians. Thereupon he took me under his wing for an hour or so and we procured a pile of books which we placed on a table and

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the United States, I. 320–321; and also 2 *Proceedings*, XVII. 381–382. His original account of it is in *Magazine of American History*, XIII. (1885), 103.

on the top of which he kindly placed a paper with his name written upon it and for the next month I labored and produced an essay which I no longer possess, but on which he kindly placed the mark of one hundred per cent. That essay was my undoing. I had been designed by my grandfather for the law, but I abandoned it for history.

It had been Channing's intention to take Henry Adams's course on American History his senior year; but in 1877, Adams, having induced the Corporation to establish a "rival course" in that subject, and to appoint Henry Cabot Lodge to give it, suddenly decided to resign. Hence Channing studied American history his Senior year with Lodge, who did not share Adams's love for upsetting traditions and hearing the other side. Channing undertook in a report or thesis to expose what he considered to be the hypocrisy of Francis Higginson, the first minister of Salem. Dr. Lodge was displeased:

"Mr. Channing, do you not know that Mr. Higginson was your ancestor?"

"Yes, sir."

"Do you think it well to speak thus of your ancestor?"

It was the dogmatism of Lodge and the bias of Hildreth, the current text-book, which gave Channing his first idea of writing a History of the United States from the sources. Even before he took his bachelor's degree, he began to accumulate notes for that purpose.

In the summer before Channing's Junior year, his grandfather, who had so far seen him through college, died. Dr. Channing left an estate in trust for his children and grandchildren; but the country was slowly recovering from the panic of 1873, and in Edward's Senior year he received only three hundred dollars from it. Obtaining a Bowditch Scholarship from the College, he took one of the cheapest rooms in Stoughton, renting at forty-four dollars *per annum*, and sought out new sources of income. The most lucrative was a cramming session for students less industrious or interested than himself given the night before history examinations. For this service, Channing charged a dollar a head. The first trial was so successful that the second "seminar" adjourned to a larger room, and eventually the audience overflowed into the entry and onto the stairs. He also made money in partnership with a fellow student who procured books from publishers and sold them to undergraduates at cut prices. And once, getting advance news of a bad smash-up on the Old Colony Railroad, and knowing how the public reacted to such catastrophes, he borrowed money, bought the fallen stock on margin, and sold it again a few days later, clearing three hundred dollars.[12] By such means, and by an improved yield from his grandfather's estate, Channing was encouraged to remain for two postgraduate years in order to seek the doctorate in history.

Harvard College, then, did not teach Channing to get along well with people, as another college with a moulding tradition might have done. But it gave him full opportunity to develop his own talents; and it set his course for life. If Channing did not find friendship at Harvard, he found himself.

Dr. Lodge's efforts to prove Thomas Jefferson a tricky and insincere politician made Channing suspect that Thomas Jefferson was a great and sincere statesman, and he decided to write a life of him — a project abandoned when Henry Adams's *History of the United States* was announced. As a work preparatory to the biography, he chose the Louisiana Purchase for his doctoral dissertation. In those days no general examination was required of doctoral candidates who had taken final honors in history; consequently Channing was able to concentrate on his dissertation, and it was ready in February, 1880.

He did not, however, neglect his health, or the sea, which to Channing meant much the same thing; sunlight and the sea were a vital force to him as to his seafaring ancestors, restoring his strength after a long winter's study, invigorating both mind and body. His favorite boat was still the Rob Roy canoe; but an opportunity for deep-water seamanship came through his classmate, George K. Boutelle, who tells the story in a letter to the writer, dated April 17, 1931:

> Although we both were in the Class of 1878, my relations with Edward Channing did not become at all intimate until some time

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[12] Channing enjoyed taking little flyers in stock like this, all his life. He used to tell the writer that he would ask the advice of his Cabot and Higginson cousins on State Street, and then do the opposite, which in the long run proved profitable.

after our graduation, when he was reading for his Master's Degree and I was in the Law School. We discovered (accidentally, so far as I remember) that we both had a strong liking for boats and for all that concerned a sea-going life; and it was chiefly on that common interest that our subsequent relations grew up.

Under the influence of these subjects, to which we both brought a considerable degree of youthful enthusiasm, many of the temperamental qualities which during his undergraduate days had held him somewhat apart from his classmates, fell into the background, and we spent many hours together in good talk and agreeable personal relations. His practical knowledge of our principal subject was altogether superior to mine, and he made it extremely useful to me in giving advice and suggestions in my first nautical venture — the acquisition of a cat-boat named *Alice*.

After that we spent many weeks together at Squirrel Island, Maine, sailing about the harbor and building up an experience which I could hardly have had in a more agreeable or more effective way. Later on I became the owner of a larger boat, named *Norna,* in which we used to make cruises together along the coast from Squirrel Island as our home port. Our living quarters on board were much confined, but we always got on well together. He had many qualities which made him an uncommonly good companion under such conditions — always ready to do his part of whatever was to be done, never complaining about the weather and making the best of everything that came along. He had moods and peculiarities of temper, and so had I; but by that time we had come to know each other pretty well and were able to avoid difficulties. In his most genial mood he was the best of good company, with a sense of humor and an appreciation of the relations of things and people that was unusual.

In 1880, the Harvard Faculty was not yet broken in to the additional burden of examining candidates for the doctorate; as Channing's experience in seeking this degree, proves. Weeks passed after the dissertation was handed in, and no word came from the committee appointed to read it. Finally Channing sought out one of the members, Professor James Barr Ames, and proposed to read the thesis aloud to him. Day and hour were appointed — Ames's rooms in Holworthy. On ascending the stairs, Channing encountered another professor descending them somewhat unsteadily, followed by a man-servant bearing the remains of a large lunch. A short time after Channing had begun reading, he observed that

Mr. Ames was asleep; but the interruption of the reading awakened him. After three such performances, the examiner told the candidate that the thesis was very interesting and that he did not need to read any more. A day or two later Mr. Ames was married. The thesis approved, the next step was the examination, which took place in an upper lecture room of Harvard Hall. Professor Torrey was chairman of the committee, and with him were Professors Ames, Gurney, and Lodge, and Henry Adams, whom Channing had recently been assisting in gathering data for the first volume of his *History of the United States of America during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson.* Channing had a throbbing tooth, which gave him a sort of Roderic Dhu attitude toward his examination. Somewhat to his disappointment, all refused to question him save Professor Torrey, who found it "pretty hard sledding." The climax came when Mr. Torrey inquired whether Albert Gallatin had been mixed up in the Whiskey Rebellion. Channing answered, "No, at the time he was in New York getting married, and could not attend to business." He looked at Mr. Ames, who blushed; and Mr. Torrey hurriedly concluded the examination. The candidate was kept in suspense only five minutes, after which he was informed that he would receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the next Commencement.

Having secured the coveted Ph.D., the question was, what next? An application to President Eliot for an opportunity to teach American history received the reply that none such existed, together with this comment, which was a very apt description of the academic status of American history at that time:

> Your desire to teach American history is a laudable one; but you of course recognize the practical necessity of having other strings to your bow. There are only two colleges in this country within my knowledge where much is made of American history, and you know how elementary the teaching on that subject is in American schools. History is generally taught by a master who has several other subjects on his hands.[13]

Fortunately for Channing, an increased yield from his grandfather's estate put him in possession of a substantial sum of money which he put to the best possible use — a grand tour of Europe. Crossing on a steamer of the French Line, in order to practise the language, he soon found himself at Le Havre. While most of the passengers made the conventional journey to Paris, Channing took a series of river steamers, local trains, and canal boats to Rouen, Amiens, Ghent, Bruges, and through Holland. Thence to Bremen and Berlin, where he joined forces with Edward H. Stroebel '77, in a tour through Germany and Italy, which he looked back upon as one of the pleasantest experiences of his life. Other American companions were picked up or joined on the way, and there were sundry innocent romances with young ladies, American and otherwise. From Naples he struck off alone for the Near East, visited Athens and Constantinople, made friends with a Queen's Messenger, and was deterred from a journey through Russia only by the fact that the port of Odessa was closed. Another steamer thence to Marseilles, then a visit to Carcassonne, which he had read about in Viollet-le-Duc; through southwestern France to the châteaux on the Loire, and to Chartres, where his first sight of the cathedral remained a vivid memory fifty years after. Several weeks were passed in and around Paris, stopping at a *pension* in the Latin Quarter; then London and Oxford, with a memorable dinner at Oriel College, where his cousin Francis A. Channing (subsequently Baron Channing of Wellingborough) was a don. This grand tour opened new vistas for Channing, enriched his knowledge, and kindled his imagination; he always said that it was the best investment he ever made.

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[13] MS. letter to Channing, June 23, 1880.

Returning to Cambridge in the fall of 1881, Dr. Channing procured rooms in Felton Hall, and settled down to make a living by his pen, until something better should turn up. In those days Harvard still admitted to the privilege of chambers, library, and commons, mature scholars who were not seeking a degree. They paid a small fee, and were listed as Resident Graduates. It was a survival of the mediaeval tradition that a college was primarily a shelter for scholars, and not a boarding school for boys, or a forcing-bed for the professions. Like other traditions, both useful and useless, it was soon after swept out by the besom of reform; but Dr. Channing was able to enjoy the pleasant privilege. He had a small independent income from his grandfather's estate, and made a little more by writing articles and book reviews for the New York *Nation, Science,* and *The Literary World;* and he was in the position to keep a weather eye on the Harvard History Department. President Eliot used to give Horace Greeley's advice to young Harvard graduates eager to break into the Faculty; but the canny ones knew better. It was well to be on hand, and not in Chicago, Madison, or Berkeley, when a substitute was wanted for a sick professor, or when an unexpected vacancy occurred. And academic reputations were made then, as now, by writing rather than teaching.

During his undergraduate days, Channing had become much attached to Henry W. Torrey, the senior professor of history, and upon his return to Cambridge fell into the habit of calling upon him frequently. By 1883, Mr. Torrey, fifty years out of college and forty-seven years McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History, was getting ready to retire; and as a preliminary relief, offered Channing a share of his course on "The History of Modern Treaties."

Accordingly, in the fall of 1883, Channing obtained a proctorship and a one-year appointment as instructor in history. The arrangement was that in History 15, "The History of Modern Treaties," Professor Torrey heard the class recite twice a week on Woolsey's *International Law,* while Channing lectured the third hour. Soon came the ordeal dreaded by all young instructors — the first lecture. Stuffed with knowledge and primed with dates, Dr. Channing proceeded to the lecture room, marched up the aisle with a stern look on his naturally pleasant countenance, and slammed his notes on the desk with a resounding thwack. Turning around to face the class, his eye lighted on a man who had been a popular and prominent Senior at the time when Channing was a timid and unregarded Sophomore. Any one who has experienced that sort of gulf will understand the sinking feeling that seized Channing when he saw the great man of college days in the front row. But he steeled himself, advanced to the edge of the desk so that the students could see that his notes were not necessary, and went full speed ahead for the required fifty-five minutes. "It was an ordeal," he wrote, in 1930, "but it gave me a feeling of confidence which never deserted me in the nearly half-century of my pedagogical efforts at Harvard." Ever after, he used to urge his graduate pupils to lecture without notes, not only because it impressed the class, but because it enabled the unimportant details to sift themselves out of one's mind; and he would add this wise counsel: "Remember this, *no matter how little you know, it is always far more than the class knows.*"

Channing had hoped that History 15 would prove a stepping-stone to Adams's and Lodge's old courses on the English Colonies and the United States. But his ambition for many years was thwarted by the simultaneous appointment of Albert Bushnell Hart. Although graduating two years later than Channing, Hart had since taken his doctorate at Freiburg under Herman von Holst, and returned to Cambridge with high recommendations from his German master. So it was Hart who obtained the American history courses, while Channing had to be handy-man in the department. Considerably discouraged by this, Channing, in 1885, became a candidate for a professorship in history and political science at Ohio State University. President Eliot recommended him "as a valuable member of any academic staff," for his training, character, general intelligence, and "unusual attainments"; but the position was awarded to a Michigan Ph.D., Professor George Wells Knight, and Channing hung on at Harvard. In 1886–87, Hart relinquished to him the course on Colonial History, subsequently famous as History 10. But it was many years before he was able to concentrate on this, his chosen field.

Hart and Channing were promoted assistant professors and professors at the same time, in 1887 and 1897. Together they gave Harvard her great reputation as a center for the study and teaching of American History. In character, methods, and everything else the two men were utterly different; yet each was a great teacher, and both did incalculable good for the study of American history. They learned to rub along together fairly well, to appreciate one another, and even to coöperate in the famous *Guide to the Study of American History* (1896), a remarkable hand-book and classified bibliography; Channing also contributed a volume on *The Jeffersonian System* (1906) to Hart's *American Nation* series.

It is much to the credit both of President Eliot and the Department of History that Harvard managed to retain and use the diverse talents of these two rivals.

During the first year of his instructorship, Channing wrote his first important work, in competition for the Toppan Prize offered for the best essay on " Town and County Government in the North American Colonies." Herbert Baxter Adams, one of the judges, secured Channing's prize essay for the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* which he had lately founded. It was printed in 1884 as *Town and County Government in the English Colonies.* As institutional history was then the prevailing fashion among professional historians, Channing had done very well for himself. Besides being the first published proof of his scholarly capacities, it led to his election to this Society in December of that year, at the unusually early age of twenty-six.

For two years after his first teaching appointment, Channing continued to contribute geographical articles to *Science;* and the research for one of these, on the roads from India to Central Asia, led to a friendship with Justin Winsor, Librarian and Curator of Maps at Harvard. In consequence, the young man was invited to accompany the elder to Saratoga, New York, in September, 1884, where the American Historical Association was founded.[14] There he met a small but distinguished company, including a few members of the elder generation of historians such as Charles Deane, with a number of young and ardent doctors like Ephraim Emerton and J. Franklin Jameson, who were eager to give scientific history its proper place in the American university curriculum.

Channing's association with Justin Winsor meant much to him. It was from Winsor that he learned the simple method of jotting down facts when you obtain them, on separate slips made up from the backs of torn proof-sheets, but always with an appropriate heading and the exact reference; and classifying the accumulated slips at a precise time every week. One of the first fruits of this friendship was Channing's collaboration with Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History*

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[14] The first paper delivered before the American Historical Association was Channing's " Town and County Government," in abstract, *Papers of the American Historical Association* (New York and London, 1886), I. 23.

of America, to which he contributed the chapters on "The Companions of Columbus" in Volume II. (1886), and "The War in the Southern Department" in Volume VI. (1887), together with much assistance in the critical essays on authorities.

When Channing joined the Harvard Faculty, the introductory history course was being given by Professor Silas Marcus Macvane, whose saturnine and somnolent personality made it a deadly experience for the undergraduates. In 1887–88, Channing was associated with him in this course; the next year it was given by Channing and Charles Gross; and during the next three years by Channing alone. During that time, by stimulating lectures, by scrapping Freeman's *Outlines* in favor of such reading as would appeal to the undergraduate mind, Channing built up History I so that it overflowed from Lower Massachusetts, then the largest lecture room, into Sanders Theatre. That was farther than Channing cared to project his voice; besides, he was at the same time giving his course on Colonial history, one on English history with Macvane, a graduate course on "The History of Political Theory," which met around his dining-room table, and a seminary on American history with Hart. This "Channing and Hart Seminar" proved a magnet for capable students, both future historians and others. In the years 1891–93, for instance, there passed through it Evarts B. Greene, William Garrett Brown, and William MacDonald, historians; David F. Houston, university president and cabinet minister; W. E. B. DuBois, intellectual leader of his race; Francis G. Caffey, lawyer and federal judge; Frederick W. Dallinger, congressman; and Jeremiah Smith, the financial savior of Hungary. Nor did Channing neglect his administrative duties as a member of the Harvard Faculty, which in those days met weekly, debated long, and settled each individual case of discipline separately. He attended regularly, spoke frequently, and served on many committees. He was a leader of that party in the Faculty which wished to reduce the length of the course for the bachelor's degree to three years; a policy which in later life he believed to have been mistaken.

In 1893, relief came in sight when President Eliot asked

Channing if he could not find something to do in the History Department for young Archibald Cary Coolidge, who had returned with a Freiburg Ph.D. Channing gave Coolidge a special section in History 1, which he conducted so well that in 1894–1895 he was given entire charge of the course. Channing then took over from Macvane a course on "The History of England in the Tudor and Stuart Period." It was of great value for his work, giving him a thorough knowledge of the English background to American Colonial history.

This first third of Channing's teaching career was closed in the summer of 1896, when there began a well-earned sabbatical year. By this time Channing had firmly established himself as one of the leading junior historians in the country. As a teacher he was effective and highly respected, though not popular, except with serious or advanced students, and with those who came to know him personally. His lectures were pungent and stimulating, he selected his reading well, and saw that it was done; but his manner toward undergraduates, especially those of the more fashionable and frivolous kind, was crusty. In the college comic paper of that day Channing always appears wearing a top hat, and generally bearing a hatchet or some such implement of destruction, aimed at the Washington Elm, or Plymouth Rock, or other popular fetish. When the rapid growth of enrollment in his courses aroused some of his superiors to visit them, in order to see how it was done, Channing suavely invited them to address the class. When Samuel Eliot, of the visiting committee of the Overseers, walked into Lower Massachusetts and asked permission to join the audience, Channing glared at him and said, "I'm very sorry, Dr. Eliot, but I am holding an hour examination today." An unannounced test was the sword that Channing kept suspended over his class. One spring morning while he was lecturing, a large dog wandered into Lower Massachusetts, and attracted more attention than did the lecturer. Channing announced, "If that dog isn't out of here within one minute, there will be a written recitation," and took out his watch and began to count the seconds. A couple of football players promptly collared the dog and threw him out.

> Ef you read History, all runs smooth ez grease,
> Coz there the men ain't nothin' more'n idees,

says Hosea Biglow. But it never ran smooth as grease from Channing's lips to the student mind, and historical characters, as he described them, were quite as human and cantankerous as Channing himself. He had a great contempt for the "finished lecturer" beloved by lazy students and women's clubs, who delivers history in predigested form, with neat headings and paragraphs. Instead, he furnished the youthful mind with roughage on which to ruminate and plenty of spice to digest withal. Such episodes as the Voyages of the Northmen and the Boston Tea Party were not emphasized because important in themselves, but for the methods that their study involved, and the insight they gave students into the myth-making process. And while Channing made no effort to conceal his own opinions of men and events, he was delighted to have students come back at him vigorously, in their essays and examinations.

It must not be supposed that Channing's heavy burden of courses in this decade consumed all his time or exhausted his energy. By the most rigid economy of both he managed to do a good deal of important writing. Following his prize essay on Town and County Government (1884), a study of the Narragansett Planters, a curiously exotic New England group, was published in the *Johns Hopkins Series* in 1886. Next came a paper on the Navigation Laws, the first full and accurate summary of the English Acts of Trade and Navigation affecting the Colonies, which was delivered before the American Antiquarian Society in 1889. In 1892 came the paper, mentioned elsewhere, on the Genesis of the New England Town; and the same year, in collaboration with Albert Bushnell Hart, he began the publication of the series known as the *American History Leaflets,* pioneers in cheap and handy source material. In collaboration with Thomas Wentworth Higginson he wrote, in 1892–1893, *English History for American Readers,* a useful text-book for schools.[15] At the instance of Justin Winsor, he received an offer to write a short volume on the history of the United States for the *Cambridge Historical Series.* It was largely written during a summer at Nantucket, and published both here and in England in 1895 as *The United States of America, 1765–1865.*

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[15] A later edition was called *English History for Americans.*

Although not profitable — for the English will not read American history unless written by one of themselves — this book was well reviewed on both sides of the Atlantic, and translated into French, German, and Russian. Ten years later Maxim Gorki told Channing that the Russian translation was read aloud in revolutionary gatherings, and helped the good work of undermining the Czarist régime.

During this period, too, Channing was active in this Society, of which he was the junior member for several years after his election in December, 1884. "At that time," he said many years later, when referring to his election,[16] "I looked upon this as a tribute to my historical precocity. Since then I have come to suspect that the fact that my mother, Ellen Fuller, was Dr. Green's playmate at Groton, may have had something to do with his interest in my welfare." Channing liked to describe his first attendance at a meeting of the Society, and his pleasure at the grace and courtliness with which Dr. Holmes and Francis Parkman met him at the door, and welcomed him as the latest and youngest member. He was a frequent attendant at our meetings, and a contributor to our *Proceedings* with short remarks; he also served on the committee of publication for the *Winthrop Papers*, and did part of the work of preparing the fifth volume[17] for the press. His only formal communication at this period, "The Genesis of the Massachusetts Town" (1892),[18] concluded a symposium on that subject. Channing, discarding the fanciful and atavistic theories of the New England town, showed its many points of resemblance to the English parish of the period, and reached the conclusion that the "towns were not based on any model; they grew by the exercise of English common-sense and political experience, combined with the circumstances of the place." Since that day, this paper has generally been regarded as the last word on what was once a very contentious subject, and is so cited by the latest authority, Professor John Fairfield Sly.[19]

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[16] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 129.

[17] 6 *Collections*, III.

[18] 2 *Proceedings*, VII. 242–263; it should be noted that this paper is not listed under Channing's name in the *Index to the Second Series of the Proceedings*, although his other papers and brief remarks are mentioned.

[19] *Town Government in Massachusetts* (1930), 57–58; 68.

Fortunately, Channing had enjoyed continuous good, rugged health ever since Dr. Morgan cured his astigmatism. He never wore an overcoat except in zero weather (when an ancient Inverness cape would be resurrected) and seldom an undershirt. His theory was that the reaction of the body to cold fresh air during a professor's short but frequent walks at his daily work, took the place of exercise. In his case, certainly, the theory was proved correct, for a daily row in summer was his only other activity out of doors.

In his social life, Channing was always restricted. Among colleagues and friends, such as met for luncheon at the long table in the Colonial Club, he was full of wit and banter; but for general society he had no taste, and he neither danced nor played cards, nor dined out, nor belonged to any Boston club. His visits, even as a young man, were largely confined to the homes of his relatives, and to few of them. It was at the household of his kinsman and uncle-by-marriage, Colonel Higginson, that he met Alice Thacher, the younger sister of Colonel Higginson's second wife. They were married in the summer of 1886 and lived the first winter of their married life at 46 Concord Avenue, subsequently at 1 Brewster Place, and from 1900 in the former house of Justin Winsor, at 74 Sparks Street. There Channing enjoyed Winsor's library, a large oblong room lined on four sides with bookshelves; and there, when his day's work at the college was done, he spent his evenings in reading and research.

For many years the Channings and their two daughters passed the summer months at Nantucket. In 1904, wishing to be a little less remote, they purchased "Noisy Point" on Cotuit Harbor, then a quiet Cape Cod village with few summer residents save A. Lawrence Lowell, Frank W. Taussig, and James Hardy Ropes. Channing continued his systematic, almost ascetic, life throughout the summer. Every morning he spent in his study, reading, writing, or dictating history to his excellent secretary, Miss Eva G. Moore. Promptly at noon he rowed across the harbor to get the mail, and this was his principal exercise. After lunch he generally went sailing in a small boat of Mr. Lowell's; and, as Mr. Lowell has said, showed his good seamanship by never touching her keel on bottom — no common feat in Cape Cod waters. But he never played golf or tennis; and the evenings were spent quietly at home, reading.

It was in his Junior year in college that Channing conceived what was to be his chief monument — a History of the United States from the beginning to 1900. About the year 1895, when relief from immediate and pressing tasks seemed near, the project began to assume definite shape. No such work then existed, nor has it been attempted since. Bancroft's *History of the United States,* upon which that author worked intermittently for more than fifty years, wound up with the year 1789. Hildreth's went down only to 1820. Von Holst's, although much admired in his day, was mainly a very biased political history from 1815 to the Civil War. Henry Adams began with the year 1800, and turned to something else when he reached the year 1817. John Bach McMaster, to be sure, had already published three volumes of his *History of the American People,* which was to be Channing's pace-maker for many years; but McMaster began with the year 1782. Channing knew that the task he set himself would be long and probably unprofitable in a pecuniary sense; that he must sacrifice much if he hoped to attain his goal. He counted the cost, and at the age of forty determined to go ahead.

The sabbatical of 1896–97 was to have been the first opportunity to work steadily on the "Great Work" (as Channing's students always called his *History of the United States*); but there came an unexpected though fortunate interruption. The volume published in the *Cambridge Historical Series* attracted the attention of Mr. George P. Brett, who had just taken charge of Macmillan's new educational department in New York; and he invited Channing to write a one-volume college text-book of American history, offering such generous royalties as to "make most school-book publishers blush with shame." Professor Charles F. Dunbar, Channing's mentor on the Harvard Faculty, advised him to accept, since a successful text-book would help to keep the family pot a-boiling while the first volume of the larger history was being written. So the year abroad was devoted more to writing than to research in colonial history.

One month in the summer Channing spent at London, working in the Reading Room of the British Museum, where he made the acquaintance of Samuel Rawson Gardiner. Most of the winter he passed in lodgings at Bournemouth; and in the spring of 1897 the Channings took a cottage at Lee, a little village on the North Devon coast between Morthoe and Ilfracombe. In that quiet atmosphere and beautiful scenery, the *Student's History of the United States* was finished, and the first edition appeared in 1898. It proved to be one of the most successful books of the sort, selling by the tens of thousands, and, in several revised editions, holding its own for thirty years among a host of rivals. The *Student's History* had, however, one unfortunate effect. The writing and rewriting of the copy in longhand gave Channing writer's cramp, from which he never recovered; and as he never found it possible to compose on the typewriter, all his subsequent books were dictated, somewhat to the damage of his literary style.

Channing returned to Harvard in the fall of 1897 as full professor,[20] and to a much easier schedule, which made possible continuous work at his main task. For the next ten years Channing offered only a course on colonial history for both undergraduates and graduates, and a seminary primarily for graduate students. History 23, as this course was numbered, became one of the most famous seminaries of American history in the country, a veritable nursery of scholars; for it moved forward with the irresistible march of the "Great Work" from the Northmen to the twentieth century. There it was, as Carl Russell Fish has well said,[21] that Channing "gruffly boxed" his graduate pupils "into the paths of historical rectitude." He always regarded them as individuals to be trained into self-sufficing historians, never as an organized band to coöperate. . . . As a result, he sent out many leaders but did not create a school."

History 23 was limited in numbers to ten or at most twelve students. For two or three weeks at the opening of the term, Channing lectured to them on methods, interspersing the solid matter with shrewd, witty, and original comments on persons and events. Too often, in this country and abroad, the historical seminary has been perverted into a sort of sweat-shop in which the students save the professor time and labor by working up material which he can use. Channing never exploited his students; they obtained far more from him than he from them, for he seldom assigned topics on which he was not already himself expert. When, as often happened, the student discovered some fact or explanation hitherto unknown to Channing, he never failed to acknowledge it. To be " embalmed in a footnote " of the " Great Work " was deemed an honor by his pupils. Nor would he allow the dry reading of a student's report from a written draft. It must be presented in the form of a lecture, with only an outline, or a few notes on slips; and the speaker must submit to interjectory comments and discussion by the master and the other members of the class. Moreover, each student had the right to as much of Channing's individual attention as he wanted, including his personal advice on investigating the subject at hand and the method of presenting it. Hence his graduate students were trained in research and in teaching at the same time. The top student of each class was generally asked to be Channing's assistant in History 10, and the master's skill in gauging young men's ability is shown by the names of his assistants in five successive years: Carl Russell Fish, Henry A. Yeomans, Hiram Bingham, Everett Kimball, and Roland G. Usher.

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[20] In 1912 he succeeded Macvane in the McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History, the oldest chair of civil history in the United States.

[21] *Current History*, XXXIII. 863 (March, 1931), C. R. Fish, "Edward Channing, American Historian."

Channing's devotion to his students was one of his most endearing traits. His contacts with professional colleagues were not close or frequent; his scorn for slipshod or dishonest work, of which there is much in American history, led him to make sharp comments on fellow-workers in the field. But his own students were his friends for life. Both in college and after, they were free to break in on him at any moment, and without being made to feel that they were imposing on his time. The privilege was so much used that Channing had to discipline himself into resuming a train of thought after interruption, without loss of effort. If a student appeared in his corner of old Gore Hall, or before the glass door of Widener 417, the master would at once drop what he was doing, and after a preliminary glare of recognition, welcome the intruder with the utmost cordiality. It should be said, however, that Channing was not one to suffer fools gladly. The shy boy who had good stuff in him was kindly encouraged and drawn out; but the windbag was quickly deflated by piercing sarcasm, and the hopeless dullard was sent quickly on his way, by no means rejoicing.

As a teacher of undergraduates, in this period 1897 to 1912, Channing was not so conspicuously successful. He did not warm to the "college student" as such. He sympathized with President Eliot's desire to reduce the length of the college course, and enjoyed shocking people by declaring that Harvard College ought to be suppressed or moved out into the country where it would not interfere with the proper work of the University. He was a "terror" to lazy students, and asked in his examinations the sort of question that searched out what a man did not know, rather than giving him an opportunity to expand upon what he did know. But to students who were capable of sustained interest and work, he was encouraging and sympathetic. Around 1912, his attitude toward the undergraduate suddenly mellowed. He became tolerant of the foibles and frailties of youth, and appeared to enjoy the brilliant if fashionable young men, rather than the earnest seekers after knowledge and grades. Interesting controversial topics were assigned for the tests, thus making the reading "purposeful," as professional educators (for whom Channing had the greatest scorn) would say. He developed the faculty of driving home essential points with a touch of humor or turn of a phrase that left no doubt in the listener's mind as to what was meant, and although he still presented history in the rough, it came to the boys as a humane and fascinating subject which was just being opened up, in which there were countless avenues for fresh study. Further, he impressed the students as a cultured gentleman, representing the best traditions of New England and of the University; academic clowning was as alien to him as was academic pedantry. During the last fifteen years of his career, he was a great teacher of both graduates and undergraduates.

This development was coincident with a shifting of his courses, as the "Great Work" advanced. When a given period had been written up in his *History of the United States,* Channing was no longer interested in it, and read no more on the subject. Hence it was fortunate that in 1910 the translation of Professor Hart to the Department of Government left the general introductory course in the history of the United States from 1760 to the present, open to Professor Channing, so that his undergraduate, as well as his graduate, teaching coincided with the period upon which he was doing research.

One must emphasize this notable eminence of Channing as a teacher because of his equal eminence as a scholar, for the two qualities are popularly supposed to be mutually exclusive. In the periodical outbursts of college students against being taught by " Ph.D.'s " and " researchers," Channing, who was both, was apt to be held up as an example of what a teacher of undergraduates should be; yet the world knew him only as a scholar. His success as a teacher was due in great part to the fact that he was doing or had just done intensive research on the subject he was teaching. In part, it was due to his method of lecturing without any more notes than would go on a large visiting card. The evening before a lecture he would devote to preparation, going over in his mind what he would say, perhaps pulling down a few books to verify a fact or date; but never falling back on old lecture notes — he kept none.

Although Channing never slighted his duty as a teacher, he frankly considered his *History of the United States* the most important part of his work for the University and for posterity. In 1899 the contract was signed for the *History,* which appeared in the following volumes and order:

I. " The Planting of a Nation in the New World, 1000–1660 " (1905).
II. " A Century of Colonial History, 1660–1760 " (1908).
III. " The American Revolution, 1761–1789 " (1912).
IV. " Federalists and Republicans, 1789–1815 " (1917).
V. " The Period of Transition, 1815–1848 " (1921).
VI. " The War for Southern Independence " (1925).

In the preface to the first volume, Channing declared that he understood history

> in its larger sense as denoting not merely the annals of the past, but as describing the development of the American people. . . . The growth of the nation will, therefore, be treated as one continuous

development from the political, military, institutional, industrial, and social points of view. . . .

I have considered the colonies as parts of the English empire, as having sprung from that political fabric, and as having simply pursued a course of institutional evolution unlike that of the branch of the English race which remained behind in the old homeland across the Atlantic. I have also thought that the most important single fact in our development has been the victory of the forces of union over those of particularism. It is essential that the forces and institutions which have made for disunion should be treated at length and in a sympathetic spirit; but it is even more necessary that the forces and institutions which have made for union should be constantly borne in mind and brought to the attention of the reader, for it is the triumph of these which has determined the fate of the nation.

The guiding idea in the present work is to view the subject as the record of an evolution, and to trace the growth of the nation from the standpoint of that which preceded rather than from that which followed. In other words, I have tried to see in the annals of the past the story of living forces, always struggling onward and upward toward that which is better and higher in human conception. It is only in this way that justice can be done to the memories of those who have gone before and have left for us a splendid heritage. They treated the problems which arose in their time by the light of the age in which they lived. To estimate them by the conditions and ideas of the present day is to give a false picture to the reader and the student.

This wholeness of view is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Channing's *History of the United States.* Keenly mindful of the charge of provincialism which was constantly (though in the main unjustly, as he thought) being brought against New England historians, he leaned over backwards to give other sections of the country and other points of view than the orthodox New England ones, their proper place; and he succeeded notably. In the colonial volume, the chapters on the southern and middle colonies are fully as interesting and as well-documented as those on New England. But even more striking are those chapters on commerce, education, literature, religion, and the like, of the country as a whole. In those he demonstrated his thesis, "that the most important single fact in our development has been the victory of the forces of union over those of particularism." The frontier interpretation of American history never found favor with him — possibly because he did not invent it — and although he was one of those whose prompt action obtained for Harvard the distinguished services of Frederick J. Turner, he dearly loved to tease his colleague, as in the pages where he interpreted the election of Jackson as a victory for the South, having nothing to do with frontierism. Loyalty never prevented Channing from seeing facts in a new light, or telling the truth as he found it. Although friend, cousin, nephew, and brother-in-law to Thomas Wentworth Higginson,[22] the abolitionist and colonel of a black regiment, Channing was perhaps the first New England historian to put the abolitionists in their place, and to expose the hypocrisy and jobbery that accompanied the recruiting of the Massachusetts negro regiments.

Indeed, Channing's most striking characteristic as an historian was his ability to wipe his mind clear of preconceived interpretations and theories, even if he had been teaching them all his life; to study every question and period anew, from the sources, and to reach fresh conclusions. These conclusions were never so startling in print as in his lectures and conversation, for he had a great fund of common-sense, and the facts brought out in discussion were taken into account. But there is hardly an important question, from Jamestown to Appomatox, on which his views were orthodox. As he was thorough and earnest in his research, so he was candid and fearless in expressing his conclusions; but also he had the wisdom of the serpent. He told the story in such a way that readers were convinced without being aware that they had been argued with; the effect he wished to produce was obtained by a careful array of facts, just as a painter produces his desired effect with form and color. In consequence, Channing, almost alone of contemporary scientific historians, never ran foul of the professional patriots.

Channing carried out his promise to write the *History* from the original sources. He was constantly at work on primary material, both printed and in manuscript. He visited all parts of the country in order to study the great manuscript collections; transcripts were made from foreign archives; pamphlets and the most obscure repositories of fact and opinion were sought out. The only source of which he made little use was the newspapers. He neglected these partly because the proper use of them would have doubled the necessary time for research; partly because McMaster had leaned so heavily on newspapers for his *History of the American People,* a work which Channing estimated very lightly. For his fourth and fifth volumes, this lack was a distinct loss. The enormous and increasing biographical and monographic material was pretty thoroughly ransacked and digested; but Channing considered it a waste of time to read general histories of the United States by other authors. The effort put on a given problem never distorted his conception of its value, and the result of a long and arduous piece of research might be expressed in a single sentence, if he thought the result worth but that. It was not often, however, that his efforts were wasted, for he developed a very shrewd sense of how far and long it would be profitable to pursue a given bit of research. "The time comes when the historian must begin to make up his mind."[23] The moving finger of time was ever before him as he worked and wrote; he had what Carlyle called the "indispensablest beauty in knowing how to get done."

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[22] Thomas Wentworth Higginson married (1) Mary Channing, an aunt of Edward Channing, and (2) Mary Thacher, the sister of his wife. Both Channing and Higginson were descended from Stephen Higginson of the Essex Junto.

In form and style, the *History of the United States* is more suited to the student and teacher, than to the general reading public, although some of the volumes, notably the third and sixth, have had a wide public sale. Channing had no knack of vivid narrative or description, and his method of dictating rather than writing resulted in a rather formless, and occasionally slipshod style. He was quite aware of this defect, and made no virtue of it; he simply did the best he could, and was ever urging his pupils to write better than he.[24] But there is a dry humor and a personal flavor to the style which makes the work a favorite with students and readers seeking information and enlightenment rather than relaxation. The copious footnotes, and the appendixes on contentious questions, supply a guide to further research, as well as a history.

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[23] *The Present State of Historical Writing in America* (Worcester, 1910), 9.

[24] "With the worker in colors, the novelist, and the poet, the historian must possess imagination. He must be able to picture to himself, in broad outline, the condition of a people at a given time, to see the march of armies, to recognize the inter-action of economic forces, and then to reproduce these impressions with a lightness of touch that will make them readable and with a heaviness of detail that will make them convincing. In his presentation, he must seek to produce a truthful impression upon his reader. Oftentimes, to do this he must sacrifice absolute accuracy in detail and in perspective. If the

The steady progress of the *History* was accomplished only by the most rigid economy of time, and the most persistent application to the task. Indeed it is quite as significant for Channing's life to remember some of the things which he did not do, as to state what he did do; for the time and energy saved from the one, in part made the other possible. Although brought up a good Unitarian, he ceased to attend church around 1905, and never indulged in the modern forms of Sabbatarian observance; Sunday was needed for work. Although by way of becoming a professional book reviewer in 1883, he did not write a single book review after he began his teaching career: a record probably unique for an academic historian. Nor did he write letters to the newspapers pointing out other people's mistakes in matters of which he had expert knowledge, although liberal in such rectifications before students. He contributed no articles to popular or other magazines, if we except a brief appreciation of Justin Winsor and a few notes on the Virginia and Kentucky Resolves, in the *American Historical Review,* III. and XX. He attended very few meetings of the American Historical Association; none, I believe, between 1906 and 1919, when he was elected president; and none since 1920, when he delivered his presidential address. With that exception, he accepted no office in any of the historical societies to which he was elected. He accepted no exchange professorships, although several times offered them, and delivered no extension or public lectures, except one course before the Lowell Institute. He no longer attended meetings of our Society, except in answer to the members' repeated demands to deliver an occasional paper, which was little more than a preliminary draft of a chapter of the

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impression produced upon his reader is truthful, it matters little whether all his dates are correct, all his names are properly spelled, or if all his facts are accurate. Indeed, his dates may every one of them be correct, his names may all be properly spelled, his facts may be absolutely accurate, and the impression left upon his reader be entirely false." *Present State of Historical Writing,* 6.

History.[25] After 1905 or thereabouts, he took no interest in university administration, and in President Lowell's time seldom attended a meeting of the Faculty. He delivered very few lectures outside Harvard University, and made no addresses at school or college commencements, Harvard gatherings, political conventions, teachers' associations, patriotic observances, centenaries, or other public or semi-public occasions, where professors of American history are expected to be present and vocal. Consequently his name never became known to the larger public, like those of many contemporaries in the field. Consequently, too, he was able to concentrate on his life work of teaching, writing, and research, as few of his colleagues and contemporaries have had the time or the single-minded persistence to do.

It was as a part of this race with time that Channing preserved, even cultivated, the gruff manner which had originally been a mask for his youthful shyness. He could be the most delightful of companions if he chose, but he did not often so choose. Once he had made up his mind to accept no invitations, social or otherwise, it saved time to be regarded as a hopeless prospect by the organizers of good causes, and as a social liability by Cambridge hostesses. Channing was much touched, so he told one of his old friends, by the dinner given in 1920 in honor of one "who had been nothing but an old bear all his life" — but that dinner was organized by his former pupils, who knew little of the bearish quality, who rather regarded him as a kindly old centaur like Chiron, who might let them ride on his back for a while, but was chiefly concerned in preparing them for life. Since few persons other than his pupils ever got beyond the defensive and crusty armor, it should be said that Channing was really one of the kindest and most affectionate of friends, full of little acts of thoughtfulness and consideration.

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[25] These papers were (1) "The American Board of the Commission of the Customs" in *Proceedings,* XLIII. 477–490 (1910). In this Channing called attention to the importance of the Temple Papers in our Cabinet. He was invited to prepare those papers for publication in our *Collections,* and to that end obtained many transcripts of important documents from the Public Record Office; but when near the point of publication, was told that there were no funds. (2) "Commerce during the Revolutionary Epoch," *Proceedings,* XLIV. 364–376 (1911). (3) "Washington and Parties," *Proceedings,* XLVII. 35–44 (1913). (4) "Memoir of Thomas Wentworth Higginson," *Proceedings,* XLVII. 348–355 (1914). At the same meeting, Channing read a letter from Captain Johnson Hapgood, C. S. A., to Colonel Higginson, clearing up the alleged "Confederate atrocity," of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw's burial among his colored troops. He also contributed in 1906 to the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, an article on Governor Thomas Dongan (n.s. XVIII. 336–354), and in 1910 a most timely and significant paper "The Present State of Historical Writing in America" (n.s., XX. 427–434), which is also printed separately.

During the war, Channing generously took up some of his abandoned courses while his younger colleagues were in service; but after 1919 he was regularly given leave of absence for half the year in order to get on with the *History*. Although as it progressed, the literature of his subject became constantly vaster and more complex, he kept very close to his schedule, bringing out the fifth volume in 1921 and the sixth, "The War for Southern Independence," in 1925. This was his harvest season. He was elected President of the American Historical Association in 1919; in 1921 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Michigan; in 1926 a Litt.D. from Columbia, being elected a fellow of the American Academy the same year. Channing greatly enjoyed this public recognition, although it was both unsought and unexpected. He had never played academic politics, or catered to the critics, or courted favor from any man. Particularly grateful to him was the acclaim his sixth volume received from reviewers in the South and West, as the work of a Yankee come to judgment.

When he reached his sixty-fifth birthday, in 1921, Channing was eligible for retirement from teaching; but his classes were as large and enthusiastic as ever; so freshly ran he on eight winters more. At the announcement of his coming retirement, in the spring of 1929, his friends, colleagues, and former pupils conspired to have his portrait painted by Charles Hopkinson. The admirable painting, expressing Channing's unique combination of *sauvagerie* and friendliness, was unveiled in University Hall by his little grandson, John Channing Fuller, and received in the name of the University by President Lowell. On that occasion, when many were present to express their devotion and affection, Channing radiated benevolence.

After the publication of the volume on the Civil War, there came a gradual slowing-down of the historian's pace. Retirement from teaching left him more time for research, but removed part of the stimulus; and the seventh volume, although already overdue, was still unfinished when the end came. To the last, he appeared to most people his usual ruddy and healthy self; but to his family and closest friends there seemed to be a distinct slackening of his mental and physical powers from the year 1929. He did not attend the Boston convention of the American Historical Association on the last three days of 1930, nor did he feel equal to receiving many of the old friends and pupils who then wished to call and pay their respects. On Tuesday, January 6, 1931, he was in his Widener study until lunch time, working as usual over the manuscript of Volume VII. That night he was taken suddenly ill. It proved to be a cerebral hemorrhage; and after the administering of an anaesthetic he did not recover consciousness, but passed away on the morning of January 7.

Channing accomplished what no man had done before, and what is not likely to be done again. Between his fortieth and his seventieth year, with his own hand, and from his own research, he wrote a great history of the United States from the beginning of colonization to the close of the Civil War. In the meantime, he trained scores of men to carry on the work in his own spirit of thorough and fearless inquiry; and to thousands more he imparted a love of our country's history, based on knowledge. For this he sacrificed much that men hold dear; but gained what was more dear to him: recognition, and affection. The little motherless boy, who for want of a companion created an imaginary "Mr. Dowdy," died a ripe scholar of seventy-four, the head of his profession.

JUNE MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 11, 1931 at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The report of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Marian Blake, a book of extracts, 1737?; the cyphering book of Sarah Parkman, December 17, 1787, her writing exercises, September 10, 1788, her French exercises, 1795; and two volumes, a receipt book, and notes and letters of Samuel Parkman as executor of the will of Edward Blake, Jr.

From Nathaniel T. Kidder, of Milton, photographs of *A Catalogue of Books, Belonging to the Subscribers at Milton and Dorchester,* printed about 1790, containing ninety-three titles, followed by the names of eighty-seven subscribers, including the name of the Minister, the Reverend Nathaniel Robins, and the Librarian and Treasurer, Dr. Enos Sumner.

From the Hackett Galleries, a certificate found in a package box collection, issued to H. W. Wentworth, August, 1842, as a member of the New England Guards, signed by Charles Gordon, Captain, and Thomas Pomroy, Clerk, showing at the top a lithograph of the encampment of the Guards at Barnstable, September, 1839, by T. Moore after a drawing by F. H. Lane.

By purchase, photostat negatives of John Farmer's Notes in Harvard College Triennials, 1642–1818, and Gilman's Notes, 1690–1710, from the originals in the New York Historical Society.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. Emeline H. Gordon, an oil portrait of Governor John Winthrop (1587–1649) painted by her from the original in New York by permission of Grenville Lindall Winthrop, its owner, for use in making the frontispiece for Volume II of the *Winthrop Papers.*

From Nathaniel T. Kidder, of Milton, a photograph of the ship *Clarissa,* Captain E. W. Mansfield, of Boston, in two positions, from water-color sketches by Jacob Petersen (1774–1854), of Copenhagen, in the Milton Public Library, where they were received at the death of a niece of Captain Mansfield.

From Stewart Mitchell, a fifty-cent piece of paper money, series of 1875.

From Morgan D. Manesse and his mother, Anna D. Manesse, of New York, by deposit, paintings of Joshua Otis and his wife Mary Thaxter Otis, who were married in 1766.

By purchase, a hand-colored autochrome of the original painting of Governor John Winthrop, done by permission of its owner, Grenville Lindall Winthrop, by Miss Vera Andrus, of the Metropolitan Museum, New York; also a bill of one-sixth of a dollar of the Continental Congress, February 17, 1776; a medal of Vice-President Fairbanks and the old house at Dedham; a medal given by Congress to Lindbergh; and Tercentenary medals of John Hull, mintmaster, and of the following towns and cities: Amesbury, Billerica, Dedham, Fitchburg, Foxborough, Haverhill, Holden, Lee, Pepperell, Rockport, Salem, Somerville, Westwood, and Worcester.

The President announced the death of George Foot Moore on May 16, 1931. He was elected to Resident Membership on October 11, 1911, and served as President from 1925 to 1927.

Professor Abbott read a paper on

Some "New" History and Historians

If we admit, with the philosopher, that our judgment of others is a measure of ourselves, there is no better touchstone of any generation than the way it views the past, that is to say, the history it writes. Whether or not history is, or should be, philosophy teaching by example, it reveals, consciously or unconsciously, the philosophy of the historian and, measurably, that of his audience and of the generation to which they both belong. Of this there are innumerable examples, from the "patriotic" and "national" historians of the nineteenth century through mediæval chroniclers to the most ancient masters of the craft, each reflecting in some fashion the spirit of his times with his own. That being true, what does the history and biography of our time tell us of the character, the meaning, and the spirit of our age? It is a question which, rightly viewed, is no mere "academic" speculation. It goes to the heart of things. It involves not merely an evaluation of recent historians, their methods, manner, and materials, but the tastes, emotions, and mentality of those for whom they write and who make their writings possible. What, then, is the peculiar character of the "modern" school, or schools, of history; what, if anything, marks us off from our historical predecessors; when and how and in what hands did the present vogue arise, how has it developed and what does it tell us of ourselves, our tastes, and our intelligence?

To pass over its earlier and gradual development, in a sense its first great manifestations were perceived toward the close of the nineteenth century, when there broke out in many countries, especially in Germany, a vigorous controversy as to the proper method, content, and point of view in writing history. It was then strongly urged — though the contention was not new, since Voltaire had suggested it nearly two centuries earlier — that the range of history as then written was too narrow to explain the past, that it was necessary to take account at least of economic and what were then coming to be called "social" phenomena. That movement was in part a reaction against the current school of so-called "scientific" history of the last half of the nineteenth century, which, in turn, had been a reaction against the "picturesque" historians of the preceding generation. It was in part related to the enormous economic development and social changes of the period in which it took its rise; in part to the emergence of an interest in what was called "society," which was marked on the one side by the rise of sociology and on the other by the development of socialism. It was profoundly affected by the new science called psychology. It presaged the decline of what had been the chief motive of the old history, that is, political, institutional, military, and diplomatic development and activity; and it was not unrelated to the evolution of democracy.

If not much beyond its new and fearful pseudo-scientific terminology, which found long names for obvious and well-known qualities, was novel in this school, it was highly self-conscious, organized, and technical, and it had, like all such movements, the zeal of a crusade. As its great champion, Lamprecht, said, "the new, progressive, and therefore aggressive, point of view" in this struggle, which he defined as the conflict between the "social-psychic" and the "individual-psychic" factors, "is the socio-psychological, and for that reason it must be termed modern." Even in English the new terms were impressive; in German they were overpowering, at this "parting of the ways in historical science," with its insistence on "psychic processes," "psychic mechanism," and "psychic currents," its disregard of the personal and individual elements, and its treatment of human "mass reactions."

Among the followers and prophets of the new school not even Lamprecht himself was more eminent or more characteristic than another and far more widely read writer who, though he differed widely from Lamprecht, showed something of the same tendencies — Guglielmo Ferrero. Son of an Italian engineer, assistant and son-in-law of the criminologist Lombroso, just as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, he published two volumes on *The Age of Caesar,* as introduction to a larger work, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome.* To that task he brought no special training or knowledge as historian, no new investigations, sources, or discoveries, but based his work on well-known general histories like Mommsen and Duruy and on less-known monographs. But with fresh points of view, hypotheses, and generalizations, simply, entertainingly, even at times brilliantly written, full of parallels between the ancient and modern worlds, it was a novelty in historical writing which for a generation had, with few exceptions, stressed the "scientific" side — that is to say, exactness of knowledge — at the expense of literary quality. In one sense Ferrero was no historian at all. Psychologist, publicist, sociologist, journalist — almost any other definition would have seemed appropriate. He was unlike Froude or Taine, who, whatever their gifts of style, had seen the documents; he was still more unlike the men then reckoned in the first rank of historians, Gardiner and Henry Adams, Sorel and Aulard, who like Ranke and his fellows had devoted their lives to sources and archives.

Thus, since his work cut sheer across the then accepted canons of historical writing, the reaction of the profession he invaded was inevitable. It was summed up in current epigram. "He is no historian, that man Ferrero," observed a friendly critic, "but he will arrive." "He will," another agreed, "and where?" Historical scholars with one voice denounced him as "dilettante," "charlatan," "improviser," "novelist," his work as "pretentious ingenuity" "full of errors and declamation." Inevitably perhaps, the public verdict was the opposite. In Italy, where literature was a precarious profession and history a peculiarly unremunerative field, his book brought him an income and a reputation still more profitable. He was invited to lecture, to become a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies; he even became prominent enough to be exiled for his political opinions. Thus elevated to those heights which only publicity achieves, he was called to lecture in Paris and in South America and, under the patronage of President Roosevelt, was given his widest and most profitable vogue in the United States.

When he was on the threshold of that great adventure, an American scholar wrote that it was "unfortunate that there has been thrust upon him a journalistic notoriety which he must sincerely deprecate." It was kindly meant, but it reveals how remote that worthy scholar was from realities. For, his "publicity value" assured, Ferrero contributed to *Hearst's Magazine* a series of articles whose titles reveal his faith and his appeal, especially to America — "The Rockefellers of Ancient Rome," "The Collapse of Roman Tammany," and "Riding to a Roman Fall." These, presently gathered into a volume, *Ancient Rome and Modern America,* with a pseudo-romance, *Between the Old World and the New,* formed with his *History* what he called a "trilogy." With this he had arrived — and where?

There is no doubt that, whether as historian or prophet, he took himself seriously. Without some sense of personal infallibility no man could have written that last volume, much less have described a history of Rome, a volume of essays, and a novel as a "trilogy." There is equally no doubt that even his most superficial utterances were taken seriously by multitudes. His thesis was simple and easily understood. No country, he declared, "reflects more of the great political and social questions of every age," especially our own, than Rome. Since, as he says, its older histories were written in an age which still contended over forms of government, "which now have lost their interest," it has become necessary to "widen our point of view and adapt it to the moral and social needs of the day," to replace political with moral and psychological interest. Moreover, "human history," he observes, "like all other phenomena, is the unconscious product of an infinity of small and unnoticed efforts," like, presumably, a coral reef. So, with a certain inconsistency, he launches into an account of the great Roman politicians, statesmen, and generals, culminating in the career of Julius Caesar.

This is far from disparagement; were it so, his popularity would prove his critics wrong, for as we say to-day, "the customer is always right." If one can find in wise saws and modern instances a light to guide one's feet along the ways of ancient history; if even by stressing the likeness of modern America to Rome one can attract thousands of readers to whom otherwise the subject would have been Golgotha and anathema, who shall say him nay? He who can by any means interest the present in the past renders a great service to society, for he preserves that sense of continuity without which the present grows egotistic, self-centered, and largely meaningless.

If not a true historian in the older sense, Ferrero was a portent and an example as well as a potent influence. He drew popular attention to his subject; he revived even the interest of specialists by antagonizing them; and though his interpretations provoked much heat, they shed a certain light by that same process; and he became the forerunner, if not the model, of many like him since. Men like him act as liaison officers between scholars and public; but like all liaison officers they are apt to be misunderstood. They do not always render the truth's infinite shades of meaning quite in accordance with the taste of the specialists, and their words do not always bear precisely the significance to their audience that they mean them to convey. Among life's little ironies, one may trace Ferrero's influence on American publicists who perceived in his analogies that the great dangers which brought Rome to the ground and faced America were socialism and aliens — and Ferrero was an Italian Socialist!

The popularizers, or what the French more cynically call the "vulgarizers" — for, despite a too common belief to the contrary, *populus* and *vulgus* are not quite the same — have always reaped the greatest benefits in fame as well as money from the work of the investigators, whether as writers of "popular" histories or of text-books for the schools. It is not surprising, therefore, that men have turned aside from scholarship, from teaching, from journalism, or even from fiction, to this profitable pursuit. And one may not leave the subject of the New History, as it has been described in possibly too grandiloquent capitals, without some mention of a leading American exponent of that phrase.

About the year 1912, Professor James Harvey Robinson, then of Columbia University, collected into one volume a series of essays and addresses under that title. Seventeen years later he read a paper before the American Historical Association under the title of "The Newer Ways of Historians"; and some years before that he published a volume on what he called *The Mind in the Making*. He was preeminently what is sometimes called in the United States an "educator." Having followed the straight, paved road of academic life from undergraduate to professor, inspired by the movement toward social and psychological history, he compiled along its lines what has been in this generation probably the most widely used text-book of European history for rather elementary students, with many edited texts, documents, readings, extracts, and like educational aids. For this highly useful work he received consequent reward in money and reputation; and crowned his career by election to the presidency of the American Historical Association. Speculative, or as we say "suggestive," rather than scholarly, he turned philosopher, and there attained an eminence comparable to his position as a writer of text-books. So, judged by the standards of his country and his time, he must be reckoned the most typical and successful of his kind, a model for the young which has been widely and sedulously imitated. Even in this brief chronicle it is apparent how greatly the world has changed. For where, three-quarters of a century ago, men like Macaulay and Motley, Prescott and Parkman made both money and reputation out of history which was at once scholarly and literary, those rewards are now confined to the authors of school text-books and popular manuals.

Possessed as he was of an engaging style, we can only guess what Professor Robinson might have accomplished had he written what we call " scholarly " history. If it be the business of a historian to contribute to our " factual " as well as " interpretative " knowledge of the past, Professor Robinson is, of course, not a historian at all; yet since history has become so large a factor in education, to omit him would be to disappoint those who regard him as our leading historian. To the so-called " new history " he contributed little but the adjective, which he made peculiarly his own. Doubtless he chose the better part — but one may be permitted to express regret.

Essentially a Lamprechtian, he summed up in his first essay the defects of current historiography — " the careless inclusion of mere names," the emphasis on political events to the exclusion of " other matters of greater moment," and the narration of " extraordinary episodes not because they illustrate the general tendencies of a particular time, but because they are conspicuous in the annals of the past." To such doctrines there can be little objection. They echo not only the principles of the German *Historisches Kulturkampf* but the practice of most great historians, who, however, are still influenced by the fact that contemporary events have a certain weight, if only in their influence on their own generation and so on its successors. What Professor Robinson has done has been to inject these principles into the text-book field; and if it has been urged that here he went too far, that, virtually, he eliminated chronology from history, and that, without some corrective, his followers would be as far in one direction from real knowledge of the past as those he denounced were in another — to this there is one answer, his popularity, for " royalties are an unanswerable argument."

His second doctrine, noted in his presidential address, is the recommendation that the work of " animal psychologists be frankly recognized as essential contributions to the historian's problems," since " the discoveries in animal psychology are by no means irrelevant to man's conduct in all times." To this, one of his followers, Mr. Barnes, has added that history or biography needs not only psychology but physiological chemistry and the study of glands; for all biography written before 1900 is only "rhetorical goose-eggs," since there was no "valid psychology" before that time. Again this is not wholly new, for various physicians at various times and in various places have interpreted literary genius by physiology; and not only has Napoleon's lack of success in some of his later enterprises been explained by acute indigestion and even less agreeable ailments, but Mr. Berman has proved that the great Emperor was merely the product of an enlarged pituitary gland.

To these may be added two corollaries. The school to which Professor Robinson and Mr. Barnes belong has, in general, aligned itself against the existing social and economic system, and its work has been done largely, if not wholly, in that peculiarly profitable branch of effort, the writing of text-books for the schools and of "popular" pseudo-scholarly manuals for uncritical and ill-informed readers. It has revealed, as well, a strong tendency toward terminology from which history has hitherto been free; though both Professor Robinson and Mr. Barnes have categorically, and no doubt wisely, refused to be drawn into any attempt to define the words they use, as, apparently, an irrelevant and academic exercise tending to hamper thought. In consequence, they have not escaped criticism; and one of the most eminent and acute of American scholars, Professor Shorey, has gone so far as to say that we need look no farther than Professor Robinson's pages "to find illustrations of every form of sophistical, prejudiced, and unfair reasoning . . . and every fallacy for which the mediæval Latinists found a name," and that, professing to speak as a historian of ideas and in the name of progressive science, Professor Robinson

> has abused the authority and credit of both with the public to prostitute science in the service of propaganda and . . . misrepresents the facts and the lessons of history to readers who lack opportunity and time to control his statements. . . . He probably knows that in the judgment of those he once would have regarded as his peers he is fast forfeiting his claim to the title of historian.

Such controversial matters aside, this school has raised at least one great question. Pushed to their logical conclusions, such doctrines tend not only to eliminate chronology and personality and to reduce history to that so-called " historical sociology " of which Mr. Barnes was once professor, but to depress even mass history into a sort of anthropology or humanized zoölogy. In spite of their insistence on their own virtues and the shortcomings of their predecessors, especially on the scientific side, one may question whether they are quite as scientific as they profess to be. For even science admits that it is the exceptional, not the usual, which leads to differentiation of the higher from the lower organisms, and so produces that " progress " which is the great, if not the only, god to which such a philosophy bends the knee. Followed to its logical conclusion, this pseudo-scientific doctrine destroys the basis of its own belief, for, obviously, had all men remained " common," men would still be primitive savages — or worse. But, as Mr. Oscar Wilde once observed in another connection, " Each man kills the thing he loves."

With all the vogue of Robinson and Barnes, so neatly uniting the Utilitarians, the Positivists, and the Sociologists, the great cause of science and society has found a champion even more conspicuous than these. Under the compelling influence of the Great War, which turned some souls to history as it did others to religion, and still others to far less worthy causes, the English novelist, Mr. H. G. Wells, for a brief time abandoned his chief profession to compile a history of the past, preparatory to his greater task of foreshadowing the history of the future of mankind. Deeply influenced by the doctrines, or the fallacies, of science and society which so permeated the early years of the twentieth century, inspired by his conceptions not only of what had been but what should be, like Ferrero he brought to history his skill and equipment from another field. Like Ferrero he depended on others for his facts; but unlike his Italian predecessor, he enlisted other elements. He called in experts to revise his work; and, equipped with their advice, a vivid if commonplace imagination, a gift of equally vivid and commonplace narrative style, a stenographer, a mass of reference-books, and a set of preconceptions, he became, as it were, a historical syndicate, to explore and exploit that most ancient, if not most honorable, field of universal history.

After the manner of all universal histories, he began his work with Creation; not with the Creation of his predecessors, not with classical gods or Biblical Genesis, but the Creation of the scientists — astronomers, geologists, and biologists; not, as it were, with First Causes, but with First Results. So he proceeded to that subject which has so interested this generation — primitive man, and continued his story to the present day, more sketchily in the latest periods, as his authorities gave out. Finally, as a last, modern touch, his work was filled with pictures and diagrams, and sold in six-penny parts on news-stands prior to its publication as a book.

Inevitably it had a popular success; due partly to Mr. Wells's reputation in a kindred field; partly to his ingenious linking of astronomy, geology, paleontology, and anthropology with history; partly to the narrative; partly to its timeliness. Inevitably it was attacked by the historians; yet even some historians favored it — where it did not discuss what they knew most about. The eighteenth-century specialist approved of the Middle Ages; the mediævalist of the modern part; both, of the earlier ages, especially the prehistoric eras; the scientists approved of the history, the historians of the science; and all agreed it was an excellent account of every field, except, of course, his own. None quite approved his claim that he had spent no less than three years and a half in its composition; for cynics pointed out that men had spent whole lifetimes on far briefer periods, and that, however valuable Mr. Wells's hours were, those of Mr. Edgar Wallace and Mr. Oppenheim were more valuable still.

Severer critics resented his claim of novelty, save in the pseudo-scientific parts; for universal histories were no novelty. The ancients knew them, and the Middle Ages; even modern times; and within the memory of men now living one John Clark Ridpath compiled one, which, though of very different character, might challenge even that of Mr. Wells in popularity. Nor was the novelist-historian unique; for Tobias Smollett wrote history, and Charles Dickens's *Child's History of England* had long been a best seller. Yet in comparison with his critics Mr. Wells had the best of it, as he soon pointed out. In an age when the multiplication table tends to be the final test, and God, as Napoleon said, is on the side of the heaviest battalions, Truth is no less obviously on the side of the largest circulation, for, in the advertiser's words, "Two million readers *can't* be wrong."

But Mr. Wells scored more than by mere numbers. His critics pointed out his lack of perspective and proportion — three pages to the marital difficulties of Alexander the Great's parents, a triangular situation naturally appealing to a modern novelist, half a page to Mr. Kipling's worst story, "Stalky & Co.," and a sentence to Abraham Lincoln. They noted the confusion of his own prejudices with the verdict of history, in minimizing Napoleon to absurdity and in his comment on the American Constitution that its most notable characteristic to modern eyes was its omission of female suffrage. But they observed in vain that what men once described as the will of God and later as the natural course of events, in his hands became the Wellsian concept of the future as the clue and standard of judgment of all human history; that in his pages it seemed "primordial protoplasm in primeval slime lay dreaming of the League of Nations and the Socialist Superstate." It was in vain, for as one of his great admirers said, "I am not interested in Mr. Wells's facts, but only in his conclusions." To that there is, of course, no answer; and if the first step to truth be error, right or wrong, he has done much for history.

For in the widest sense he represents one aspect of the present age, and that a great one; the "public" whence he sprung and for whose applause he writes. With no great knowledge and still less real thought, but filled with what are called "ideas" — that is to say, a certain contempt for the Christian religion and the old moralities, vague aspirations toward an earthly millennium, expressed in universal suffrage, universal peace, and universal prosperity based on community of goods, with a blind reliance on what are known as the "marvels of science" and invention as the salvation of mankind, his philosophy was essentially materialistic and humanitarian. For such there are few mysteries or none, save those that science is now rapidly solving; while rights have taken the place of obligations and self-expression that of self-denial.

Their writing holds but little of heroic elements; it has but little greatness of spirit superior to material concerns. It tends to put all men upon a common plane; and even its unconventionally colloquial language is essentially commonplace. This is no mere fancy, still less exaggeration. There is no other history where we find that favorite caption of Hollywood, "Came"; as Mr. Wells says of the Congress of Vienna, "came the vague humanitarianism and dreamy vanity of the Tsar Alexander; came the shaken Hapsburgs, the resentful Hohenzollerns. . . ." No wonder Mr. Wells was popular; he reached an audience inaccessible even to Ferrero, and a wider one.

That audience has, in a sense, become not merely the spectators but the characters in the drama of the new history. It has now been some three-quarters of a century since Macaulay uttered his wish for more records of great events from the standpoint of insignificant individuals. Had he lived till now, he would have had his wish more than gratified, though not, perhaps, in precisely the way he intended. For in recent years the stone rejected by the earlier builders has become the head of the corner, and the "insignificant" man has become the most, if not the only, significant figure in history at the hands of that school of writers who have appropriated to themselves emphatically the word "new."

On every hand we have a multitude of books endeavoring to depict for us not the great figures and events and movements of the past, but the way the ordinary man lived, what he did for a living, what he ate and drank and wore, how much of various commodities he produced, what he did for his amusement, and what things attracted his attention as he went his daily round. Whether it calls itself "social," or is concerned with "civilization," it has chiefly to do with what it describes as the "common man," that heir of the ages once called the "average man," one of whose incarnations Ricardo christened the "economic man," the French revolutionaries "the man and citizen"; he whom Sinclair Lewis called "Babbitt" and the author of the morality play called "Everyman." He now replaces Caesar and Alexander and Shakespeare and George Washington as the hero of the "new" history, and the effect upon historiography is of profound importance.

It is not necessary to insist, as some have insisted, that this is merely a sympton of lowering human values. It is a phenomenon to be observed rather than condemned. Naturally one of its leading characteristics is statistics, for common men are to be evaluated only in the mass, and figures are the sole means of discovering mass characteristics. Apart from that and the virtual elimination of politics, save to those who know little or nothing of the "old" history, there is little "new" in this but the enormous enlargement of description at the expense of narration and the consequent subordination of chronology. For "social history" was known to Herodotus, as to Tacitus; Voltaire revived it for the eighteenth century; Macaulay wrote what is still regarded as its greatest chapter — not omitting even the statistics; and Green, though he omitted the statistics, put in the food and clothes and daily round. Apart from their inclusion of great figures and events, and their insistence upon narrative as well as description, they were all as "new" as the latest "new historians." In defiance of the Lamprechtian formula, as of Professor Robinson, however, some of the most recent of these writers fill their pages not merely with statistics, but with lists of names which at times descend almost to a catalogue — though of a different character from those of Milton, Dante, and Homer. Some of them tend to reduce the chronicle of human striving to its lowest common denominator; and in at least one recent volume the only uncommon individuals seem to be the inmates of public institutions, and even they are not so common as some might wish.

This phase of historical writing has unquestionably done something for historiography by its investigation of mass phenomena and consequent discovery of new "facts." But with that service it has raised questions of much importance to historiography. It is an obvious reaction against the "great man" theory of history; yet one wonders whether even in the history of civilization or society it is, let us say, the use of electricity and the cheap motor-car by the masses, or the achievements of Mr. Edison and Mr. Ford which were the determining factors in the case. Despite the recent assertion of a lady that "what interests us now is not what the Greeks thought or wrote or did, but how they lived," one wonders whether it was what the Periclean Athenians ate and wore and traded in that made that age immortal. If so, we should find out, and, instead of the various panaceas urged upon us, we should discover new greatness for ourselves by following that simple formula. Yet it is difficult to explain St. Francis of Assisi on the principle of externality; and whether in the long evolution of the human race it is the common or the uncommon man that makes for progress, whether it is what is outside of men or inside of them that makes them what they are, to these problems there seemed not long ago but one answer — and that answer still seems good.

Moreover, with all its interest, much of this new "social" history is informative rather than intellectual. Its too frequent lack of wide reading and perspective, to say nothing of a certain thoughtful and reflective quality we see in the great masters, finds small compensation in statistics, in terminology, or in occasional pontifical pronouncements of its "new," "progressive" quality. It seems to lack height and depth; it certainly lacks any sense of the great mystery of life; and too often it proves by irrefutable and irritating figures what even a little thought would render obvious. With all of its virtues, it has not learned how to handle its materials. If and when, in the fullness of time, a New Historian of the calibre of Thucydides shall arise to chronicle the triumphs and defeats of peaceful evolution, we shall have a history which, like his, may immortalize "the greatest movement that ever stirred the Hellenes, extending also to some of the barbarians, one might say even to a very large part of mankind."

But there is another problem which confuses one — that of chronology. It is voiced in the ingenuous remark of a young reader, "It is fine to read if you know some history to start with." As Heine said of the Romans, "they had time to conquer the world, for they knew their declensions to start with," so these authors doubtless know the sequence of political events which still remains the A B C and the multiplication table of historiography. But many of their readers may not be so fortunate. As another youth inelegantly remarked: "If the 'old' history was only a skeleton, this 'new' history seems to me only a mess of meat."

It is related to the problem of the New Fiction with its interminable "chronicles" and "sagas" and "trilogies," which, the critic observes, "any one can write, the trick is to make the ordinary lives of ordinary people interesting." For in history as in fiction there are two things to reckon with; the first is that ordinary people and ordinary events are not so interesting as extraordinary people and extraordinary events; the second is that stories need action and a plot. History is, after all, a kind of story, as its name implies; and a story demands not merely description but narration, it must have some action and some continuity; and it must have some characters.

That problem, at least, the Old History solved. It appealed to human nature. It had characters and continuity and action. It stimulated the imagination by describing struggles of force or of intelligence. Thus far the New History has not learned that art. It is, unquestionably, an addition to our knowledge and perspective. It has contributed to the opening of fresh fields of investigation, especially to the graduate students, avid for subjects for theses. But to tell the truth, it is not as yet very interesting reading. Some of it, as was once said of some of Emerson's poetry, might as well be read backward as forward; and at least one intelligent critic has recently complained that it is, after all, not so much history as journalism. It may be true, as Ferrero has observed, that our generation has lost interest in politics, that political has been replaced by social interest. Even so, it is incumbent even on social historians not only to tell the story of that conflict with characters, action, plot, and continuity, but to recognize that politics is a social activity at least as important as the care of the criminal and the feeble-minded.

It is no doubt important — to take a recent volume — for us to realize that "in Tennessee and Georgia the value of the annual lumber output reached nearly $500,000," and that "North Carolina boasted of no fewer than 118 tobacco establishments with a product valued at $2,215,000." But, put in that way, it smacks too much of the annual surveys of the past year in the daily press, rather than of what we once called history, assuming that history is still a branch of letters and not the offspring of an adding machine and a typewriter, whose grandparents were a census table and a statistical abstract.

So one wonders whether, after all, there is not something to be said for chronology, and whether tables of figures supply the lack of characters or even of institutions. One wonders, too, whether it is possible to ignore the fact that man is not merely a social but a political animal; whether the body social can stand upright without a constitutional skeleton or move without political nerves or muscles. Still more, one wonders whether without passion or emotion, or what some still call a soul, this body could conceivably seem alive.

To be a social historian it is not enough to have a fluent style and a prejudice against society as it is organized. It is not enough even to have an interest in " social service," statistics of production, immorality, insane asylums, sex problems, and political corruption, and a speaking acquaintance with the more obvious examples of literature, art, music, and religious expressionism. It is necessary to know some economics, as well as " sociology "; to know something of science and invention, of industry, commerce, and finance, of mathematics and of medicine; to know something of how the world of affairs is run; to be able to explain as well as catalogue the various phenomena which produce " society." It is not easy; but until there arise " social " historians who know as much of these things as the " old " historians knew of war, politics, diplomacy, law, constitutional development, and human nature — we shall have no social history worth the paper it is written on. And since the invention of sulphite paper — itself a social phenomenon — that is not much.

These problems another school of writers have answered on the principle which is as active in human affairs as in physics, that to every action there is an equal and consequent reaction. At the very moment that " psychic " and " social " and mass history was making its way into the world, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, half French, half English, and wholly Catholic, began to turn his talents to a study of the French Revolution which took the form of biographies of Danton, Robespierre, and Marie Antoinette, with other, if lesser, contributions to that great subject. In them he both avowed and exemplified a creed or method which, as he said,

> consists in an attempt to reproduce as a living thing the action of the past. It depends on a special insistence upon physical details — dress, weather, gestures, facial expression, light, colour, landscape — and a corresponding lack of emphasis on mere chronicle . . . a method of literary presentation which shall aim at vividness . . . and an elimination of reference.

If other schools aspired to rival the newspapers, his more appealing method was a challenge to fiction, adapting many of its devices to the service of history, among them character-study, suspense, and even plot. If they sought to make it news, he aspired to make it a romance. Moreover, his work has another element still more at variance from theirs. Even where it has not been strictly biographical, it has centered its interest on personality.

Again his method was not wholly new. It owed something to his predecessors, especially in France. It was indebted to the Romanticists; at times it seems to have a vague echo of the historical passages in Hugo's *Ninety-Three* — though that is doubtless a heretical remark. But in English it established what is virtually a new school. His history — or biography — had much more than scenery, costume, and atmosphere; it was psychological, philosophical, even poetical. If it seems to echo something of the influence of Carlyle — whom Mr. Belloc so frankly dislikes — it has as well no little of that painstaking investigation of historical scholarship which he so sharply criticized. It has a certain quality of epigram, a gift of style, the blessing of imagination, and a sense of brooding mystery and tragedy of life, at total variance with the cheerful commonplaces of most "social" history. Above all, it is full of what that lacks the most — emotion. Through its pages move real men and women and events; and if he chooses to call them Danton and Robespierre and Marie Antoinette, Wattignies, and the Reign of Terror, that lies between him and his readers.

It probably would please neither man to say that the first reincarnation of his method was the work of another son of Balliol, Mr. Philip Guedalla, who, some years ago, found in the ironic tragi-comedy set on the gas-lit stage of the mid-nineteenth century the subject for a study in Bonapartism which he called *The Second Empire.* Following the Bellocian formula, even to exaggeration, allusive to the last degree, familiar, even confidential, intimate, impertinent, full of "close-ups," "cut-backs," "atmosphere," with far horizons and high adventure in the best moving-picture manner, it was not ill-adapted to its incredible subject. And, apart from its cleverness of style, it injected a new element into history, the element of wit. "The fountain of honour" of the Second Empire, he observes, "played in a steady drizzle of decorations over the public services"; "There was an agreeable spontaneity about the Revolution of 1848 which it shares with the best earthquakes"; "The appearances of Prussia in history have something of the suddenness, if not all the agility of the bad fairy." His entertaining volume was not, of course, in any proper sense a history of the Second Empire at all; but that very statement seems somehow out of place in speaking of such a brilliant *tour de force,* and to say of it, *c'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas l'histoire* will, naturally, have no effect on any one.

Among the many smart sayings which glitter in his pages, Mr. Guedalla once remarked that "since the war the market in personalia bounded like the rate of exchange when one has trodden on the tail of a foreign minister." As one of its numerous phenomena he might have included, though he courteously refrained, that chatty, amusing excursus erroneously called a "Life" of Queen Victoria with which, as with his preceding studies of *Eminent Victorians,* Mr. Strachey brightened his readers' lives some ten years since; following it more recently with another popular success in his *Elizabeth and Essex.* With them he introduced still other elements into historical composition. Of these the first was something of that spirit of "Now it can be told" and "Better left unsaid" so evident since the war, the calculated indiscretion meant to shock — or at least to attract the attention of book-buyers.

It was bound up with what may be called, for want of better phrase, the patronage of the past and its great figures, the adroit reduction of greatness to a normal or even sub-normal size by the enumeration of its weaknesses rather than its strength. Perhaps the best comment ever made on his technique was that of the young girl who had just read his books as part of her work in history. "I should not like to have Mr. Strachey write my biography," she wrote, "for, even if I had been a great person, I would not have seemed so when he wrote about me." It finds expression in the portrait of Florence Nightingale, not in her prime but as a crotchety domineering woman of seventy in bad health. It even makes play with that "sure-fire laugh" of vaudeville — the proximity of a Bible and a bottle of whiskey before General Gordon as he sat in Khartoum waiting for certain, imminent, and horrible death at the hands of Moslem fanatics. One hopes that Mr. Strachey may be more fortunate in his biographer's choice of period in his life in which to describe him to another generation; one even wonders to what, in Gordon's situation, he would have turned for spiritual consolation.

It was, no doubt, inevitable that we should have had a reaction against the hero-worshipping Victorians such as this. It was, perhaps, no less inevitable that it should take the form of faint — or not so faint — condescension toward those various "old gentlemen" and ladies who once determined the world's fortunes, quite wrongly for the most part as we now perceive, and without that vatic gift vouchsafed to those who know how things came out. Yet, peopled by such curious figures in old-fashioned clothes, inspired by quaint ideas, now obviously absurd, infused with odd enthusiasms, duties, and loyalties now outdated, the past has none the less one eminent quality. It enables us to appreciate more fully, if possible, our own superiority. It occupies the place in the minds of our cleverest intelligentsia which their activities will presently occupy in the minds of their successors; for the great tragedy of all youth movements is that they grow old.

But if Mr. Strachey has made it difficult to understand how the past he describes was able to accomplish such great results with such feeble tools, in his *Elizabeth and Essex* he introduced another and still more important element into history, once called "love interest," more recently "sex appeal" — a difference in phrase which marks a world of change. For such a theme what better subject than the Virgin Queen; what better foil than a noble admirer; what better motive than the way of a man with a maid which, with the way of a ship in the sea and a bird in the air and a serpent on a rock, since the prophet's time has been reckoned one of the four great mysteries of life. It has what we call "human interest," that realm of emotion which includes hate, greed, love, fear, revenge, and sentiment, all the great melodramatic qualities, but especially sex.

Combining, as they do, so many of these elements in their work, strayed revellers from the field of letters like Guedalla and Strachey have done much service to the cause of history. Their formula is simple. It consists in choosing a notable personality, reading up some history, gossip, and letters, creating "atmosphere," a "character," and "situations," with costume and scenery appropriate to the times, and clothing it with clever writing more or less relating to the theme. They have their uses. They have attracted readers incapable, naturally, of distinguishing between clever writing and good history. They have lent a gayety of coloring to Clio's formal garden; and though some still prefer old-fashioned flowers of Truth, many more who had formerly but looked over the garden-wall — if even that — were tempted inside by the newer and showier blossoms.

For these historical writers have one great virtue — they are unafraid. Unlike the "scholarly" historians who write for well-informed and critical professional audiences, they do not live in fear of being detected in deviation from the provable "facts" of history; for in so far as possible they avoid those "facts." They have no scholarly reputation at stake; they have all to gain and little to lose by brilliant writing; they can afford to plunge in generalizations and speculate in epigrams; they can afford to be amusing at whatever cost. Moreover, they descend to meet their audience; they are not hampered by uncomfortable doubts. It is not fair to break these butterflies on a wheel, and it is good for even old-fashioned historians to read their books — only not as history.

That this is no harsh judgment of their entertaining work, two circumstances prove. The first is that one need only compare Sir Sidney Lee's *Victoria* with Strachey's, or Simpson's *Second Empire* with Guedalla's to perceive the difference. And the second is that when Mr. Guedalla and Mr. Strachey lose that first fine careless rapture and try to write real history, were it not subject to the penalties of *lèse majesté,* one might observe that knowledge of the facts but serves to cramp their style.

Of the great trinity which some one has observed describes the charms of Paris — *antiquité, nouveauté,* and *frivolité* — one must admit that in a day when it is possible to compile from the Book of Books the numerous examples of ancient Hebrew backsliding from a state of grace and publish them as *The Truth about the Bible,* conceptions of the past have been profoundly influenced both by novelty and frivolity. Descending from the Stracheyan formula we find a school which occupies a place in the field of biography now too often hailed as the great "historical" writers of our time. One need but to mention the name of Emil Ludwig — whose family name was apparently Cohn — and of him who writes under the name of André Maurois, or even that of F. Hackett and E. Barrington, to touch the very heart of popular appeal. Even Mr. Gamaliel Bradford in his engaging studies of souls in various stages of *déshabille* and disrepair has been identified by less critical souls, however wrongly, with this group. To that school no longer is truth merely naked — though not unadorned — but in the latest fashion of undress, the all too transparent garb of biography. There is now no longer the decent obscurity of a dead language to conceal her charms, for apt translation lends her artful aid. Nor is there safety in obscurity, for what the absence of materials might conceal, the penetrating imagination of the author supplies. Clio has waited long, but never before was it so evident that the muse of history was feminine.

This sex obsession may be due, as some believe, to Freud and his pseudo-scientific preoccupation with the sex complex. It may be due, as one cynic observes, to the emergence of the eternal feminine, for whom or by whom these biographies, like the sex novels, are said to be chiefly written. It may be due to what unscientific people call "the advance of science"; or the decline of what old-fashioned folk called "decency" or reticence. It may be due to a reaction against "Victorianism," as Restoration drama and more recent phenomena have been attributed to reaction against that villain of the modern piece, "Puritanism." It may even be due, as some have ventured to whisper, merely to the fact that a certain type of publisher finds profit in pornography, and that certain authors and readers have naturally nasty minds, which they endeavor, unsuccessfully, to conceal under agreeable adjectives like "frank" and "daring" and "realistic." Whatever the cause, the thing is with us; and since it is improbable that the kind of biography described by an irreverent youth as "an account of Talleyrand and his girl friends," will permanently satisfy the demand for truthful or even entertaining pictures of the past, before the revulsion toward decency sets in, let us consider this phenomenon.

Its most appealing quality is sex; and one might think that these authors, reversing Pope's dictum, had determined that the proper study of mankind was woman. They remind one of Oscar Wilde's once famous epigram about the Bible, which, as he said, like all books of life, begins with a man and a woman in a garden and ends in Revelations. But that is not their only quality. There are two others of even more importance. The first is that which, for politeness' sake, we call "historical imagination," a debased species of the Bellocian genus which takes the form of describing the mental, and especially the emotional processes of any given character at a given time. It is not unlike that Sunday-school question, "What do you suppose Melchizedek thought on this occasion?" It is not limited by the lack of evidence; for what Victor Hugo called "the penetration of genius" and others called by harsher names, more than supplies that lack.

It may, of course, be true. But, to take one instance, the most hardened historical imagination balks at Ludwig's picture of Napoleon sitting in his tent after the all but disastrous day of Aspern-Essling, reflecting on how pleasant it would be to have the soothing presence of the Countess Walewska at his side. Severely checked for the first time in his life, five hundred miles from Paris, all but cut off from his supports, with a powerful and victorious Austrian army before him, in the bitterness of defeat he may have spent his time in dreams of the attractive Polish lady, yet one cannot suppress the suspicion that his real thoughts were otherwise. It scarce beseems a mere student of history to question such a master of this variety of biography as Ludwig, but those who saw Napoleon on that evening at Ebersdorf reported him as overwhelmed by the disaster, and the letters which he wrote at that crisis are not to the Countess but to Marshal Davout and General Daru, and so far from being about love are acutely concerned with the collapse of a bridge and the necessity for reinforcements and supplies.

But the real problem raised by this method is not the mere truth or falsehood of the pictures thus conjured from the fervid imaginations of biographers. It is, in fact, twofold. It is, in the first place, what was once called the "personal equation," that former bugbear of the scientists. Before the days of relativity, the "subjective" attitude was the villain, the "objective" the hero of the piece. Now we toy with the theory that truth is only relative. That may be true, but, if we push even relativity to its logical conclusion, only relatively true.

Unquestionably the most recent school of history finds excuse or defence in this convenient doctrine of the relative. It is a comforting thought to one who knows no dates and no geography to read in the pages of one of these books that "time and space fade into subjective conceptions." That is, as any teacher knows, the commonest phenomenon on examination papers. Their writers often hope, as well, that in the words of an American historical author of the newer school, their "work is to be judged . . . not by mere accuracy in detail but by the excellence of the general structure and by the pleasure it gives to the reader to whom it is directed." That is also true of the prospectuses of worthless mining shares. For however true in metaphysics, in the practical affairs of practical human life there seems what our youth calls "a catch" in this. One may say, to paraphrase the poet, "If it be not true to me, what care I how true it be"; but 1492, however relative it may be, and however arbitrary, is, after all, as little subjective, let us say, as the location of Paris in France instead of, as one subjective student once conceived, in mid-Siberia. As the satirist says:

> Nature and Nature's Laws lay veiled in night,
> God said "let Newton be," and all was light.
> It could not last. The devil shouting "Ho
> Let Einstein be!" restored the status quo.

But that does not eliminate chronology from history, nor statistics from financial operations, as yet; and when it does, we shall no longer care for either finance or history.

> It is a familiar saying [Professor Dewey has written recently] that the great intellectual work of the nineteenth century was the discovery of history. The idea of evolution was an extension of its discovery of history, evolution but stretching history to its limit of elasticity. As we notice the shift of emphasis and interest which is now going on, we may question whether the familiar saying is more than a half-truth. Would it not be nearer to the truth to say that the nineteenth century discovered *past* history? Since what is characteristic of the present time is speculation about the future, perhaps it will be the task of the twentieth century to discover *future* history.

To such a pass have the great talents of Einstein brought us, that not only has history been "stretched to the limit of its elasticity"—in its definition at least—but, if Professor Dewey's prophetic definition finds favor, and men capable of meeting it are found, we shall have to develop a new technique of reading. We shall, perhaps, be forced to emulate the New Woman, of whom the poet has told us:

> There was a young woman named Bright,
> Who could travel much faster than light.
> She went walking one day
> In a relative way
> And came back on the previous night.

It was said long ago by a cynical reviewer in another field, "This volume, however entertaining, adds little that is new to our ignorance of God." Yet even as we write, our relative faith in relativity is shaken to the core not only by the alleged discovery of a new planet outside of the solar system which had begun to revolve around Einstein instead of Newton, but by the rapid revolutions reported in Einstein's opinions themselves. If relativity is not even relatively true, and if eager souls like the young lady who abandoned history for "social sciences" because, as she declared, she "couldn't bear to be bound down by facts" have their last hope that nothing is true destroyed, it may be, conceivably, that we shall have to go back to objective facts again.

Yet there remains another element. Let us accept, for purposes of the argument, the subjectivity of the new school; let us admit that, like the French critic, they write not of the great but of themselves as affected by it. Accepting that, we have a right to ask that they be great enough to gauge the greatness of those of whom they write. If biography should not be hero-worship, still less should it be merely the revenge of lesser upon greater minds. We have a right to ask that biographers shall not reduce their subjects to their own levels of intelligence or morality. What made Thucydides and Gibbon great historians, what made Plutarch and Morley great biographers is that they had ability to comprehend the qualities of their subjects. The lack of this is what makes so many of these modern biographies so poor. Apart from all their sex nonsense and their ridiculous reconstruction of their characters' psychology, granted that they know no history, that they have even no ideas of any consequence, many of them, with all their literary cleverness and their great acclaim, raise serious question as to whether these authors quite realized who and what their heroes really were. If we are to have subjective history and biography — and without a certain quality of subjectivity there is no work of art — we have a right to ask that the result bear more resemblance to its subject than to the artist himself; we have a right to ask that the author do not put on a mask and play that he is Napoleon or Washington or Lincoln. It is not enough to don the lion's skin; as Aesop pointed out some centuries ago, it is essential at least to make a noise like a lion.

How is it, then, the public is deceived into believing these are real lions? There are a score of answers all more or less depressing. Some say it lies in the decline of morals and intelligence; some that it is a passing fashion of the times; some that it is innate natural depravity now evident through the collapse of decent inhibitions; some that it is a phase of mass psychology influenced by ingenious methods of what is called "the breaking down of sales resistance" through book-clubs and similiar devices in the advertising field. Part of the answer undoubtedly lies in the fact that these are entertaining books, far more amusing than any that scholars write; they are good journalism in the current vein. Part of it lies, as has often been said, in the fact that though there are fully as many intelligent individuals today as ever, and probably far more, the spread of elementary education and the pressure of life have combined to produce a reading public of almost incredible superficiality. Part of it lies, no doubt, in that there are so few lions nowadays we have forgotten what real ones should be like.

The enormous popularity of this sort of writing is, in fact, some clue to ourselves. It was imagined by those who sponsored universal education — it is still believed — that merely by teaching men and women to read and write there would be released a mass of latent ability and intelligence previously concealed by illiteracy; that a development in taste and thought would follow of itself and the whole level of mentality would rise. It was of the same nature as the earlier belief that the mere gift of the franchise would automatically produce intelligent and conscientious citizens. In some measure that took place in each case; but as we know from our experience, too often it merely got those masses what they wanted instead of making them want something better. It did not make them, of necessity, desirous of reading the great works of literature or choosing better and still better men in government. What happened in a multitude of instances was that the publishers, like the producers of plays and politicians, gave the public what it seemed to want; and though there was, perhaps, an increase in printing literary classics, especially for the schools whose pupils could not easily help themselves, there was a vastly greater increase in that which by no stretch of the imagination could be regarded as either classical or literary. Letters were adapted to a new audience; and, however much the masses were elevated, it was inevitable that the average of literary production was depressed. It is true, of course, as our friends of the press declare, that newspapers have contributed enormously to the elevation of the mass. But there is something appalling in the thought that yellow journalism and the tabloid press have actually levelled up their readers.

It may be, as some deep-despairing souls maintain, that we perceive the triumph of the moron in affairs, and that with that triumph civilization must go down. It may be, as an exultant sports-writer says, that, after all, whatever else concerns men, " the heavy-weight championship of the world is the chief object of human interest from New York to Shanghai." It may be that in letters as in politics, universal education and suffrage have merely levelled down, and that the low average governs in both fields. But it may be, as well, that it is too soon to tell; that not until these millions have been trained for generations, as the old reading public was, can the result of this greatest of all social experiments be known.

For there is hope. It was the ambition of both Gibbon and Macaulay — and doubtless many other historians — that their volumes should compete for popularity with fiction. That, they and others like J. R. Green achieved; and even now we have " epics " and histories of " civilization " which in their more immediate — and even in their almost equally ephemeral — popularity attain that great result. But in comparison with their great predecessors these newer historians reveal one quality which makes one hesitate. It is, to put it bluntly, their relative superficiality. " Language," as Talleyrand observed, " was invented to conceal thought," but it serves other no less useful economies — among them that of historical research. It is not enough to have an acquaintance with secondary books and a general idea of how in the main things went, to write sound popular history, which is so greatly needed, and so rare. Not even fluent style, nor impressive sales, nor new " ideas," nor even " points of view " quite " bridge the gap which only knowledge fills." Yet their success — however ephemeral — reveals a great demand for history; and that, at least, offers encouragement to those who now despair of the future of sound learning and sound style.

There is one aspect of the great problem which may give some cheer to even these sad souls, though it lies beyond their usual horizon. It might seem that, having passed from the realms of intelligence to those of the "intelligentsia," from scholarship to scandal, from books of the month to text-books for the schools, the market for history and its by-products was exhausted. But this is far from true; for history has a wider audience than any of these; and if "social" history is "new" and *chroniques scandaleuses* newer, this may be reckoned the newest history. It is expressed not in books but in our periodical literature.

Two generations since, no "popular" magazine but had historical articles, well-written, well-informed. That great tradition still maintains itself in European journals like the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the English quarterlies; elsewhere, especially in America, it is extinct. No editor now would print them; he would say that public taste for all that sort of thing was gone, and it is highly improbable that Macaulay's essays, let us say, could find a place in an American periodical — if for no other reason, because they are too long. For, among its other interesting results, the "progress of civilization" has reduced what psychologists call the "limit of attention" almost to zero. As folios and quartos have declined to octavos and duodecimos, as sermons have shrunk from hours to minutes, articles have shrunk to paragraphs, and paragraphs to sentences, and sentences to slogans as we lose time either to read or think.

Yet if the interest in history of editors and readers of those magazines has declined, or gone into the "popular" biographies, historical work has found another and a greater audience. In the most characteristic and widely read of American periodicals, amid its wealth of fiction and its still more costly advertising may be found successors of those once popular historical articles. They deal, indeed, with reminiscence rather than with earlier periods; but they are often much more than reminiscence. In those same pages, too, the accomplished pen and imagination of Mr. Austin have restored for us, under the thin disguise of fiction, pictures of the past from cave-man to Lenin, more nearly accurate in spirit and in fact than much that passes as "true" history or biography in the form of books.

Nor is this all; for history in the sense of representation of the past to the present has found even wider audience than this, in the illimitable pages of the daily press. Amid its hints for health and beauty, cooking, sports, and crime, from week to week, or even from day to day, often on that editorial page which is itself a relic of past greatness, beside the labors of the humorous columnist and letters from readers, there is often a bit of history. Sometimes as a " column," not seldom as an editorial; sometimes by question and answer, sometimes by " picture story " of a character, an event, or a building of historic interest, the history debarred from popular magazines here finds revenge.

But this is not the end. More recently still it has taken another form appealing to an audience all but impervious to the printed word; for it finds place among the " comic strips." There, in a series of little sketches with explanatory text, it spreads the knowledge of the past in fashions inconceivable even a generation since. And more; the story goes that when the author of one of these serials proposed — or had proposed to him — that they should be abandoned, such protest arose that it was necessary to go on with them.

Finally, keeping touch with science and invention, history has taken its place in the moving-picture industry; not merely in the form most natural to that art — historical romance. An American university has set itself to reproduce the past and bring by what is called " visual education " some knowledge of that past in truer form than it reveals itself to the fancy of moving-pictures magnates. As yet, despite its efforts, history has not found an adequate technique to cope with competition from jazz orchestras and bedtime stories to the radio audiences; but that will doubtless come in time — it is, in fact, coming, and with it talking pictures of historical lectures. When these are all combined, as doubtless they will be, by television in the humblest home, the chain of scholar to consumer will be finally complete. All these, contemptuous scholars will declare, are not " history " at all; yet if " history " is the chronicle of the past, however expressed, they must be reckoned with in our evaluation of its present aspects fully as much as the work of Ludwig or of Wells.

This development, indeed, raises a great question; for this "history" is not in form or content that which now appeals to the great "reading public" of the canalized book-clubs and their devoted guides. What, then, is happening? Are the "plain people" of the newspaper getting out of touch with those who "keep abreast of the great intellectual movement of our time," expressed in sex novels and biographies? Is there — *absit omen* — such a gulf between newspaper readers and intelligentsia; can it be possible that the editors and publishers are wrong; or that the authors of the feature stories and the strips are truer devotees of real history than those who write the "human interest" histories? Has the childish desire for *nouveauté* and *frivolité* overpowered the natural human interest in *antiquité* among our intellectuals, and driven the rest of us to the newspapers for our history, as men have turned from the welter of sex novels and the eternal boring triangle of feminized fiction to the detective story for relief? Or have these various phenomena merely revealed what has always been true, that many men have many minds, and women most of all?

What, then, is the great moral of it all; and what may we expect of the next age of history? It is apparent that, for the time being, at least, the public has substituted for its earlier interest in politics an interest in what it calls "society"; that its chief concern for the moment seems to be with prehistory and so-called "contemporary" history, so that the ages between the sabre-toothed tiger and Clemenceau are relatively neglected, save for their more romantic aspects. Despite its interest in the common man, it still retains its curiosity in personality, too often in the less eminent qualities of humanity. Believing in equality, it is none the less enormously concerned in both super- and sub-normal individuals.

With little interest in chronology and less in thoughtful processes, it desires what it calls "ideas," too often vague speculations without factual premises, logical processes, or rational conclusions. Not unlike the men of Athens, as described by Paul, who "spent their time in nothing else but to tell or to hear some new thing," it is too often hypnotized by the mere sound of the word "new" which has become an adjective of quality, rather than of time. It is avid for information, however miscellaneous; but it tends to shrink from depth of thought and elevation of spirit, preferring that cheerful and entertaining commonplace described by publishers and reviewers as a " brilliant style." It loves statistics, especially of that larger sort which seems to provide some inner consolation to so many minds, and serve as a substitute for thought. It dislikes definitions; and it is essentially uncritical. Its limit of attention, without the use of the stimulating devices of fiction or journalism, is brief and growing briefer as the pressure of time and labor-saving devices grows heavier year by year. Finally, it tends to shun all questions of difference in race, religion, degree of civilization, intelligence, character, and color, all save those of sex. None the less, if we may judge by the output of the publishers, it is interested in what it is assured is history, and more especially in biography. And when — and if — the world works through the influence of the more romantic characteristics of a journalistic age, it holds out great hopes for a real " historically minded " public.

This is, of course, an optimistic or a pessimistic view, depending on what one's conception of history and our future civilization should be like. It has been said of the now popular histories that, admitting they disregard the old canons, that they are neither objective, judicial, nor well-documented, they " will be *read* when the standard histories will only be *referred to*." That dictum one may question, however timidly; for already some of the vogue of the most recent historical journalists is passing or already past. Though the " standard " histories can, of course, never attain such great, if evanescent, popularity as these " best sellers," the chances seem to be that they will not only be referred to but even read when these clever books are forgotten — for even Herodotus and Thucydides are still printed, and presumably read, though apparently not by the newer historians, who no longer have the time.

What, then, of the next step in history? In view of the developments of the past quarter of a century what may we expect of the new Thucydides when — and if — he arises? He must, of course, know sociology first of all — whatever form that shifting science takes by then. He should know economics and even politics, with all the sciences. He should be chiefly concerned with the masses yet be able to infuse his chronicle of those masses with vivid personalities, though with no hint of possible superiority to their fellow-men, in character or ability. He must have wit, humor, and a lively style; though whether it shall be the clear intelligence of Sorel, or the muddy vulgarisms of too many so-called "brilliant" writers nowadays, must be, as old New England used to say, "according to conscience." He must be able to appeal to almost any one who can read; and his book must obviously be crowded with pictures for those who by that time, through long and intensive study of the illustrated press and the moving pictures, will be trained to receive knowledge through visual rather than mental images. His story, however entertaining, must be in simple form, and make as little tax as possible on the continuous attention of his audience.

It must, of course, be "true." It must combine mass interest with dramatic quality. For wide success his book must be adaptable to school use, whether as "text-book" or "collateral reading"; and it would be better if it could be "filmed," perhaps still better if it could be "put on the air." It must, of course, be international, non-sectarian, and non-controversial, with nothing to offend the tenderest sensibilities of any race, color, belief, sex, or previous condition of servitude. Finally, it must be widely and continuously advertised, so that the public may have before it constantly the fact that it is a great and permanent necessity in every home.

To this end the great foundations and book-clubs should combine to produce and to distribute this great history and keep it up to date. And, as we have advanced beyond the individual capacity to do anything on a large scale, the new historian must, of course, be not a single person but a carefully organized corporation. It must equally, of course, have its divisions or departments of scholarship, style, wit and humor, statistics, an art department, educational, sociological, and scientific bureaus, and a "publicity" division.

Given such qualities and such agencies, it is obvious that the historical problem will be settled once for all. The rest may well be "scrapped," and this great work, continued year by year, become the single, "standard" account of human history, with spare parts obtainable at any service station and fixed rates of exchange for new models year by year. Thus standardized and serviced, with a corps of editorial engineers, a great production plant and an army of distributors and service men, this history for all will naturally contribute to a bigger and better world in ways as yet scarcely conceivable to us now on the threshold of this great development.

Yet this — though this is all the present can endure — is not half the tale. Despite all the phenomena of new, newer, and newest history, never before were there so many scholars of the old-fashioned sort at work; never such breadth and depth of investigation; never such masses of publication; never so many and such active organizations enlisted in the cause. The field has widened and the crops have been diversified; but "old-fashioned" history goes on comparatively undisturbed. While it is apparent that another "movement" is on the way and that we may expect from it a new "interpretation" of the past, that this will supersede the historiography based on principles as old as the Greeks is too much to expect. Too much emphasis must not be placed on it as a sign that the ancient tradition will be overthrown, or that our general view of the past will be revolutionized. There will be much rediscovery and much restatement, much of what has been called "the startling discovery of the perfectly obvious." Our knowledge may be broadened if not much deepened. But history, like the life which it portrays, is a dynamic, not a static force, which means that it will not stop and begin again, but go on. For one may find new facts; one may alter one's opinion of the facts; but one can not make new facts, or distort the old ones, or ignore them — and remain a true historian.

One of the younger school, bringing his volume of "new history" to a close, remarks almost pathetically that, despite its wealth of statistics, its conclusions are "strangely like that of very old-fashioned history indeed." The reason is obvious. It is that there were heroes before Agamemnon. The oration which Thucydides puts in the mouth of Pericles still gives the most vivid picture of Athens in its social aspects, despite its lack of statistics. The best chapter on social history yet written is in Macaulay; and in his work, as in that of some men of still older fashion, you may find all the qualities, even humor, but excluding sex and columns of figures, of the most recent history — and some of us could get along with much less of either.

And you may find in them, as well, what is so sadly lacking in so many of these later works — thought and style. Moreover, there is hope. From time to time scholars like M. Elie Halévy, with minute investigation, wide interests, charming style, and that elevation of spirit without which no great deeds are done or great histories written, demonstrate that, blending the new and old, there are still men, neither journalists nor statisticians, nor even sociologists, but true historians, who know how to write even though they do not call themselves "new" historians. So we have something to look forward to; unless — and here we touch the riddle of the universe — unless it all goes down; for his last volume on the study of the most typical example of our modern civilization, M. Halévy calls an "Epilogue."

Professor THEODORE CLARKE SMITH read a paper on

WAR GUILT IN 1812

It is the invariable habit of those who oppose a war, whether begun against their country by another, or begun against their desires by their own government, to attribute its origin to the existence of a secret and criminal plot. And in every such war-guilt tradition there must be a single individual who by some fatal decision — probably from a base motive — let loose the war. To this generalization the war of 1812 offers no exception, for there arose among the members of the party which opposed it, the Federalists of the northeastern states, a thoroughly typical war-guilt belief. The general causes of the war were plain enough: the diplomatic *impasse* into which the rash manoeuvres of Madison had drawn the United States, the exhaustion of the patience of most people after years of submission to British outrages on the seas, and the control of Congress after 1811 by a group of men who announced their intention to go to war with Great Britain and to conquer Canada, perhaps also Florida. But the Federalists did not waste thought on the War Hawks — Clay, Calhoun, and the rest — for their motives were obvious. It was on James Madison, the President, that they fastened their angry suspicions, for they found his policy so preposterous, his purposes so veiled, and his actions in the spring of 1812 so inexplicable that nothing, they felt, could possibly lie behind them except something both irrational and discreditable.

It is astonishing how much hatred an inoffensive man can evoke by personal stubbornness. There is something about a man who will not notice attacks or pay attention to his opponents that drives people into frenzy. Madison was dry and cool. He never lost his temper. He might express irritation, but never indignation or anger. When he felt like it, he could be severe, but it was in cold blood and on paper. When the country was seething with discontent, he watched events, says Henry Adams, "with that apparent neutrality which irritated both his friends and his enemies." [1] His complete indifference to the arguments, protests, pleadings, and execrations of the New England shipowners and merchants stung the Federalist elements of society to fury.

Perhaps the most exasperating feature of Madison's diplomacy was his lawyer-like ability to assume a position necessary for his policy and then adhere to it with unshakeable obstinacy in the face of facts such as would have broken down any ordinary man. In the year preceding the war of 1812 he was giving a supreme example of this trait by his French and English policy. Congress in 1810 had passed an act reopening trade with both the European combatants but authorizing the President, under certain conditions, to reimpose non-intercourse with either country if the other should withdraw the objectionable Decrees or Orders in Council. Napoleon promptly caused his minister Champagny, so-called Duc de Cadore, to show an unsigned note to the American Minister, saying that the French Decrees would be considered withdrawn on November 2, it being understood that by that time the English should have withdrawn their Orders, or the United

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[1] Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1890), VI. 203.

States should have caused its rights to be respected by Great Britain. This last clause had no explanation nor was one ever given. Madison, however, having asked the British in vain to withdraw their Orders on the basis of this Cadore note, reimposed non-intercourse with Great Britain on February 2, 1811, and Congress, to remove all doubt, enacted it into law a month later. Then and thereafter Madison insisted that the French Decrees were withdrawn, since he had to do so in order to justify his British policy. He persisted in this assumption in the teeth of evidence to the contrary that would have crushed almost any other human being. The British Government not only demanded proof of the French repeal which he could not furnish, but were able to point to repeated declarations to the contrary from French ministers and from Napoleon himself and to uninterrupted seizures under the terms of the Decrees during the whole year 1811 and into 1812. To one reading the evidence at the present day it almost passes belief that anyone should have been able to stick to his manifestly fictitious position as Madison did. That it should have driven the shipowners and commercial classes to frenzy is perfectly comprehensible.

There was something singularly immovable in this small dry, unimpressive thinking machine. Madison had at his side a hot-blooded, pugnacious man, James Monroe, who had had bitter and exasperating experiences at European courts and was aggressively nationalistic. He had fought in the Revolution, and when he became Secretary of State in 1811, he was burning to fight one or the other power. The lively reports of the representatives of foreign governments, printed by Henry Adams, show that he was ready to burst with anger at both Napoleon and the English. Yet, as Adams shows with his inimitable skill at analysis, Monroe's fervor was dampened and smothered by the stubborn, cool, dry passivity of his chief. He could not sway Madison from his obstinate adhesion to his chosen line of diplomacy.

The culmination of what, to the Federalists, seemed an insane policy came in the spring of 1812, for news arrived late in March that seemed to knock the bottom out of Madison's whole case. It was proved by sworn testimony that a squadron of French cruisers, manifestly under the terms of the

Berlin Decree, had seized and burnt American vessels bound for England. Nevertheless Madison, without noticing this outrage, recommended an embargo on April 1, and then, on June 1, a declaration of war against Great Britain.

It was this extraordinary behavior of Madison which the Federalists found without rational, or as we should now say, psychological explanation. That the President should, at the very moment when the conduct of France was such as to dictate caution, come to the front with a recommendation of war against England seemed inexplicable without some hidden and irrational cause. In their rage they undertook to explain his conduct in such a way as would blacken not only his sincerity but his political morality. They confidently asserted that Madison, although personally opposed to war, had been compelled by the Congressional leaders to make the recommendation, under the threat of losing the party nomination for the presidency in the coming election. This was the act which placed guilt upon him as a weakling who, to further his own personal ambition, had sold his soul to the war party and brought on the disgraces and losses of a disastrous contest in the face of an overwhelming mass of evidence that proved the falsity of his whole diplomatic position.

The full statement of the Federalist tradition is found in Richard Hildreth's *History of the United States*, volume VI, published in 1852. The essential parts are as follows:

> . . . The leaders of the war party at Washington refused to accept Madison as the Republican candidate unless he would first commit himself decidedly to war. The Congressional caucus was accordingly delayed by way of intimation that it might, perhaps, become necessary to select some other person. . . . Whatever might have been Madison's motives, this at least is certain, that yielding to the urgency of the war party, he reluctantly consented to take the leadership in a new step towards war.

This was the recommendation of an embargo.

> Though willing to sign a bill declaring war, [continued Hildreth] Madison was very unwilling to take any further responsibility in bringing it on. But the leaders of the war party were inexorable. The war must not seem to be forced on the president; it must be not their war . . . but his. A committee headed by the imperious Clay waited upon him with assurances to that effect. He must

> consent to recommend a declaration of war or they would not support him as president. To this hard condition Madison yielded; and, the preliminaries thus arranged, the Congressional caucus was presently held.[2]

No evidence was cited by Hildreth in his *History,* and he very candidly admitted that he had none from Madison's side. " We greatly miss at this important crisis," he said, " light like that shed on the motives of the Federalists of 1798 by the published collections of their private letters; nor is it likely that the conduct of Madison and Gallatin will ever be so cleared up." [3] Later writers were naturally not satisfied to accept this tale without further confirmation, and from their investigations a certain amount of additional material has been unearthed which serves to indicate pretty clearly the probable source of Hildreth's story.

The first reference is exactly contemporary, in the dispatches of A. J. Foster, the British Minister, who habitually gained his political information from Federalists. On May 3, 1812, he wrote home: " The reason why there has been no nomination made in caucus yet by the Democratic members of Mr. Madison as candidate for the Presidency is, as I am assured in confidence, because the war party have suspected him not to have been serious in his late hostile measures and wish previously to ascertain his real sentiments." [4] Again, after the declaration of war, Foster wrote to Castlereagh on June 21, still reflecting Federalists' views: " I have every reason to be convinced that the president has been forced into them [war measures] by a faction composed principally of southern and western members whose leaders are said to have threatened to abandon him if he flinched." [5] Here we have, in germ, the war-guilt tradition.

It was on January 6, 1813, in the next session of Congress after the war declaration, and after the disasters of the first Canadian campaigns, that the charge was openly made in the House by Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, bitter of tongue and dangerous in debate. He began by admitting that he and his friends had been wrong the preceding June when they considered a war against Great Britain preposterous and refused to believe the War Hawks. Then he went on:

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[2] Richard Hildreth, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1852), VI. 289, 291, 298.

[3] *Ibid.,* 290.

[4] Foster to Castlereagh, Adams, *United States,* VI. 213.

[5] Foster to Castlereagh, Public Record Office. Library of Congress Photostat Transcripts. This quotation was furnished by my colleague, Professor A. H. Buffinton.

> The great mistake of all those . . . resulted from this, that they never took into consideration the connection of both those events with the great election for the Chief Magistracy which was then pending. It never was sufficiently considered by them that plunging into war with Great Britain was among the conditions on which the support for the Presidency was made dependent. They did not understand that an invasion of Canada was to be in truth only a mode of carrying on an electioneering campaign. . . . All is clear. A country may be ruined in making an Administration happy.

After expatiating at some length on the iniquity of attacking Canada, he added:

> Antecedent to the declaration of war it was distinctly stated by individuals from that quarter of the country under the influence of which this war was adopted, that the support of the present President of the United States by that quarter of the country depended upon the fact of the Cabinet's coming up to the point of war with Great Britain. . . . Without their support the re-election of the present Chief Magistrate was hopeless. . . . For myself . . . I have never doubted that we should not have had war declared at the last session if the Presidential election had not been pending.[6]

Two days later Clay replied contemptuously to Quincy: "The gentleman from Massachusetts . . . has entertained us with Cabinet plots, Presidential plots which are conjured up in the gentleman's own perturbed imagination. I wish, sir, that another plot of a much more serious kind — a plot that aims at the dismemberment of our Union — had only the same imaginary existence."[7]

Later in the same year, in the first session of the next Congress, the charge was repeated in a more precise form by Hanson of Maryland, an embittered Federalist who had been nearly killed by a Baltimore mob for opposing the war. "Mr. Hanson," says the account in the *Annals of Congress*, ". . . spoke of a self-created committee of Congressmen who called on the President and required him to send the House a message recommending war. He said the first demand was unsuccessful but the second succeeded when he was given to understand that his re-election depended upon his recommending war at once."[8] Another version of this speech, in a contemporary letter, quotes Hanson as addressing Clay, the Speaker, in these words: "*You know,* sir, that the President was coerced into the measure; that a committee called upon him and told him that if he did not recommend a declaration of war he would lose the election. And then he sent his message recommending a declaration."[9] There is no report in the *Annals* of any reply to this by Clay.

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[6] *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong. 2 sess., 543, 565.

[7] *Ibid.*, 664.

We have here, however, only the rudiments of the Hildreth tale. We must look to two other possible sources for the complete version. In the *Statesman's Manual* (1849), a collection of the public papers of the presidents, there was a sketch of Madison's administration, distinctly Federalist in tone, in which the following paragraph appeared.

> . . . Mr. Madison was waited on by several of the leading Republican members of Congress and informed, in substance, that war with England was now resolved upon by the Democratic party . . . that the people would not longer consent to a dilatory and inefficient course on the part of the national government; that unless a declaration of war took place previous to the presidential election, the success of the Democratic party might be endangered and the government thrown into the hands of the Federalists; that unless Mr. Madison consented to act with his friends and accede to a declaration of war with Great Britain neither his nomination nor his re-election to the presidency could be relied on. Thus situated, Mr. Madison concluded to waive his own objections to the course determined on by his political friends and to do all he could for the prosecution of a war for which he had no taste.

To this the editor of the volume, Edwin Williams, appended a note: "This information was derived, by a friend of the writer, from James Fisk, a Democratic member of Congress in 1812, and one of a committee who waited on Mr. Madison."[10]

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[8] *Ibid.*, 13 Cong. 1 sess., 254.

[9] Pickering to Shepard, Feb. 12, 1814, quoted in Henry Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), 457.

[10] *The Statesman's Manual* (Edwin Williams, Ed., New York, 1849), I. 348.

This was published five years after the death of Fisk and thirty-seven years after the event.

Seventeen years after the publication of Hildreth's sixth volume there appeared the *Life of Josiah Quincy* by Edmund Quincy, in which were incorporated selections from the speeches, diaries, and memoranda of the old Federalist gladiator. On page 259 of this work there is an account of the Madison nomination written by Josiah Quincy himself, which corresponds almost verbatim with the Hildreth story.[11] It is within the range of probability that Hildreth in preparing his sixth volume wrote to Quincy, who lived to extreme old age, asking him for further elucidation of his speech of January, 1813, and received this information in return. In any case the two accounts, as well as the so-called Fisk story, are virtually the same and represent the fully developed Federalist tradition.

Here, then, we have a typical example of the way that history is made. A plot is surmised by the opponents of the war, and the responsibility is fastened upon the President in such a way as to degrade his action and render the whole thing a political trick. A writer of Federalist sympathies accepts the tale, nearly forty years later, from the man who first started the story, and it is finally incorporated in a formal history of the United States.

Now it is apparent that these accounts, no matter how circumstantial, and even though from contemporaries, have the customary weakness of war-guilt stories in that they come solely from Madison's political enemies. The so-called evidence of Fisk is no exception, for it is at third hand, after his death, and through an evidently Federalist source. Nevertheless Hildreth's authority has carried the story into various narratives of the period and has tended to make all later historians treat it with a certain respect. One only, Channing, dismisses it as having "no evidence worth consideration."[12] The others appear to think that where there was so much smoke the possibility of some sort of fire ought not to be ignored. Yet none of them appears to have attempted a critical study of the foregoing and other pieces of so-called testimony, and it is to that that I wish to devote the rest of this paper. I wish to discover whether anything at all may be inferred as lying behind the Federalist tradition or whether it can be proved to be mere conjecture.

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[11] Edmund Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy* (Boston, 1867), 259.

[12] Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1920), IV. 453.

Let us, in the first place, see whether the Federalist story furnishes an explanation of something which without it remains obscure. Was it true that Madison was opposed to war, and that, unless some form of coercion is supposed to have taken place, his conduct is inexplicable? That was the whole basis of the tradition. Unless we can discover some situation in which nothing but the hypothesis of Congressional pressure on Madison can explain events, the narrative can scarcely be said to have any plausibility at all. To test this we must turn to the events of the winter and spring of 1811–1812.

By the end of 1811, Madison's policy towards Great Britain seemed to be exhausted. He had taken a position which the British were utterly unable to accept, and since neither he nor the Perceval ministry would back down, the only two visible alternatives were the inauguration of some different diplomatic plan or war. That the majority in Congress wanted war was made manifest in November, 1811, for a fiery westerner, Clay, was chosen Speaker, bills were introduced to begin military and financial preparations, and a series of belligerent speeches showed that war with Great Britain was intended in the near future. The War Hawks openly avowed their intention of occupying Canada as a reprisal for the British commercial outrages.

The only obscure element in the situation was the attitude of Madison. If war came, it would come on the issue prepared by his diplomacy, yet he seemed to feel that war was not his affair, but that of Congress. In his message of November, 1811, after summing up the grievances of the country, he recommended military preparations but did not go further. During the winter he remained silent while Congress wrangled over army and navy bills, watching proceedings with a curious detachment. The impression produced at the time was that of complete passivity on his part, from which Federalists and others drew the conclusion that he by no means shared the war fever that stirred House and Senate. Any modern president would have left the country in no doubt, but Madison, on constitutional grounds as well as from personal preference, exercised a nearly complete aloofness towards matters pending in Congress.

By spring the Federalists seem to have come to a strong belief in Madison's pacific tendencies, and as a corollary they assumed that the war party were similarly suspicious of his readiness for actual hostilities. A circumstance that served to confirm them in this idea was the fact that the Republican caucus for nominating a candidate for the Presidency was not called as usual in the winter, but postponed until late in May. The conclusion they drew is shown in Foster's letter of May 3, already quoted, to the effect that the nomination was being delayed until Madison could satisfy the war party of his intentions. So significant has this postponement seemed to some historians that they have felt bound, even while rejecting Hildreth's bargain-tale, to accept his explanations of the caucus delay. Babcock, for instance, after rejecting the bargain-story, makes the following suggestion:

> Madison knew that war was probably inevitable; he believed that the war party in Congress had the people behind them, and that if he were able to continue president he must be re-elected through the aid of the war-makers. Each side understood the other and tacitly accepted the situation; Madison secured his renomination but with it the direction of a distasteful war.[13]

Two other writers, McMaster and Schouler, take substantially the same view, and in addition point to a letter from Clay to Monroe, dated March 15, 1812, as probably containing the key to the situation. The letter ran, in substance:

> Since I had the pleasure of conversing with you this morning I have concluded, in writing, to ask consideration of the following recommendations:
>
> That the President recommend an embargo to last say 30 days, by a confidential message.
>
> That a termination of the embargo be followed by war.
>
> The objection to an embargo is that it will impede sales. The advantages are that it is a measure of some vigor, . . . that it will give tone to public sentiment . . . and will enable the president

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[13] Kendric C. Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (New York, 1906), 61.

> to look to the probable period of the commencement of hostilities. . . . It will all powerfully accelerate preparations for war.
>
> By the expiration of the embargo the *Hornet* will have returned with good news or bad and of course the question of war may then be fairly decided.
>
> Although the power of declaring war belongs to Congress I do not see that it less falls within the scope of the President's constitutional duty to recommend such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient than any other which, being suggested by him, they alone can adopt.[14]

McMaster emphasizes the historic significance of the letter in these words:

> It is certain that Clay did place before Monroe a plan of action which he wished the administration to follow. It is certain that the plan was followed. It is certain that no caucus met till, by following it, Madison had fully committed himself to war, and it is certain that in the caucus the war members gave him a warm support. Yet all this does not prove that Madison was coerced.[15]

With this Schouler fully agrees.[16]

Now the Federalists' suspicions of 1812 and their later development into a detailed story, and the modification proposed by McMaster and the others all rest on the assumption that Madison was known in the winter and spring of 1812 to be positively averse to war, and that some form of coercion, open or veiled, was needed to overcome his reluctance. Was this true? Were there signs of vacillation on his part? Did he oppose any threatening measures against England? Did he say or do anything indicating a desire to renew negotiations? The answer to this can only be, no. Not an atom of evidence has been printed that points in such a direction. Madison was passive in regard to Congressional matters, but not a word in his letters suggests that he deprecated the measures of the War Hawks. On February 7, for instance, he wrote to Jefferson criticising the army bill as inadequate; [17] on March 6, he wrote that the House had " got down the dose of taxes. It is the strongest proof they could give that they do not mean to flinch from the contest to which the mad conduct of G[reat] B[ritain] drives them." [18] Such language suggests that it was Madison who distrusted the resolution of the House, rather than the contrary. " The president," says Henry Adams, " as his office required, stood midway between the masses of his followers, but never failed to approve the acts and meet the wishes of the war members." [19]

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[14] Clay to Monroe, March 15, 1812. Library of Congress, Monroe Papers, XIII.

[15] John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1892), III. 448.

[16] James Schouler, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1894), II. 388.

[17] *Writings of James Madison* (Gaillard Hunt, Ed., New York, 1908), VIII. 176.

It is difficult to account for the fact that so many historical writers repeat the tradition that Madison was reluctant, or that " Madison held out long against the clamor for war." [20] The clearest disproof of this was given when on March 9 Madison took the provocative step of sending to Congress the Henry letters, consisting of the reports by a Canadian secret agent of conversations with leading Federalists. Its purpose could only be to throw added discredit on Great Britain and further the plans of the war party.

It was six days after this that Clay had his conference with Monroe as to the further steps of the program leading up to war. To sustain their point McMaster and Schouler are obliged to suppose that under the respectful wording of the letter to Monroe is concealed the dictation of a plan to the President. But such an hypothesis seems gratuitous. Madison, in sending the Henry letters to Congress, had already acted in exact conformity with the purposes of the war party. That Federalists might suspect him of pacific desires was possible, for they had no direct intercourse with him, but there is not a word in his utterances or acts of that period which supports the idea that he was clinging to peace.

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of Madison's harmony with the war leaders at this time was given by the events that followed closely upon the Clay letter. It was on March 24 that Pitkin of Connecticut rose in the House and read depositions proving that French frigates were burning American vessels for violating the Berlin Decree. The effect of this was paralyzing to the war party. " Nothing," says Henry Adams,

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[18] *Writings of Madison*, VIII. 182.

[19] Adams, *United States*, VI. 175.

[20] Samuel E. Morison, *Oxford History of the United States* (London, 1927), I. 283.

"could exceed the anger of Congressmen with France. As [Nathaniel] Macon wrote to [Joseph] Nicholson, . . . 'the Devil himself could not tell which government, England or France is the most wicked.'"[21] A sudden cry went up for war with France and the administration majority seemed on the point of disintegrating. James Monroe burst into a torrent of angry reproaches against the French minister, whose report of his words is worth quoting as showing both the exasperating situation in which the French action had placed the Administration and the complete unity of purpose between Madison and the war party at the time this bomb-shell exploded.

> He addressed me abruptly: [wrote Serurier, March 23] "Well, sir, it is then decided that we are to receive nothing but outrages from France! And at what a moment, too! At the very instant when we were going to war with her enemies! . . . Remember where we were two days ago. . . . We have made use of Henry's documents as a last means of exciting (*pour achever d'exalter*) the nation and Congress; . . . within a week we were going to propose the embargo, and the declaration of war was the immediate consequence of it! . . . It is at such a moment that your frigates come and burn our ships, destroy all our work, and put the Administration in the falsest and most terrible position in which a government can find itself placed. . . . Should the Executive now propose the embargo or the declaration of war, the whole Federal party — reinforced by the Clinton party, the Smith party, and the discontented Republicans — would rise in mass and demand why we persist in making war on England for maintaining her Orders in Council, when we have proofs so recent and terrible that the French Decrees are not withdrawn." He added that if the question were put at such a moment, he did not doubt that the Government would lose its majority.[22]

Now at this juncture it is significant to find that no matter how angry Monroe was with France, nor how staggered the Congressional war party was, Madison showed no signs of hesitation. As Henry Adams says, "Even under the exasperation caused by the conduct of France, he waited only for his party to recover composure."[23] On March 31 he took the next step in the program agreed upon with Clay two weeks before, although in so doing he had to compel the unfortunate Monroe to hold the following conversation with Foster, the British minister:

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[21] Adams, *United States*, VI. 196.

[22] *Ibid.*, 194–195.

[23] *Ibid.*, 197.

> . . . The President . . . could not now entertain the question as to whether the French Decrees were repealed, having already been convinced and declared that they were so. He [Monroe] said that the case of the two American ships which were burned could not be said to come under the Berlin and Milan decrees; — that the declaration of the French commodore of his having orders to burn all ships bound to or from an enemy's port was given only verbally, and might not have been well understood by the American captain, who did not very well understand French.[24]

One pities the man obliged to use such a contemptible quibble.

On the same day Monroe met the Congressional leaders and told them that the President was prepared to carry out the program. According to Randolph,

> . . . Mr. Monroe said to the committee that the President thought we ought to declare war before we adjourn, unless Great Britain recedes, of which there was no prospect. Mr. Monroe was asked by some of the Committee whether the President would recommend it [an embargo] by message, he answered that he would, if he could be assured it would be acceptable to the House. He also said Mr. Barlow had been instructed to represent to the French Government our sense of the injuries received; and to press upon them our demands for reparation — that if she refused us justice, the embargo would leave the policy as respects France, and indeed of both countries, in our hands.[25]

On the next day the embargo message was sent according to the agreement and was considered by the House in secret session. It is interesting to see how, whenever this matter was under debate, the Federalists, with their memories full of Jefferson's embargo, kept raising doubts as to Madison's real intentions. They suspected that it was not really meant for a war measure but was a revival of Jeffersonian tactics and a substitute for war. In reply the westerners and administration Republicans kept insisting that it was just what it purported to be. Smilie of Pennsylvania, one of the oldest members of the House and a close friend of Madison, undertook, when a member from his state had expressed doubts, to state the President's views with their utmost precision.

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[24] Adams, *United States*, VI. 198.

[25] *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong. 1 sess., 1593.

> Mr. Smilie [runs the account] expressed his surprise at the observations of his friend and colleague: he did not know from what quarter he had obtained his information that the President does not mean war. . . . He had heard but one sentiment from the President, which is *that we must make war* unless Great Britain relents. The President had always supposed that the embargo must precede war — the only difference has been as to the time. . . . The embargo is intended as a war measure. He would assure his colleagues it was intended by both the Executive and the Committee of Foreign Relations.[26]

The bill passed the House on April 2, but when it came back from the Senate, the time for its application had been extended to ninety days, wholly altering its character. Quincy, in his usual biting style, taunted the war party with backing down.

> The gentlemen who advocate this bill seem to be much offended that some of us do not believe that it is their intention to declare war at the end of the time limited. They treat the suggestion as a reflection on their personal veracity. . . . But those gentlemen must excuse me if I prefer to reason . . . rather from the nature of things than from the state of their minds. . . . I say then, distinctly, I do not believe that this embargo is a preparation for war, but I do believe that it is a refuge from the question of declaring war.[27]

Angry westerners, in reply, insisted that it was a war measure and only that, but they failed to convince the Federalists.

Madison's private letters, while not belligerent, certainly support Smilie's statement. On April 3 he wrote to Jefferson:

> It appears that . . . they prefer war with us to a repeal of their Orders in Council. We have nothing left, therefore, but to make ready for it. As a step to it an embargo for 60 days was recommended to Cong[res]s. . . . Whether if adopted for 60 days, it may beget apprehensions for a protraction and thence lead to admissible overtures before the sword is stained with blood cannot be foreknown with certainty.[28]

Three weeks later he wrote again to Jefferson, saying:

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[26] *Ibid.*, 1592. [27] *Ibid.*, 1604. [28] *Writings of Madison*, VIII. 185–186.

> You will have noticed that the Embargo as recommended to Cong[res]s was limited to 60 days. Its extension to 90 proceeded from the united votes of those who wished to make it a negotiating instead of a war measure, [and] of those who wished to put off the day of war as long as possible. . . . At present great differences of opinion exist as to the time and form of entering into hostilities; whether at a very early or later day or not before the end of the 90 days. . . .[29]

There is no sign of hesitation or reluctance on Madison's own part. What he is concerned with is the manifest disorganization of Congress.

This disorganization continued through the rest of April and May. No further legislation of importance was attempted. Members went home in large numbers, and the country relapsed into quiet. Although the war leaders had insisted again and again that the embargo must be terminated by war, little or nothing had been done to prepare for such an outcome. The fact was, everybody was waiting to see what further developments might come from the dispatches from France and England which should come in the long-awaited sloop *Hornet*.

It was in this period of waiting and marking time that the Congressional caucus was called which, on May 19, nominated Madison. According to the theory of Babcock, McMaster, and Schouler this meant that the war party was now satisfied that Madison was too deeply committed to their program to withdraw and hence might safely be renominated. According to the Federalist war-guilt story it meant that some time in May he had finally abandoned opposition to war and agreed to the infamous bargain. But was Madison hanging back? Was the war party in firm control and only retarded by Madison's reluctance? The only answer that can be given on the basis of Madison's letters and the contemporary references to him by people who reported conversations is that he was standing exactly where he had been ever since the opening of Congress. England must accept the American contentions regarding the French Decrees and withdraw her Orders in Council, or war was inevitable. It was the war party that was demoralized, not Madison. Congress was doing hardly anything in May, and so far was Madison from holding out against a war fever that it was he who expressed disquiet over the weakness of Congress. There is no need of the bargain story to explain anything for it lacks any basis of fact as to its main assumption.

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[29] *Writings of Madison,* VIII. 188.

But before we discard it entirely, we must notice another story, quite different in detail from those we have hitherto considered, but which has been suggested as furnishing an explanation for the Quincy accusation. This was discovered by Henry Adams and published in his *Life of Gallatin.* It possesses interest as being nearly contemporary. Timothy Pickering, the Massachusetts Federalist, wrote to Abraham Shepard on February 12, 1814, saying that Hanson had cited him as authority for his charge made in the House on June 18, 1813, and asking for further information. Shepard replied, February 20, that Senator Worthington of Ohio had visited at his house early in April, 1812.

> He then told me [wrote Shepard] that Mr. Bayard would first be sent to England to make one more effort to prevent the war; that Mr. Madison had consented to do so; and that Mr. Bayard had agreed to go; that he had used every means in his power with some more of the moderate men of their party to effect this object, and that he had frequent conversations with Mr. Madison and Bayard on this subject before it was effected, and that I might rely upon it that such measures would be adopted.

After the declaration of war and the adjournment of Congress, Worthington spent another night at Mr. Shepard's on his way home to Ohio and told him that

> . . . as soon as he returned to the city from my house, he was informed of what had taken place by a set of hot-headed, violent men, and he immediately waited on Mr. Madison to know the cause. Mr. Madison told him that his friends had waited upon him and said, if he did send Mr. Bayard to England they would forsake him and be opposed to him, and he was compelled to comply . . . with their wishes. . . . I then asked General Worthington who these hot-headed, violent men were. He said Mr. Clay was the principal. I cannot positively say, but think Grundy was mentioned with Clay. As I understood the business, a caucus was held and Mr. Clay and others appointed and waited on the Presi-

dent in the absence of Worthington, which will ascertain when this business took place.[30]

This story is also of Federalist origin and is also at second-hand. Shepard told Pickering what he remembered of what Worthington told him eighteen months before. One author, Gordy, accepts it in full.

> One does not hazard much [he remarks] . . . in saying that this party urged the President to make one more effort to preserve peace and that Madison was not unwilling to do it; but that Clay and the leading war men gave him to understand that he must give up the contemplated mission or lose their support and that Madison accordingly gave up the mission. Men with a definite policy generally control those who are willing to let events take their course.[31]

Henry Adams in his *Life of Gallatin* was inclined to think that this episode may have been at the bottom of the war-guilt tradition.

> It is not improbable [he says] that this party may have wished Mr. Madison to send a special mission to England . . . It is possible that Clay and his friends may have told Mr. Madison that in such a step he must not expect their support. This is all that can be now affirmed in regard to the celebrated charge that Mr. Madison made war in order to obtain a re-election.[32]

A dozen years later, however, he withdrew even so much support. "Perhaps Clay and Grundy opposed this suggestion," he says in the *History,* "with the warmth ascribed to them, but certainly no sign of hesitation could be detected in Madison's conduct between the meeting of Congress in November and the declaration of war in June." [33]

So far no corroborative material for this tale has been found. There is nothing, apparently, in the papers of Worthington or Bayard and nothing in the papers of Madison. The Shephard letter suggested that the time of the conference was during Worthington's absence from Washington "in early April," but the only quotations we have from Madison at that time abundantly bear out Adams's remark that they show no signs of hesitation. What Madison was looking for was some new offer from England, not a chance to reopen negotiations himself. In addition to the April letters to Jefferson, already quoted, there is an account in Adams's history of an interview with Foster on April 3, which can scarcely be reconciled with any idea that he was harboring the plan of a mission to England. Foster had asked him squarely whether the embargo then before Congress meant war.

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[30] Adams, *Gallatin,* 458.

[31] John P. Gordy, *A History of Political Parties in the United States* (New York, 1902), II. 204.

[32] Adams, *Gallatin,* 459.

[33] Adams, *United States,* VI. 197.

> "Oh, no!" said Madison, "embargo is not war," but he added that in his opinion the United States would be amply justified in war, whatever might be its expediency, for Great Britain was actually waging war on them and within a month had captured eighteen ships of the estimated value of fifteen hundred thousand dollars. He said he should be glad still to receive any propositions England might have to make, and that Congress would be in session at the period fixed for terminating the embargo.[34]

This came close to being an ultimatum with a time limit, and it abundantly justifies Adams's conclusion that whatever the effect of the French outrages on Monroe and on Congress, they did not swerve Madison from his position.

Again we are left with a tale of Federalist origin almost wholly without corroboration. That the plan for an English mission may have been entertained is perfectly possible, but it certainly did not go far enough to emerge into the light anywhere save in this letter, and that it assumed the status described by Shepard is altogether unlikely. A Federalist in repeating such a tale would be under every temptation to exaggerate its importance. The interesting thing about it is that it gives nearly contemporary evidence of the Federalist belief in a visit by Clay and Grundy to Madison which in some way forced on war. As such it is capable of a different interpretation, as will presently be shown.

Even with this modification, then, one is unable to discover any plausibility in the Federalist story of coercion of Madison by Clay and Grundy and of the sale of the renomination in exchange for a war message. Every feature of the story in all its versions goes back to the Federalist suspicions in the spring of 1812 and lacks direct confirmation, besides failing to supply an explanation for any action taken or decision made. The war-guilt tradition as printed by Hildreth cannot then be said to have any historical probability. It goes the way of all such traditions.

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[34] *Ibid.*, 199–200.

But in spite of what has just been said, we have not finished with the matter. Even granting that the bargain story is a myth, it is to be observed that throughout the whole series runs the tradition that there was, at some time in 1812, a conference between Clay and his associates and Madison which determined the war. This appears first in the Foster dispatch of June 21, 1812, comes strongly to the front in Hanson's charges of June, 1813, and plays a prominent part in the later Quincy and Hildreth stories as also in that credited to Fisk, as well as in Shepard's version of what he heard from Worthington. Now it so happens that there was an occasion in this same spring of 1812 when the probability of such a conference assumes an entirely different aspect from anything we have heretofore considered, and before throwing the Federalist tales into the discard we must turn our attention to that. Let us review what happened about a week after Madison had been renominated.

It was on May 23 that the newspapers and dispatches from the *Hornet* were brought to the capital, ending seven weeks of suspense. On the English side there was a dispatch, dated April 10, from Castlereagh, who had succeeded Wellesley in the Foreign Office, which could hardly be said to help matters much. In it the ministry reiterated its willingness to rescind the Orders as soon as France should do the same unconditionally with her Decrees, but not before. At the same time Castlereagh intimated that England might give up her licensing system and substitute a rigid blockade. At any other time this would have at least opened a way for renewed negotiations, but not in 1812. Relying on a letter written in 1827, Adams quotes Madison as saying that this letter left no choice between war and degradation. Hence, says Adams, " acting at once on the theory that Castlereagh's instructions of April 10 gave the last formal notice intended by the British government, President Madison prepared a Message recommending an immediate declaration of war," [35]

[35] Adams, *United States*, VI. 221.

But as a matter of fact it was not " at once " but only after ten days that Madison's message appeared and it can easily be shown from evidence of various kinds that the order of events was not nearly so simple as Adams implies. A good deal happened that needs explanation. To begin with, it is to be noted that the *Hornet* dispatches from France were fully as exasperating as those from England, leading to a renewed outburst of exasperation. Again, it is a dispatch of Serurier which throws light on the situation.

> Soon [he says] it was learned that the *Hornet* had brought nothing favorable, and that Mr. Barlow had as yet concluded nothing with your Excellency. On this news the furious declamations of the Federalists, of the commercial interests, and of the numerous friends of England were redoubled; the Republicans, deceived in their hopes, joined in the outcry, and for three days nothing was heard but a general cry for war against France and England at once.[36]

Now here we strike a significant fact. The situation was so confused, the anger against both nations so violent that Madison himself was staggered. At least one can easily draw that conclusion from a letter which he wrote to Jefferson on May 25.

> France [he said] has done nothing towards adjusting our differences with her. . . . In the mean time, the business is become more than ever puzzling. To go to war with Engl[an]d and not with France arms the federalists with new matter and divides the Republicans. . . . To go to war ag[ain]st both, presents a thousand difficulties, above all, that of shutting all the ports of the Continent of Europe ag[ain]st our Cruisers, who can do little without the use of them. It is pretty certain also, that it would not gain over the Federalists, who w[oul]d turn all those difficulties ag[ain]st the Administration.[37]

The man who wrote that letter was not engaged in drafting a war message, but was distinctly at sea as to his course.

On that same day, as if to add fuel to the anti-French clamor, he submitted to Congress the French diplomatic correspondence for the past months. He seemed to be throwing

[36] *Ibid.*, 217.

[37] *Writings of Madison*, VIII. 190–191.

the entire responsibility upon that body when Congress itself was paralyzed by conflicting currents. The House spent its time on relief bills and trifling matters; the Senate dealt languidly with a militia bill. Everything seemed to be at a standstill.

Suddenly, on May 29, the stagnation was abruptly broken when Randolph, the gadfly of the House, rose and burst into a speech. "Mr. Randolph," runs the account, "said that rumors to which he could not shut his ears [of an intended declaration of war on Monday next, with closed doors] . . . impelled him to make a last effort to rescue the country from the calamities which, he feared, were impending over it."[38] A member called him to order on the ground that there was no motion before the House, but the Speaker allowed him to continue and presently he was in the midst of a violent attack on the Administration for crediting the supposed withdrawal of the French Decrees. Calhoun stood this as long as he could and then broke in, demanding that Randolph be called to order for speaking when there was no motion pending. Clay then ordered him to produce his motion in writing and when Randolph appealed, the House sustained the ruling, sixty-seven to forty-two. Randolph then offered his motion which was to the effect that it was not expedient to resort to a war against Great Britain, but the House refused to consider it, seventy-two to thirty-six. So Randolph was muzzled by a solid majority vote. Evidently something had happened.

It is precisely at this point that the hypothesis of a conference between the war leaders and Madison becomes not only plausible but necessary, in order to explain the sequence of events. On May 25, Madison was still waiting for Congress, deploring its divisions and uncertain as to the proper policy. By May 29, the rumor was already in circulation that war would be voted three days later. What is more probable than that the war party, rallying after the first confusion of May 23 to 27, determined to push through their program and notified Madison that the time had come to act? It was perfectly obvious from his behavior at the time of the Embargo Message that he would not move until he was assured that the two houses would follow. Much less would he do so when it was a question of war not with one country but possibly with two, and when public opinion was in a state of confusion. What, in addition, would be more natural than a conviction on the part of these same leaders that unless the Administration took a firm position on the matter and definitely committed the country to war with Great Britain, the result would be such political demoralization that the next election, only six months away, might go to the Federalists? The New York members of Congress had conspicuously abstained from the caucus which renominated Madison, and the state Legislative caucus was known to be on the point of making a bolting nomination, that of De Witt Clinton. Something had to be done and done quickly. Let us see whether the several versions of the war-guilt tradition are compatible with such an hypothesis and whether certain others, not yet cited, may not bring added support.

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[38] *Annals of Congress,* 12 Cong. 1 sess., 1451.

To begin with, it will be noticed that the first hint, chronologically, that found in Foster's dispatch of June 21, 1812, saying that Madison was coerced by leaders of the war party, who "threatened to abandon him if he flinched," shows that while his Federalist informants did not know, they already believed in the existence of some conference which forced war on political grounds. Quincy's speech of the next January, which has been interpreted as referring to the renomination of Madison, does not in fact say more than that westerners and southerners "distinctly stated" that their "support" of the President "depended upon the Cabinet's coming up to the point of war with Great Britain." This is still more marked in Hanson's charge of June, 1813: "You know sir," he shouted, "that a committee called upon him and told him if he did not recommend a declaration of war he would lose the election. And then he sent his message." This evidently refers to some action taken just before the war message. Even the Fisk story, which describes the coercion as taking place before the nomination, shows the war leaders as throwing their main emphasis upon the danger of defeat in the election. The only accounts which fail to support this hypothesis are the circumstantial narratives of Hildreth and of Quincy, which purport to describe events that happened a considerable time before the war message.

It is also possible that the Shepard story may be fitted in at the same time. Shepard wrote to Pickering that the time when the hot-headed, violent men waited on Madison could be fixed by the date of Worthington's absence from the Senate. He supposed this to be " in early April," but the Senate journals reveal Worthington in almost constant attendance at that time. Whether or not he was absent for a day or two in April, there can be no doubt that he was away from the Senate between May 22 and June 11, precisely the time within which the supposed conference took place. Worthington did not tell Shepard of the affair until after the adjournment of Congress on July 6, and may well have been referring to his May absence. In that case it is quite possible that this is a distorted reference to the conference which decided on the war message.

But this is not all. There remain two pieces of evidence which do not come from Federalist sources and which point directly to the time preceding the sending of the war message for a decisive conference. The first concerns the personage who plays the leading part in the affair, namely Clay. In 1846 Calvin Colton, a fervent admirer and personal friend, published his *Life,* having had free access to Clay's papers and to his recollections, as he says in his preface. In it he printed the following account, which differs markedly from the Federalist versions, but which apparently refers to the same event.

> The well-known moderation of President Madison's character demanded powerful influences to bring him up to the required temper, for the responsibilities of this new position as the head of the government; and there was probably but one man who was capable by his extraordinary power over others, of imparting to him the spirit that was needed for the time. It hardly need be said that HE was the Speaker of the House of Representatives — Mr. Clay. By the same cause, Congress was ready for the war before the President was. He was still laboring in vain at the oar of negotiation with Mr. Foster, the British minister, when an informal deputation from the other branch of the government waited upon him with Mr. Clay at their head, and before they retired the die was cast. Nothing remained but the formal act of declaration.[39]

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[39] Calvin Colton, *Life and Times of Henry Clay* (New York, 1846), I. 161.

This, as will be seen, corresponds exactly with the hypothesis suggested, that Madison would not act until notified that Congress was ready, and coming from Clay's biographer it contains no hint of any bargain. It exalts Clay as the determining force, but through influence, not coercion.

Finally there was published in 1908 an article written by Joseph Gales and found among the papers of R. K. Crallé, editor of the works of Calhoun. Gales had been editor and publisher in 1812 of the *National Intelligencer*, a Washington organ of the war party and a strong supporter of the Madison administration. It is chiefly devoted to showing the close sympathy between Monroe and the war element, but it also gives the following explanation of Madison's action.

> More than six months had passed since Congress met, and the question of actual war was still in suspense. At length, after private conferences, a deputation of Members of Congress, with Mr. Clay at their head, waited upon the President, and, upon the representations of the readiness of a majority of Congress to vote the war if recommended, the Pres[i]d[e]nt, on the first Monday in June, transmitted to Congress his message. . . .[40]

One writer, Gaillard Hunt, the editor of Madison's writings, accepts this article as an authentic piece of evidence, but no other historian seems to have noticed it except Channing, who accepts Gales's testimony as to Monroe's influence, but ignores the rest.

There is a distinct similarity between these last two accounts, coming as they do from Madison's supporters. They make no mention of any political considerations; they do not hint at coercion; they ignore dissension in the party; and they agree in placing the conference immediately before the sending of the message. It is true that, standing alone, they would not carry much weight, for Colton's version, although published in Clay's lifetime, was thirty-four years after the event, and Gales's narrative is supposed to have been written in 1850. It is the fact that they had access to memories which were not Federalist that gives them a certain standing.

The significant thing is that all these stories represent a persistent tradition that the sending of the war message was the result of the waiting of a committee upon Madison, headed by Clay. They point to the precise time, between May 25 and May 29, when such action was necessary and when, according to the evidence, Madison changed from passive waiting to decisive action. The constant assertion in nearly all the stories of a connection between the war message and the coming election adds a highly probable element, in view of the situation then existing. Clay and his followers were zealous politicians and saw perfectly well the need of a campaign issue to extricate the party from its confused situation. Without much doubt the committee made it clear that unless the Republican party with Madison as its candidate wished to run the risk of defeat, the war message must be sent at once. It was probably this warning which, coming to Federalist ears, gave rise to the later tradition of a threat to withhold the nomination from Madison, a feature which appears only in the latest form of the story, but is lacking from the contemporary accounts as well as from the Republican versions.

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[40] *American Historical Review*, XIII. 309.

It was perfectly possible, then, for Clay to deny having made Madison's renomination the price for his consent to sending a war message. As the evidence shows, Madison at no time opposed war as an ultimate step and no coercion was needed. Clay had agreed with Madison as early as March 15 on a definite policy, and the only doubtful element was the temper of Congress. The conference that did take place cannot be in any sense termed coercion. It was rather a notification that the program interrupted in March might now be resumed, since the majority was not to be turned aside into any rash double war policy.

If this hypothesis be sound, the war-guilt tale in its fully developed form disappears, but it can be shown to contain a kernel of probable truth in its pointing to a conference which had nothing in the nature of a bargain about it. Nor did it have anything sinister, beyond the fact that the Congressional leaders notified Madison of their readiness to support him in entering upon a war based on a diplomatic fiction and bound to appear both partisan and insincere to a large part of the United States. It was this conference, furthermore, which decided on the war, for Madison would have continued negotiating indefinitely unless Clay had furnished the necessary impulse.

The Federalists had good and sufficient cause to detest Madison and to execrate his diplomatic policy. The latter has few defenders, if any, in historical writing. But their attempt to brand him as a weakling and a tool of Clay and Grundy, and as forced by a threat against his personal ambition to adopt a policy he disliked cannot be sustained. Madison had the kind of tenacity, stubbornness, and steadiness which a small dried-up man sometimes develops, that can outlast the most vociferous energy of a dominating personality. He was not impressive, but he had a backbone, and indefensible as his diplomacy was, he went to war with his eyes open and as the necessary consequence of his own decisions.

Mr. Norcross communicated copies of letters in his collection from three Vice-Presidents of the United States: Daniel D. Tomkins, George M. Dallas, and William R. King.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1931

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 8, 1931, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

By permission of the American Antiquarian Society, a photostat copy of its Almanac of Nathan Bowen, 1730, containing a diary thought to have been kept by Judge Jonathan Remington (H. C. 1696).

By permission of the same Society, photostat copies of its diaries of the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman, 1721 to 1784, first minister of Westborough, Mass.

From Charles Warren, in memory of his father, our late associate, Winslow Warren, long the Senior Member of the Society, 145 volumes relating to Napoleon and his times, collected by his father over a long period of years.

By purchase, photostats of Part 1 of Abstracts of English Shipping Records relating to Massachusetts Ports, in the Public Record Office in London, compiled by the Essex Institute, consisting of entrance and clearance records, 1686–1717.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Samuel Henshaw, a silver service given as a testimonial of respect by the New England Guards to his father, Captain Joseph Lyman Henshaw, their commander, on October 10, 1854.

From the grandchildren of Dorothy Lancaster Libby, through Charles Thornton Libby, of Portland, Maine, a quill-work piece, a baptismal apron embroidered in colors, and a painting of Pocahontas, done at a young ladies' finishing school in Boston by Mary Woodbury, of Beverly, who later (March 3, 1736/7) married Dr. Benjamin Jones; also a silver birthday spoon of her daughter, Lydia Jones, who married the Reverend Thomas Lancaster, minister of Scarborough, Maine, from 1775 to 1831.

From Sir Harold I. Stiles, of East Lothian, Scotland, through Frederick Snare, of New York, a colored print of the Boston "Stump," England.

From Charles Warren, a photographic reproduction of a painting showing Napoleon with his troops before Moscow.

From General Francis Henry Appleton, a photograph of the Old Gaol, York Village, Maine, now the home of the Old York Historical Society.

From Miss Harriet Elizabeth Bowdlear, of Roxbury, two engravings, of the Reverend Daniel Sharp, minister of the Charles Street Baptist Church, Boston, and of the Reverend Thomas Baldwin, minister of the Second Baptist Church, Boston.

From William C. Endicott, a photograph of the Museum, Sieur de Monts' Spring, Bar Harbor, Maine.

From Colonel Charles E. Banks, a glass negative of the letter written by the Church of York, Maine, to the Church in Rowley, November 10, 1673.

The President announced the death of José Toribio Medina, an Honorary Member, at Santiago, Chile, on December 11, 1930.

Charles Thornton Davis, of Marblehead, was elected a Resident Member, and Herbert Putnam, of Washington, D. C., a Corresponding Member.

The President announced the publication and distribution to members of Volume 63 of the *Proceedings,* including meetings from October, 1929, to June, 1930, and of the *Journals of the House of Representatives,* Volume 12, 1734–1735.

Professor William Scott Ferguson read a paper on

Athenian War Finance

For a long period, both in ancient and mediæval times, war was waged without the expenditure of much public money. Armies were closed to men unable to equip themselves for fighting at their own expense. State arsenals were unknown. The cost of a knight's armor, both in early Greece and Rome and in feudal Europe, debarred non-nobles from being effective soldiers. In these circumstances, armies were necessarily small and societies aristocratic. In the practice of war and its mimicry in trials of strength, suits of armor were the fitting prizes. Indeed, they might be the objects of real fighting, as they were its most immediate spoils. When Patroclus lost Achilles' armor on his defeat at the hands of

Hector, Achilles was put out of the fighting. It was not to Agamemnon, the commander-in-chief, that he went to get a new equipment, but to his mother-goddess Thetis; and he was able once again to leave his tent only when Hephæstus, yielding to Thetis' entreaties, outfitted him anew. To save one's life by throwing away one's armor in flight was a major catastrophe, and it remained a disgrace long after progress in metallurgy made armor less expensive, and new tactics simplified a soldier's equipment. Archilochus, the archcontemner of conventions, might say of the blameless shield which he left in a thicket in Thrace, "Let it go. I shall get a better one"; but his bravado betrays the ignominy. The development of the phalanx in Greece and of the legion in Rome opened the ranks to the middle classes of society, the yeomen or small farmers essentially: it did not change the fundamental condition — that only those might fight who could themselves furnish their own defensive and offensive weapons. The state waged war, afterward as before, with little cost to itself.

The conditions of warfare corresponded. Campaigns were commonly forays into neighbors' territories and their sequels. During the age of the nobles they may have been prolonged seriously; after they came to be waged with more numerous forces, fighting was, in the main, a seasonal occupation. It was the affair of men who at other times had to be about their own work, earning, *inter alia,* the means to equip themselves for battle. Pericles affirms this to be true of the Lacedæmonians as late as the opening of the Great War in 431 B.C.:

> They till their lands [he declares in a speech reported by Thucydides] with their own hands; they have no wealth, either private or public; besides, they have had no experience in protracted or transmarine wars, because, owing to their poverty, they only wage brief campaigns separately against one another. Now people so poor cannot be manning ships or frequently sending out expeditions by land, since they would have to be away from their properties and at the same time would be drawing upon their own resources for their expenses.[1]

It was a maxim of such warfare that operating armies should maintain themselves in the enemy's country after the supplies they carried with them had been exhausted. Failing this, they had to return home.

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[1] *Thucydides,* I. 141 (Translation by Smith in Loeb Classics).

The struggle against the Persians opened a new era in the military history of the Greeks; and since Athens was the leader in the offensive war which followed the repulse of Xerxes at Salamis and Platæa, it was upon her that the task fell of grappling with the financial problems inherent in the new operations. The pre-conditions for the change which then transformed the character of Greek warfare are determined correctly by Thucydides, in the magisterial introduction to his *History,* as the growth of public wealth in Greece and the pooling of it for unified efforts by the system of alliances which was at once the blessing and the bane of the fifth century. The financial problems which Athens had to face arose from several necessities: the creating of a strong fleet of up-to-date warships; the finding of crews for them for far-distant expeditions without drawing on the man-power enlisted in the army; and the conduct of lengthy siege operations.

The funds required for the construction of the nucleus of the fleet came from the mines at Laurium, which fortunately yielded at the right moment an extraordinary amount of silver. According to earlier practice, the profits should have been divided among the citizens; but the " demagogue " Themistocles worsted the " conservative " Aristides, and persuaded the people to forego their immediate personal gain in the interest of national preparedness. This was a windfall. The permanent support of the marine and transmarine activity of the Athenians in the following generation was derived from two sources: in part, from the outlays of money, voluntary in theory and stimulated to large dimensions by the prevailing spirit of rivalry, made by rich citizens, who assumed in turns the expense of keeping in fighting trim the warships of which they were given annually the command; and, in larger part, by the tribute assessed upon the " allies " associated under Athenian leadership in the Delian Confederacy.

There is no way of estimating with any precision the yearly expenditures of the Trierarchs. They varied from year to year according to the wealth and public spirit of the individuals upon whom this duty devolved, and according to the magnitude of naval expeditions. The average outlay of one man during seven occasions (six years, from September 411 to September 405 B.C.) on which he was Trierarch amounted to one talent yearly.[2] Since 300 triremes were kept seaworthy,[3] as many talents annually would be called for on this basis of computation. But the same man who tells us that he expended a talent per annum affirms that the law governing his outlay would have been satisfied with less than one quarter of this sum; and the years of his Trierarchies were a period of continuous naval warfare. Moreover, all the triremes were not in commission simultaneously. All we can say is that this office put a severe strain on the fortunes of the rich, which they could sustain only in the epoch of greatest national prosperity. The tribute was assessed at 460 talents annually, of which from 400 to 430 talents were actually collected. Other imperial levies raised this amount to 600 talents before the death of Pericles.

We cannot determine what proportion of it was needed to replace old or lost vessels, pay the crews (200 men, in round numbers, per ship) during campaigns, pay the soldiers employed in sieges, etc., and build and repair ship-houses and fortifications; but we are told by Thucydides that at a date determinable at *ca.* 450 B.C. Athens had accumulated a surplus of 9700 talents. At the prevalent rate of interest (12 per cent.), this would have yielded every citizen of voting age more than he would have earned in indemnities for jury service had he sat on the courts every day of every year. It accordingly represented a colossal sum of money. Since all the tribute put together for the twenty-seven years which had then elapsed since the founding of the Delian League in 478/7 B.C. amounted to less than 11,000 talents, this surplus cannot have been accumulated from the contributions of the allies alone.

Nor did it need to. From time immemorial, piety among the Greeks took the form of making votive offerings in the shrines of the gods; and, since the gods had the same sense of values as their worshippers, these offerings were most acceptable when they consisted of objects of silver and gold. The patron deity of Athens was, of course, Athena; and it was in her shrine on the Acropolis that the richest stock of *ex-votos* was assembled. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C., the treasures of the other gods had a value of *ca.* 700 talents. These minor deities were in a less advantageous position than Athena. Athena alone it was who benefited regularly from the spoils of war and from fines and confiscations of property decreed by the courts. Her portion of such moneys was a tithe; of the tribute it was a sixtieth. Moreover, she had had, from time immemorial, estates and other properties in Attica, and, from their founding, in all Athenian colonies. Of these she enjoyed the rentals. We know, for example, that in 428 B.C. she was given the tenth of all the lands of Mytilene, from which she derived an income of ten talents yearly. It was to Athena primarily that votive offerings of the state were made. We have no means of determining what part of the surplus of 9700 talents at hand in *ca.* 450 B.C. consisted of Athena's purely personal property; but it cannot have been small. For generations and generations the Athenians had been a pious folk; and there is no reason to believe that the Goddess had lost any considerable portion of her treasures at any time. The Tamiæ, or Treasurers, who administered her funds, were an ancient magistracy, coeval with the King perhaps, and always restricted to citizens of the highest property class.

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[2] *Lysias,* XXI. 2. In terms of silver content a talent was worth *ca.* $1320, in terms of purchasing power, perhaps *ca.* $5800.

[3] *Thucy.,* II. 13. 8.

It was an ancient practice in Athens, traceable perhaps to an epoch when all revenues were received in kind, to distribute among the population public funds unexpended at the end of the year. Themistocles had successfully challenged this shortsighted finance at the crisis of the Persian menace. There was a strong temptation to resume it, which did not grow less with the strengthening of the political influence of the lower classes. To protect themselves and their future needs against their own instincts the Athenians *gave* to Athena the surpluses of the tribute, thus safeguarding them from dissipation and making them, like Athena's own treasures, available for use only in the form of loans — loans, moreover, which, by a self-denying ordinance, could be made only when authorization therefor had been granted by a special vote of the People in an Assembly voting secretly, with a quorum of not less than 6000 citizens present, the same procedure, in fact, required for levies on private capital. It speaks well for the continence of Athenian democracy and the resoluteness of its leaders that they succeeded in safeguarding an immense reserve of ready money against demagogic spoliation.

Yet eventually the reserve must reach a height which made its further increase unnecessary. In Pericles' judgment this point arrived in *ca.* 447 B.C. By this time the war which had been waged for over ten years (461–450 B.C.) with the Peloponnesians was ended; and the Convention of Kallias (448 B.C.) had brought about a peace with the Persians which was to last for thirty-five years. Large annual surpluses of tribute were to be foreseen. Pericles was too good a statesman not to be an accomplished politician. He inaugurated a policy which consolidated his position with his own supporters, did a minimum of injury to the historically just contention of the allies, now really subjects, that the funds accumulated belonged in large part to them and not to Athens, and at the same time set a limit to the greed of the populace. Formally, the reserve belonged to the Goddess. It was tenable that she would be equally pleased to have her shrine adorned with it as to keep it in coined silver in her treasure room. Acting on this assumption, Pericles began the construction of the superb monuments on the Acropolis, first (447–432 B.C.) the Parthenon and (447–438 B.C.) the gold and ivory statue of Athena, then in turn the Propylæa, the temple of Athena Nike, and the Erechtheum. Large sums were thus drawn annually from the treasure of Athena. But Pericles was too sagacious to jeopardize the state by depleting the war reserve unduly. At some date, not narrowly determinable, the Hellenotamiæ, who had charge of the tribute, were required to keep turning over their unexpended balances to Athena till such a time as a new total of 3000 talents should have been realized. Expenditures on buildings and emergencies were thus limited to the reserve on hand in 447 B.C. and to temple income. In 434 B.C., the 3000 talents were paid in in full. Meanwhile a sum which may be estimated at from 4700 to 5700 talents had been expended, thus reducing the original reserve to an amount between 4000 to 5000 talents. Hence in 434 B.C., the war fund aggregated from 7000 to 8000 talents. In the three years which elapsed before the Great War began it was reduced to 6000 talents, the drafts for buildings (notably the Propylæa) being supplemented by unusual outlays for war (notably the costly siege of Potidæa); but the balance was sufficient to justify Pericles in accepting with equanimity the war forced on him, as he claimed, by the Peloponnesians. "Wars," he affirmed, "are won by a wise policy and an abundant supply of money. . . It is accumulated wealth and not taxes levied under stress that sustains wars."[4] He thought he had safeguarded the future.

But, to quote Thucydides, "war is a harsh teacher." The war which began in 431 B.C. had an interlude of uncertain peace (421–415 B.C.), but otherwise it continued without cessation till 404 B.C., for twenty-seven years in all, according to Thucydides. It was prodigal of public money as no war had been theretofore. On the Athenian side it was waged throughout on a monetary basis. The times were definitely past when the rich who served in the cavalry and the yeomen who manned the infantry regiments covered their own field expenses. The most they did was to furnish their own weapons. Hence within three years of the beginning of hostilities it was obvious that the reserve would not stand the strain long. To increase income, a levy on capital of 200 talents was laid in 428 B.C.; the following year the tribute was raised appreciably; and finally in 425/4 B.C. it was doubled or tripled, we are as yet uncertain which. There was then less need for such large borrowings from Athena. Between 433 and 426 B.C., 4024 talents, 1620 drachmas, 2 obols had been loaned to the state by the Goddess (4791 talents, 3206 drachmas, 1 obol by all the gods); between 426 and 422 B.C., only 753 talents, 1253 drachmas (808 talents, 1241 drachmas by all). The interest rate was also lowered. Prior to 426 it had been about 6 per cent.,[5] subsequently it was a drachma a day for five talents, or roughly 1 1/5 per cent. per annum. By 422 B.C. the arrears of interest due Athena amounted to over 1248 talents.

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[4] *Thucy.*, II. 13. 2.

[5] Allen B. West in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association,* LXI (1930), 235.

At the outbreak of the war Pericles had had 1000 talents set aside as a special reserve for the case, should it arrive, that "the enemy should attack the city with a fleet."[6] Apart from this iron reserve, which was safeguarded by the menace of the most formidable penalties against anyone who should move, or put a motion to vote, to disturb it, the war fund had shrunk to a few hundred talents when the Peace of Nicias of 421 B.C. put an end to the war — temporarily, as it proved.

Before tracing further the history of Athenian war finance, it is in place to consider the economic aspects of the war reserve. Its accumulation was a feat of which few governments have been capable. To mobilize for war insurance a sum equal to the entire national wealth is hard to parallel; yet this is what the Athenian democracy accomplished. Two generations later (378–7 B.C.), the property, real and movable, of all the inhabitants of Attica, citizens and resident aliens, was 5750 talents. It was doubtless much greater during the Periclean age; yet, even then, it cannot have been much, if any, more than 10,000 talents. Such a reserve represents a financial preponderance of the state over private individuals unfamiliar to us — of the state, not of the government; for of government, as distinguished from state, Athens was ignorant. It did not even have a word in its vocabulary for *government*. The opulence of the community presented as striking a contrast with the average of individual wealth as did the buildings on the Acropolis with the houses of the citizens. Athens had many of the aspects of a social club — a man's club; and like the authorities of a club, while assiduous in promoting its finances, the government had other functions than to advance the economic interests of its individual members. Had the state gone into business with its capital — that is to say, loaned it at prevalent interest rates to farmers, merchants, manufacturers, shipbuilders, and the like — it must have abandoned completely its régime of economic *laissez faire*. It must have acquired a control over private enterprise irreconcilable with the extraordinary dilution, through subdivision, of public authority which was its most distinguishing feature as an instrument of government — a control which at the same time must have been destructive of its cardinal social tenet, that so far as possible each man should live as he pleased. Nor could it have put its money to such a use without making it unavailable for its specific purpose — the financing of future wars. Had these 9700 talents been invested, they must have been called in at the outbreak of war. But this was an impossibility. Once they had been converted into economic goods — farms, merchandise, factories, ships — they must have become "frozen" with a rigor foreign to modern experience. For the credit system of mobilizing national wealth in an emergency was unknown. Before the state could let its silver go out of its hands, or hold it and issue bonds to an equivalent amount, business must have developed the use of paper securities; and this Athenian business did not do. "Statesmen," as Mr. H. A. L. Fisher remarked on a recent occasion, "can only do business with the intellectual currency of their own age." The Athenians had no alternative to holding their war reserve in the coffers of Athena and letting it lie there as dead money, like the iron reserve kept by Imperial Germany at Spandau. Periclean Athens waged wars with the savings of the past: we with the savings of the future. Wars waged with current revenues brought even the rich Roman Empire of Trajan almost to bankruptcy, and it has been argued plausibly that they produced ravages, through raising taxes and excusing requisitions and other exactions, which even the peace policy of Hadrian and the Antonines failed to heal.

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[6] *Thucy.*, II. 24.

On the suspension of hostilities in 421 B.C., the 1000 talents set aside for a naval crisis formed the major part of what was left of the war reserve of 431 B.C. The rest of the coined silver had been "borrowed" pretty completely. Gold or electron pieces of foreign minting — staters of Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Phocæa, Persia — were untouched as yet. They could not be expended freely while silver existed, for Athens used only a silver currency. In view of the uncertainties of the peace, the experience of the past decade, and the financial warnings of Pericles, it was obvious that the Athenians must accumulate a new reserve. The surpluses of the tribute gave the means. This levy had been doubled or tripled in 425/4 B.C. It now amounted to 1200 talents yearly, according to Andocides; and since costly military enterprises were avoided till 415 B.C., its net yield was much greater than before the war. Andocides tells us that 7000 talents "were carried up to the Acropolis" during the peace. This figure is probably an exaggeration, explicable as the gross deposits subject to considerable deductions for current military expenses; but there is documentary evidence that the reserve had achieved such dimensions by 415 B.C. that a lump sum of 3000 talents could be set aside to cover the estimated cost of the Sicilian Expedition.

It seems clear, however, that this sum was not borrowed from Athena. And, in fact, it did not need to be. By a change of policy which dates back to 434 B.C., but which did not become effective while the war lasted, the surpluses of the tribute were no longer *given* to Athena, but simply deposited with her Treasurers. Beginning with 434 B.C., Athens drew a distinction between moneys that were sacred and moneys that were secular. After 421 B.C., there were, accordingly, two reserves, one of Athena, now largely depleted, which the people could use only by borrowing with obligation for interest and repayment, and another of the state expendable on simple vote of the *demos*. The division was logical; but since the state reserve was now the chief reserve, the secularization of savings increased the facility and lessened the consequences of unwise expenditures. "There cannot be much doubt that the amplitude of their financial preparations encouraged the Athenians to envisage with greater equanimity the resort to war in 431 B.C.; and it is equally certain that the availability of a sum aggregating at least from four to five thousand talents in 415 B.C. predisposed them to embark on the Sicilian adventure with lighter hearts."[7]

The defeat of the Sicilian Expedition marks a turning point in the history of the war, of the Empire, and of the democracy. It was catastrophic for Athenian finance. By the autumn of 413 B.C., the state reserve was exhausted; in the reserve of Athena the residue available for ordinary loans consisted mainly of gold and electron staters, and in 413/2 B.C. these were for the most part "borrowed." To replace the fleet destroyed at Syracuse the iron reserve of 1000 talents was used up in 412/1 B.C. Consequently, in 411 B.C., when the oligarchic revolution broke out in Athens, the state had no money for war except what its fleets collected.

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[7] William S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena* (Cambridge, 1932), 166. The writer begs to refer to this book for a detailed justification of the views taken in this paper.

The avowed purpose of all the revolutionists, the real purpose of their majority, was to reorder the state in such a way that the domestic revenues could become available for the conduct of the war. The *coup d'état* of the Four Hundred was a revolution within a revolution; and once its sinister object was divulged — to end the war by yielding to Sparta — the régime of the Five Thousand was installed. Theretofore Athens had met the cost of its military establishment and its warfare by the payments of its subjects and the private property of its Goddess. These it had supplemented by the voluntary contributions of its rich citizens serving as Trierarchs. It had thus been free to use its domestic revenues, amounting under Pericles to about 1000 talents yearly,[8] to maintain the costly system of indemnities for public service of the most varied character (including attendance at the theatre) by which Pericles had equalized poor and rich, politically and culturally. Now the political, judicial, and administrative tasks were reserved to the quarter of the citizens who could perform them at their own expense, and the sinews of war were correspondingly increased. The Five Thousand, brilliantly supported by Alcibiades, waged the war with a vigor and success that was their own undoing. In three successive naval engagements the fleets of the enemy were defeated and destroyed, and Athens became once again undisputed mistress of the seas. But the victories had been gained through the skill and valor of the disfranchised elements by which the ships were manned. They had, perforce, to be reinstated. Henceforth Athens had again to divide its funds between the upkeep of its democracy and the upkeep of its fleet, and the funds were primarily current revenues.

The desirability of a reserve for emergencies and special efforts was, of course, self-evident; and Athens did not abandon the idea of securing one. After the triumph in 410 B.C., a plan was drawn up and put into effect by which at least a working balance was obtained. This was " given " to Athena, in repayment of funds owing her, and a kind of sub-treasury was established on Samos, the headquarters of the fleet. The " allies " were designated (rather obscurely) as contributors. Naturally, mastery of the sea meant first and foremost the collection of arrears of " tribute." Thus equipped, the Athenians launched an expedition for the recovery of the dependencies which had revolted after the disaster in Sicily. In Ionia they were met by the Persians and failed, but they succeeded in the Bosporus, and thus secured their chief grain route. They used up their balance in the effort, however, and at the end of 409/8 B.C. Athena was again without funds.

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[8] Aristophanes, *Wasps,* 656 ff.; Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII. I. 27; cf. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (Berlin, 1901), IV. 31.

Now it was the enemy and not they who had the advantage of accumulated wealth. After the Sicilian Expedition the Persians had joined in the war. The Anatolian satraps, and after 407 B.C. the Great King himself, put their reserves of money more and more freely at the disposal of the Spartan admirals. Their subsidies are said to have amounted in eight years to 5000 talents. This stage of the war was marked by a sharp fall in the ratio of gold to silver. Before the war it had been 1 to 14: in 409 B.C. it was 1 to 10. The flooding of the market with Persian money, the gold Darics or Archers, and the putting into circulation of the gold and electron in Athena's reserve naturally produced this decline. Simultaneously, gold established itself more widely in the Greek world as a medium of exchange, and consequently various states which theretofore had used silver alone began to issue a gold currency. As will be seen, Athens was of their number.

After 408 B.C., Athens was unprepared financially for an emergency. A crisis of the most formidable character arose in 406 B.C. At this time the enemy fleet, constructed and maintained with Persian money, manned by Greek crews hired in the open market, and commanded by a Spartan admiral, drove the Athenian navy from the sea and blockaded it in the harbor of Mytilene. Since Athens, like modern England, could be starved into submission in a very short time if an enemy controlled the sea, a desperate effort was called for. There was still one financial resource left, to which Pericles had called attention in a survey of Athenian finance made at the opening of the war. Besides the 6000 talents of coined money on the Acropolis there was then available, Thucydides makes him say,

> uncoined gold and silver in public and private dedications, and all the sacred vessels used in the processions and games, and the Persian spoils and other treasures of like nature, worth not less than five hundred talents. And he estimated, besides, the large amount of treasure to be found in the other temples. All this would be available for their use, and, if they should be absolutely cut off from all other resources, they might even use the gold plates with which the statue of the Goddess herself was overlaid. The statue, as he pointed out to them, contained forty talents worth of pure gold, and it was all removable. This treasure they might use for self-preservation, but they must replace as much as they took.[9]

In July, 406 B.C., the Athenians voted to convert these sacred objects into money. The gold was coined into drachmas, hemidrachmas, diobols, and obols, and the minting continued for at least two years. In 398 B.C., " four little anvils, twenty-two dies, and some hammers with which the gold was struck " appear in the inventories of the Opisthodomos as a dedication to the Goddess. Among the treasures of Athena which furnished the metal for this, the first Attic, issue of gold, were seven statues of Victory, weighing two talents each; and the euphemism of the nameless orator on whose motion action was taken " to use the Victories for the war," was a commonplace illustration of this figure of speech in the textbooks of rhetoric during subsequent antiquity. One Victory was spared; the gold plates of the chryselephantine statue by Phidias were untouched; a single gold crown was left in the front portico of the Parthenon; but it may be that these objects escaped the melting-pot less through the will of the *demos* than through the abrupt termination of the war.

The conversion into money of the silver votives presented no new problems of minting. The real difficulty was that the metal got by melting down *objets d'art* fell far short of meeting the need for silver money. A desperate situation demanded a desperate remedy. Athens, for the first time in her history, debased her currency. The coins issued as silver were made of copper thinly plated with silver. They were not accepted without protest. The comedian Aristophanes referred to them contemptuously in January, 405 B.C. as "vile copper"; and we can be sure that when they were demonetized in *ca.* 393 B.C. they had sunk to their intrinsic value. Thousands of examples of them have reached us. They were obviously discarded freely when their circulation was stopped.

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[9] *Thucy.*, II. 13.

By these financial expedients and the temporary borrowing of domestic funds Athens fitted out and maintained the splendid fleet which gained the great victory at Arginusæ in September, 406 B.C. and suffered annihilation in the surprise attack of Lysander at Aegospotami in September, 405 B.C. A year later Athens was starved into unconditional surrender. In her defeat was reflected the superior financial power of Persia.

When she regained her independence in 403 B.C., she cancelled her indebtedness to Athena. She had no alternative. Without counting interest, her debt to the Goddess must have amounted to twice the entire national wealth. Athens never again succeeded in accumulating a sacred fund, or a secular fund of any consequence. The second Delian League was financed by contributions, confederate as well as Athenian, made for specific undertakings. This precluded the accumulation of surpluses. In the fourth century, as in the second half of the fifth, the domestic revenues were absorbed in enabling the poor to enjoy equally with the rich the political and cultural advantages of the community. The quarrel between Eubulus and Demosthenes really concerned the use to be made of economies effected by greater care in collecting revenues and greater restraint in expending them: the peace party desired to avoid wars in order that the annual surpluses should be available for festivals; Demosthenes sought to have them diverted to the struggle with Macedon. In any case it was a matter of comparatively small balances. After 403 B.C., Athens was never capable of conducting protracted oversea wars on the Periclean or post-Periclean scale. She looked after the fortifications of the city and kept in her ship-houses warships adequate for great undertakings; but she was able to pay only spasmodically the soldiers and crews needed for gaining and holding an empire. Her whole history after

Aegospotami was a gloss on Pericles' dictum that wars were sustained by accumulated wealth and not by taxes levied in times of stress.

After 403 B.C., the Athenians were not unmindful of the obligation imposed upon them by religion to replace the sacred properties of the gods which they had converted into money. Already in 406 B.C. they had assembled in the inner sanctuary of the Parthenon from their various places of deposit the precious votives which had escaped the melting pot, and subsequently, as occasion offered and the piety of individuals prompted, they proceeded to add to them. With the confiscated property of the Thirty Tyrants they made nineteen or twenty silver water jars (*hydriæ*) to be carried in processions, and later their number was augmented first to twenty-seven and then to fifty. For the cultus of the other Gods 120 silver plates (*phialæ*) were provided. Gold crowns won in the Panathenaic games were dedicated to the Goddess yearly or quadrennially. Private citizens made thank-offerings of crowns and other articles of more or less value. Even the conqueror Lysander had commemorated his victory by dedicating a crown of gold to the patron deity of the vanquished. In 378/7 B.C., the second Delian League was formed and a reassessment of all Attic wealth made as a basis for the taxes to be levied on property to meet Athens' share of the inevitable expense. Simultaneously, the dedications on the Acropolis were overhauled. Most of the crowns offered to Athena were melted down, and with the gold thus obtained (over two talents) a golden Victory was made in replacement of one of the seven sacrificed in 406/4 B.C. It was dedicated in 374/3 at the Great Panathenaia next following. " It must have given the Athenians a special satisfaction to incorporate in the monument which symbolized their triumph in restoring the Delian Confederacy the dedication made to Athena by Lysander when he destroyed their first Empire."[10]

Twenty years later, in 358/6 B.C., the time was ripe for converting again old and minor dedications on the Acropolis into more massive articles for decorative and religious use. The work was entrusted to a Commission, of which Androtion, the author of a celebrated chronicle of Athens, was a member; and his alleged misdeeds in this office were the subject of fierce denunciation twice incorporated in the published orations of Demosthenes. During the following generation the votive offerings accumulated with perhaps more than their usual rapidity. Then Lycurgus presided over a new stock-taking of temple properties (331–327 B.C.). Simultaneously, the entire apparatus of cult was renovated and enlarged. Once again, as in Pericles' time, the votive offerings of local shrines were assembled on the Acropolis, recast, and retained; and either then or ten years later, in 321 B.C., the policy was adopted of converting at brief intervals small *ex-votos* of neighboring temples into large vessels of silver and gold and depositing them with the Treasurers of Athena. With materials got in part through melting down votive crowns and the like, Lycurgus had further Victories made of solid gold, and along with other religious paraphernalia (*kosmos*) he provided vessels for processional uses of one hundred maidens (*kanephori*). Thus the Athenians went steadily on making good to the gods the sacred objects of gold and silver expropriated in the agony of the Peleponnesian War; and at the same time they accumulated a treasure which could be turned into money should Athens again "be absolutely cut off from all other resources."

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[10] Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 137.

This moment arrived in 301 B.C. After the "battle of the kings" (Ipsus) Athens sought to make itself independent of all the Macedonian rulers who had divided Alexander's empire between them with the sword. It was an intelligible effort to escape from wars of which she could only be the victim; but in view of the large monarchical patterns into which the world was recast after being shaken down by Alexander the Great, it was foredoomed to failure. It succeeded only so long as the Macedonian kingdoms neutralized one another. In a few years Demetrius, the Taker of Cities, freed himself from the makeweight (Kassander) which had held him in check, and attacked Athens. In anticipation of their danger the Athenians had rallied round a popular leader named Lachares, who enlarged the force of mercenaries in the city's service and with its support effected a *coup d'état* and made himself tyrant. It was he who laid hands, alleged to be sacrilegious, on the precious deposits in the temples on the Acropolis. The golden Victories went again into the melting pot; golden shields of Athena were similarly expropriated, and doubtless all the lesser votives of silver and gold. And in the extremity of his need the golden plates with which the Athena Parthenos of Phidias was overlaid, to a value of forty talents of pure gold (400 talents of silver), were melted down and issued to his mercenaries in the form of money. Since these were so considerable a part of the sacred treasure, the chances are that in the gold staters and other coins of smaller denominations of this issue which have reached us we have some of the doubly precious metal with which the great Athenian sculptor " clothed " the ivory image of the Goddess that once stood in the Parthenon. If I were a collector of coins, there is none which I should rather have than an example of this carelessly, because hastily, struck issue of Lachares.

The later history of Athenian war finance is a record of domestic makeshifts and of foreign subsidies. The days were past when Athens controlled her own foreign policy.

Mr. Norcross communicated from his collection letters written by James Bowdoin and Fisher Ames.

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT · A MEMOIR

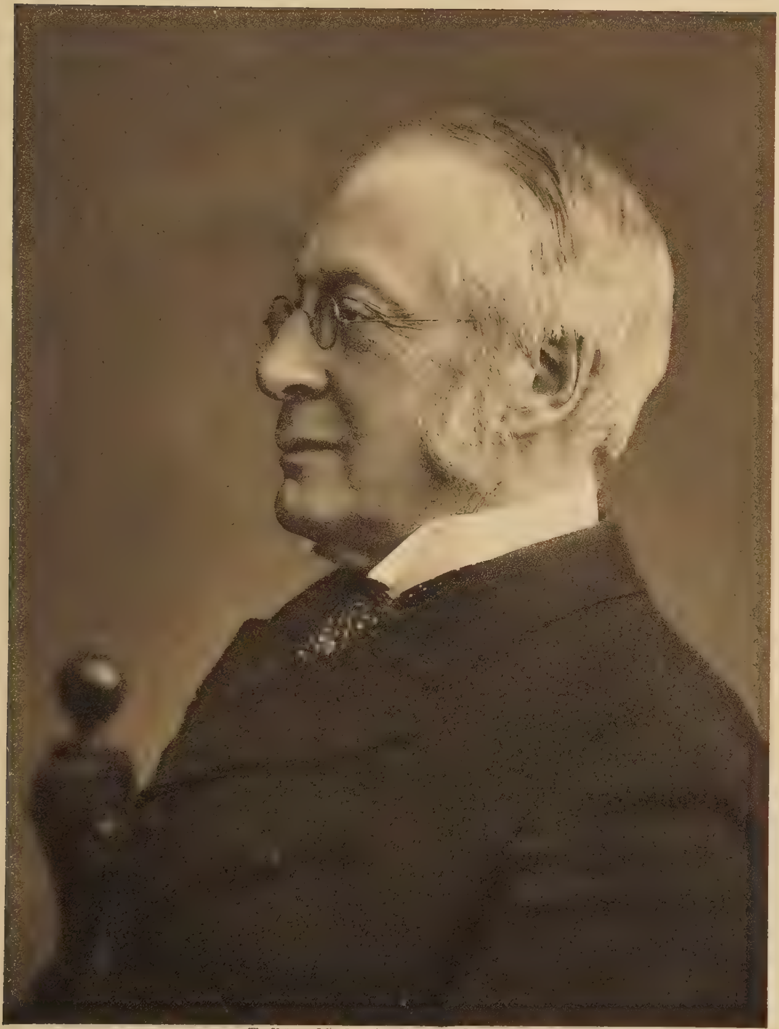
BY

EPHRAIM EMERTON

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT was born in Boston, March 20, 1834, and died at his summer home, Northeast Harbor, Mt. Desert, Maine, August 22, 1926. The only son of Samuel Atkins and Mary (Lyman) Eliot, he was associated from childhood with the group of families most intimately connected with the commercial and intellectual life of New England. He was a born aristocrat, and by that fact was pre-eminently qualified to be the leader of democratic thought and action which he afterward became. His father, endowed with a considerable fortune, spent the greater part of his life in various forms of unremunerative public service until, five years before his death, an honorable business failure left him with greatly limited resources. The only son was thus, at the very outset of his career, burdened with heavy responsibilities which he faced with characteristic energy and courage.

Graduating at Harvard in 1853, he was appointed a year later tutor in mathematics, and after four years was made assistant professor for a term of five years. During that time he showed those qualities as an educational reformer which he was later to display with compelling effect. The time for great changes, however, had not yet come, and, doubtless in consequence of this reforming tendency, so much opposition to him had developed that in 1863 he failed of reappointment. His connection with Harvard seemed definitely broken, and the next two years were spent in Europe, mainly in the study of educational systems. The permanent result of these investigations was a deep conviction of the superiority of the continental, and an equally profound distrust of the English ideas of academic discipline.

Returning to America in 1865, Eliot was made professor of chemistry in the newly established Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but after two years was compelled by the serious illness of his wife to make another journey to Europe. The



The National Cyclopedia of American Biography

Charles W. Eliot

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

fruit of this period was the epoch-making study which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in February and March, 1869, under the title: " The New Education." The lively, at times heated, discussions aroused by this bold but well-reasoned attack upon existing conditions in American education attracted general attention to its author and made him, without any action on his own part, the most prominent candidate for the vacant post of president of Harvard University. His nomination by the Corporation, March 12, 1869, was referred back by the Board of Overseers on April 21. A second nomination, received May 19, was confirmed by a vote of sixteen to eight.

The life-work of Mr. Eliot as president of Harvard has been so amply commemorated that further elaboration would be quite aside from the purpose of this brief memoir. His administration, destined to an unexampled success over a period of forty years, began under a burden of domestic sorrow and public opposition that would have daunted a weaker nature. His deeply loved wife, Ellen Derby Peabody, had succumbed to a cruel disease the very day after his first nomination but before the action of the Overseers. The vote on his election, though decisive, was far from unanimous, and the party of opposition found active support in the Faculties as well as in the governing boards.

Henceforth for many years the main problem of the young leader was to overcome this opposition, and it is his chief title to fame that he accomplished this task, not by overriding his opponents but by winning them over to his side by quiet, persistent reasoning. His strongest ally was the widespread conviction throughout the country that the time was ripe for far-reaching changes in our educational methods, a conviction especially strong among the younger scholars to whom the university must look for the supply of its teaching force. College teaching as a profession had in the year 1869 hardly any standing at all. Many departments of study were practically non-existent. In many others, fixed traditions and general torpor were the most marked characteristics. The approach to the academic career was only just beginning to be outlined by the few eager scholars who had the vision and the courage to strike out for themselves along the roads which have since been travelled only too easily by their less gifted successors.

It was Eliot's task to create out of nothing the working staff upon which he could rely for the carrying out of his ideas. Mr. Henry James has told in his admirable biography how large a part of the president's activity was devoted to this side of his work. Rather indifferent to the outward equipment of the college, he centered his attention upon men, and in this process developed that extraordinary insight into character which became his most important aid in the selection of his fellow-workers. His ability to discern useful qualities under most unattractive disguises was as uncanny as his power to detect incompetence and shams behind the mask of superficial display.

Mr. Eliot was elected a Resident Member of this Society, October 9, 1873. It could hardly be said of him then or at any later time that he was an historical scholar. His compelling interest in the present and the immediate future left him little time for occupation with the past. Upon his accession to the presidency, he found the Department of History only slightly above the dead level at which it stood in other American colleges. As a man chiefly interested in the experimental sciences, it might have been expected that he would give only a step-fatherly attention to the humanities, and more especially to their historical aspects; yet there was no department that felt more promptly and more effectively the stimulation of the new time than did ours.

One of Eliot's first appointments was that of Henry Adams who, in spite of his self-depreciatory estimate of his seven years at Harvard, gave to our historical instruction an impulse in the right direction by which it has profited ever since. One of the earliest doctorates in history was given to our associate and subsequent president Henry Cabot Lodge in the year 1876. No one stood closer to the president as friend and adviser in all the years of reconstruction than Ephraim W. Gurney, McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History. The election of Mr. Eliot to this Society may, therefore, be regarded as a recognition of services already rendered to the cause of historical learning.

His attendance at meetings was necessarily intermittent owing to the pressure of other affairs, and I do not find that he made any communications of a distinctly historical character. His contributions to the *Proceedings* consisted chiefly of a series of tributes paid to the memory of deceased members, extending from 1875 to 1918 and giving interesting indications of the breadth of his intellectual sympathies and the warmth of his personal attachments. Beginning with his predecessor in the presidency, Dr. James Walker, he dwelt especially on their intimate relations during his own early years as a college teacher. Speaking of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, he recalled the purely scientific spirit of his teaching and his writings upon medical subjects, and described his liberal attitude toward the reforms in the Medical School, of which he had at first been critical and distrustful. His tribute to Martin Brimmer, February, 1896, was an especially hearty and affectionate memorial of a man with whom he had been closely associated for many years in the government of the college, and whom he admired for the generous simplicity of his life and character. In his tribute to Justin Winsor he took occasion to explain the extraordinary change wrought in the university library through Winsor's conception, novel in that day, of the function of a great library as a place where books should be not only accumulated but used, " even though they should be used up." Particularly happy was the long memoir on the life and services of Charles F. Dunbar, journalist, economist, political writer, university teacher, and administrative officer. His was one of Eliot's earliest appointments, and the two worked together for many years with singular unanimity and effectiveness. Nowhere, perhaps, is Mr. Eliot's many-sidedness more fully or more beautifully expressed than in this heartfelt tribute to a life-long friend and fellow-worker. Other memoirs dealt with such widely different personalities as Colonel Henry Lee, Professor William Watson Goodwin, Charles Francis Adams, Henry Lee Higginson, and Viscount Bryce. Taken together, these personal sketches give a rarely complete picture of the man himself. They illustrate the wide range of his interests, his profound sympathy with every form of human activity, and the catholicity of his judgments.

One learns from this comparison how it was possible for him, over so long a period of time, to command the loyal services of so great a variety of men in the cause to which he devoted his life. How wide and deep this loyalty had been was shown in the unparalleled demonstration on his ninetieth birthday, in March, 1924, fifteen years after his retirement from office, when the whole nation, the state, the city, and the university united in celebrating his service to them all.

In the previous year, 1923, this Society had placed on record its appreciation of its most eminent member by celebrating with appropriate ceremony the fiftieth anniversary of his membership. With characteristic generosity Mr. Eliot improved that occasion to describe the process of selection by which he had built up the new Faculties of the university, and to magnify the work of his associates in making his own work possible.

And once again, on the occasion of his death in 1926, the Society gave expression to its affectionate regard. Dr. Henry P. Walcott, his associate for many years in the Corporation of the university, spoke at length of his genial side, his recognition of modest merit, and his sympathy with misfortune. He was followed by President Lowell, who gave a generous appreciation of Mr. Eliot's service to the cause of professional education.

He was one of the very few men in a generation to whom may be applied without reserve or hesitation the words: A Great Man.

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 12, 1931, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Margaret Warren, of Dedham, the account book of her grandfather, Winslow Warren, apothecary, of Plymouth, 1835–1870.

From Stanley W. Smith, a letter from Nathaniel Austin, pewterer, of Charlestown, to Dr. Cotton Tufts, of Weymouth, February 5, 1768, giving prices charged for various articles of pewter.

Through the courtesy of Frederic H. Adams, of Arlington, a photostat of the record of the case of Simson Spencer and others vs. the Ship of War *Somerset,* cast ashore between Provincetown and Truro, November 3, 1778, tried in the Maritime Court of the Middle District of Massachusetts, March 30, 1779.

Through the courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, a photostat copy, reduced, of two plans drawn in 1758 by James Ford, of Salem, Mass., and once owned by Professor John Winthrop (1714–1779), one of which is now in the possession of that Society, and the other, of the Essex Institute.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Dr. Malcolm Storer, two medals: States of the Church, 1716, and Russia, 1855, Defence of Sebastopol.

By purchase, an engraved silver medal given by the Soul of Soldiery, a society of ex-officers founded in 1805, to Elijah Kingsbury, on its fortieth anniversary, October 27, 1845, for the best shot; also an engraved silver medal given by the Eagle Engine Company, No. 12 (now No. 13), of Boston, October 9, 1850, to Everett C. Kingsbury for the best shot; a medal of Boscawen for the capture of Louisburg; and a gold medal of the town of Hull for service in the World War.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from CHARLES THORNTON DAVIS accepting Resident

Membership, and from HERBERT PUTNAM accepting Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The chair announced the death of Colonel CHARLES EDWARD BANKS, a Resident Member, on October 21, 1931, and of WILLIAM KEENEY BIXBY, a Corresponding Member, on October 29, 1931.

Alfred Claghorn Potter, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The chair announced the impending distribution of *Winthrop Papers,* II.

Mr. JOHN T. MORSE, JR. read a paper on

INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE AMERICAN STATESMEN SERIES

I have been urged by two brother members to talk to you about the *American Statesmen* Series. It did not seem to me really worth while, but being, unfortunately, of an obliging, or perhaps a weak, disposition, I have consented to do so. I considerately suppress the names of these two ill-advised gentlemen, so that they may escape blame for what is about to be inflicted upon you.

Just a word or two by way of swinging into my subject. In 1860, I graduated from Harvard with a good reputation in the Classics and English Departments, but having narrowly escaped a premature weaning from my Alma Mater by reason of incapacity in chemistry and geometry, which I could not for the life of me see had anything to do with a liberal education. To my undoing, I had had for a maternal grandfather a distinguished lawyer and highly esteemed Justice of our Supreme Court. Doting parents bade me go and do likewise. I went, but did not do likewise. For I hated the law with all my wicked little heart. So I alleviated the situation by writing a life of Alexander Hamilton in two volumes, a crude production, no doubt, but one for which the skill of Little, Brown & Company, then our leading publishers, secured a pleasing measure of success. I also scribbled for the *North American Review* and for sundry English periodicals, an occupation much more palatable than the uncongenial labors of the law. After twenty years thus disagreeably wasted, my cousin, Henry Cabot Lodge, lured me into the enterprise of editing with him the *National Quarterly Review.* During four years we toiled hard with this enterprise, but we were foredoomed to failure by the niggardly firm which owned it and stupidly starved it to death. When at last we abandoned it, Lodge was already immersed in politics. I was left aimless and despondent.

About this time I happened one day to be reading a volume of Morley's *English Men of Letters* Series. This was at that time, so far as I know, the first and only experiment in the way of a Series which had been tried, and it had achieved great success and popularity. Suddenly the thought drifted into my mind: Why not a Series of lives of American statesmen? Forty-eight hours later I was on my way to New York to interview Henry Holt. I was inclined to select him because I had a personal acquaintance with him and esteemed him to be a young and enterprising publisher who would probably look upon so novel a scheme more favorably than any of the old conservative firms. So I began by a mistake. Holt listened courteously enough to my rather eager and sanguine sketch, and only said quietly: "Come again, day after to-morrow." No enthusiasm. No sparkle in his eye as the suggestion struck him. I was conscious of a chill in the atmosphere. Nevertheless at the appointed hour I went to keep tryst. Alas! in the too perfect courtesy with which Mr. Holt greeted me I instinctively read negation. And I read rightly. In substance, he demanded of me: Who ever wants to read American history? Indeed, save for the episode of the Revolution, had the country ever made any history? Furthermore, the enterprise would be very costly if properly carried out through many volumes; yet to withdraw if our first three or four volumes should be received with indifference would be humiliating, etc., etc. So, in short, Mr. Holt, an experienced judge, didn't in the least take to my suggestion. Was he right or not?

On my way home I did much anxious thinking. After all, was there not some sense in what Holt had said; was there really much material in post-Revolutionary history? George Ticknor Curtis' *Life of Daniel Webster,* in two big volumes, had been very well received, but there was no other such subject as Webster: he was unique. Mr. Parton, in his picturesque and lively way, had, with fair success, appropriated our only melodramatic characters, Jackson and Burr. It was a very short list, certainly — only three persons — yet was it not perhaps exhaustive? Wiser men than I had apparently thought so. Mr. Prescott had gone to Spain for Ferdinand and Isabella and never got nearer home than Mexico and Peru. Motley had sought his prey in the Netherlands. Really I had to admit, as I surveyed the American plain, that it spread a barren prospect before us.

Thus pondering, still obstinately persisting in my scheme, yet dubious as to how I could renew the initiative, I was lounging about the streets of the old town for two or three days, when one forenoon I drifted into the picture gallery of Doll and Richards on Park Street. I was looking at some portrait on exhibition there when James T. Fields (who had been a member of the famous publishing house of Ticknor and Fields) came in, saw me, and in a moment came up and curtly said: "Morse, will you write a life of Rufus Choate for me?" Utterly astonished I said: "Why, Mr. Fields, there are already two lives, and pretty good ones, of Mr. Choate. Why put out another?" "Well," he said, "I have lately been thinking that a Series of lives of American statesmen would be a good enterprise, and you are the man for Choate." Astonished, somewhat staggered, by no means gratified at seeing my own idea thus forestalled and by a man who by his business connections could easily carry it through, I yet managed to say coolly: "Well, Mr. Fields, much as I might like to take a hand in your enterprise, I don't care to accept this especial proposition, for the conclusive reason that Mr. Choate, though for a time a member of Congress, certainly was not a statesman." This was blunt and decidedly untactful; indeed, it might reasonably have been called a snub; and, in fact, Fields looked a bit disconcerted. Yet he did not move away, and in a moment I was inspired to say: "It is odd that you should be thus presenting to me the idea of such a Series, for during several days past I also have been pondering precisely that project." He started back and looked at me for a moment, then exclaimed: "Indeed! Well, *you* are the man to do that. You can do it vastly better than I can." Then, after another moment of pause: "May I meet you here again in half an hour?" "Certainly," I said, very much astonished. Within the appointed time he returned and with some eagerness said: "Well, Morse, I've been talking that matter over with Houghton. He is immensely pleased. Perhaps you will come right up with me now to see him." So we went, two or three doors up Park Street, had a talk with the publisher, and before I went home to luncheon that forenoon the contract for the Series had been roughly blocked out and in substance verbally agreed to.

So far, so good. I felt exuberant, triumphant, without in the least appreciating what was before me. I was eager to get to work at once, without the slightest foreknowledge of what was to be done. In a day or two I sobered down a good deal. Questions of the size and style of volumes were quickly and, I think, very well settled. The list of men whose lives should be written came next; and I was surprised to find that a wise selection would be an arduous task. It was not only a question of the calibre and the standing of this or the other man personally, but even more important might often be the matter of the measures and policies with which he happened to have been connected. For I regarded it as a function of the Series that, when complete, it should present such a picture of the development of the country that the reader who had faithfully read all the volumes would have a full and fair view of the history of the United States told through the medium of the efforts of the men who had shaped our national career. The actors were to develop the drama. To avoid any serious hiatus was not going to be easy. Afterward, when this outline for the material was accomplished, that is to say, when the subjects of biographies had been discreetly chosen, the task of selecting writers for the several volumes still remained. Before this I quailed in an anxiety which almost developed into panic. It was a task which I approached with scant self-confidence. If it had not been for the gallant aid furnished by Lodge, I hardly know how I should have pulled through. Happily, he had a wide acquaintance, vastly wider than mine, in this field, and I relied greatly upon his aid. To him I owe many a valuable suggestion.

Of course we took all possible pains to fit the writer to his subject. Consanguinity, real or supposed sympathies, personal characteristics of subject or of writer were all carefully considered. I think that only one real blunder was made, and that was in allotting Randolph to Henry Adams. I fancied that I should evoke something quite different from what I got, and I admit that the error was wholly my own fault. In justice it should be said that he accepted the proposal with much doubt and little ardor.

Then a very trying part was the procrastination. Promises cannot be bound up and sold over the counter to persons who want to buy books. Dear me! How I waded among the fragments of broken engagements, shattered pledges! I never really knew when I could count upon getting anything from anybody. So there were great vacant spaces; half a year perhaps would glide by without a volume. On such occasions it must have looked to the public as though the poor Series had died. Literary men are not business men, and an agreement by one of them to produce a volume in six months or a year is marvelously different from a promissory note made by a merchant to pay dollars in the same time. The sheriff can't distrain the goods of the cheerful gentleman who has only pledged himself to have a book finished at a certain date. Business is one thing, literature is quite another; and an intermarriage of the two is not likely to promote a smooth household.

Moreover, "my writers," if I may use that phrase not disrespectfully, for the most part had no idea at all that in asking them to write I was paying them a compliment. Of course I rather felt so, but they not at all. *Bien au contraire!* Generally, I rather fancy that their pictures of themselves to themselves represented them as very obliging gentlemen who were kindly going to render me a great service. I do not say that they were not in some degree right; perhaps they were. But the result was incommodious. Honorable gentlemen made engagements which were in real fact only expressions of an amiable intention, and they did not in the least appreciate the embarrassment which they caused me by their dilatoriness. They did not regard them as promises in the ordinary sense of the word. Thus there occurred awful hiatuses in the publication, and my Series was disfigured by long naps, or interludes, most humiliating to the apparently incompetent editor. The financial bait which I was authorized by the publishers to place upon each volume did not seem likely to decoy very big fish: $500 per volume, cash down. Or, if preferred, a royalty of 12½ cents per volume sold. I am glad to say that only a few writers took the immediate dollars, and those who chose the royalty reaped profits into which the cash payment could have been divided with a very handsome quotient indeed.

Perhaps now and then some volume disappointed me, more or less, but I remember only one case where I actually turned one down. That was rather a disagreeable episode. A letter came to me one day out of Virginia from Colonel Magruder, a brother of the General Magruder who was a quite distinguished officer of the Confederate Army. He desired to be engaged to write the *John Marshall*. I knew nothing about him personally, save that he belonged to a good family. But I was well pleased to have a writer from that state so that I might hope, at least, to get a good Virginia atmosphere, and I gave my applicant the chance. At worst I could reject, if necessary. In due time the manuscript arrived. I recognized that I had already read pretty much all of it before in Flanders' *Lives of the Chief Justices*. Discomfited, I reluctantly sent it back to the Colonel — declined. There was nothing else possible to do.

Instead of that challenge to mortal combat which I rather expected from a southern military man, I received a most pathetic letter from *Miss* Magruder. Her father had intended no wrong; he was growing old, too old, doubtless, for such work; they were very, very poor, and had hoped so ardently that the book might bring them a bit of relief. I forgot the great truth that " business is business." I considered whether it was really impossible for me to use the sheets. In the end I replied, saying in substance: " Send back the manuscript, and I will see what I can do." When it came to hand again, I set about the distasteful work which I had assumed with such ill-considered amiability. I eliminated pages after pages which somebody else had already inconveniently written; I recast other pages; I inserted no inconsiderable amount of entirely fresh material. At last, wearied out, I told myself that it would do. So it was published, and apparently passed muster well enough. For, after all, Marshall's opinions had been so often discussed and so thoroughly studied by both statesmen and lawyers, that nothing really novel could reasonably be expected, even from a better hand than that of a Virginia Colonel or perhaps of a Yankee editor.

So the months ran on peacefully enough until one morning a bombshell was exploded in the sanctum of Houghton Mifflin & Company. The Lippincotts sent a letter calling attention to the interesting and embarrassing fact that they owned the copyright of Flanders' volumes, and alleging that it had been grossly infringed — raided, as it were, by my southern Colonel, an act to which, no doubt, he had been accustomed in his military career, but quite improper in literature. I at once made a minute comparison, page by page, paragraph by paragraph. The result was distressing. Perhaps I ought in the first place to have laid my Flanders and my Magruder side by side, paragraph by paragraph. But I had shirked so long, so tedious, so minute a task, and now I had to pay the price of my laziness. The amount of identity, unfortunately not indicated by quotation marks, might possibly, in case of litigation, suffice to turn the decision against us. But be this as it might, it was certainly not a case which I should wish to contest. Moreover, poor Mr. Houghton was, as we Yankees sometimes say, "in a terrible taking." The spectacle of his distress moved me. After all, it was my sole responsibility, my personal job. So I simply bade him keep up his courage and leave me to handle my own affair. I hurried home, packed my valise, and was on board the next train for Philadelphia. Arriving in business hours, I went straight to Lippincott's. My interview was not stormy; they were perfectly courteous. They accepted my cheque for $500, and in half an hour the whole business was amiably finished — "short and sweet" as the popular saying has it. Everybody was contented. And why not? The Lippincotts had made $500 in spot cash, and for them it was clear gain. For they would certainly never lose the sale of a single copy of their voluminous publication because my poor writer had pilfered a few pages. On my part, by this prompt and private arrangement I had saved my editorial or literary reputation. It may be sarcastically suggested that that reputation was much overvalued at $500, but fortunately I was so situated as not to mind that.

Houghton's careworn countenance beamed with joy at the news, and serenity prevailed over the episode. But there was a postscript. I was sufficiently chivalrous to say nothing to the Magruders as to the little imbroglio. They consequently fancied that the relationship between us was unclouded, and a few months later Miss Magruder sent me a novelette which she had written, and which she hoped I might persuade some publisher to accept. It was really a very pretty story, gracefully written, and quite good enough for publication. There was probably no danger of a breach of copyright there; at any rate I decided to take the risk. I got Scribner's to bring it out; it was well received, and six months later they sent her $1,000 for it. It made her name somewhat well-known, and she was able afterward to sell quite a number of other stories. So people can sometimes tumble upstairs.

But I ought not to leave my good friend Colonel Magruder in the position which he holds in the foregoing anecdote without some words of defence. I carefully refrained from ever allowing him to get an inkling of the incident and am happy to say that he went to his grave without any suspicion of it. Of course he was a strictly honorable man, and he certainly never had the slightest idea that he had in the least degree impinged on the proprieties. The knowledge of what occurred would have filled him with pain and astonishment. In point of fact, my anxious purpose was that he never should know. I closed the matter as I did with the one object of hushing it up at the very outset. Perhaps if I had investigated carefully, I might have made up my mind that the charges of the Lippincotts might well have been met with the denial of any unjustifiable plagiarism. But I wanted no disagreeable discussion and simply promptly disposed of the whole matter in the easiest way and allowed it to sink into oblivion. My opinion of the worthy military man who adventured into the novel field of literature was not in the slightest degree affected. The payment did not at all irritate me, and I was very glad to make it for his as well as for my own sake. I am only mentioning it now for the first time as an amusing incident in the story which I am telling you.

I had a much worse brush with Carl Schurz, which rankled long, and indeed has left me with scant regard for that distinguished statesman. No doubt he would have thought it more proper that his name should be connected with the Series as the subject rather than as the writer of a volume. But this was rendered impossible, because, as ill luck would have it, he had neglected to die, and if he had happened to cure that difficulty before the Series was closed, I doubt whether even thus he would have been immortalized in one of the volumes.

I was very anxious to have a first-rate life of Clay; I decided that Schurz was my man, and wrote to him. He replied by an almost illegible letter which I construed to signify that he accepted readily. Thereby I was much gratified. But months passed and continued to pass, and months were running into years, and still nothing happened. All my supplications brought not a page of "copy." In time our letters ceased to be marked by that courtesy which was desirable in view of our professional relationship. At last, despairing of ever getting anything from him, I suggested that the arrangement should be cancelled and that I should dig elsewhere for my *Clay*. Apparently this spur pricked the recalcitrant steed. He refused to cancel and (though I did not know it) I now have no doubt that he then *began* work. As for me, I had got so in the habit of waiting that I waited some more, and then continued to wait.

At last, before the death of either had quite intervened to dispose of the whole matter, the manuscript came to hand. But, behold! it was of a bulk which demanded *two* plump volumes!! My rage boiled over. Was that his idea of keeping a contract, forsooth! With what propriety could I break the uniformity of my Series with such an inequality? If

Daniel Webster had been crowded into one volume, with what justice could I give two volumes to his rival of lesser stature? Then there was Jefferson, and there was John Adams, and others, each compressed into one volume. Furthermore, in addition to the incongruity in point of subject matter, writers of other volumes, rivals in a certain sense, would doubtless, and with perfect justice, take offence at the privilege accorded to a contributor who might naturally be brought by the reading public into comparison with themselves. So I wrote to Mr. Schurz setting forth the situation and suggesting the possibility of abbreviation. His response was by no means such as might turn away wrath. Paying no attention to our contract, he brusquely said, in substance, that he would not again touch his manuscript; that I might take it or leave it, as I liked; but that if I should decide against it, he would publish it independently, and bring it out contemporaneously with any life which I might secure from any other writer, leaving the public to decide between the merits of the two.

Of course the inference was obvious as well as egotistical. I do not know whether or not I am a bad-tempered man; but I do know that upon that occasion my rage was great. I at once resolved that without the slightest regard to cost I would have the ablest writer who could be won by pressure and by dollars to write my volume for me. But fortunately or unfortunately, while in this state of mind, I felt obliged to report the matter to Mr. Houghton. For I could not but recognize that it was his dollars and not mine that were embarked in the enterprise. In the matter of this especial biography, the quarrel might be so far mine that in order to have my own way I might be willing to assume the dollar responsibility. But it was an episode which might have important secondary consequences in connection with the entire enterprise. This I could not properly refuse to consider, so we communed together. He was as angry and as vindictive as I was; *but* he was a man of affairs, strictly a business man, a shrewd financier. He labored with me long and strenuously. He gave me sympathy, but he mingled it with that disagreeable thing, discretion. Ultimately the constraint which he succeeded in putting upon me compelled me to yield. As you all may know, Mr. Schurz's two volumes remained in the

Series, and the long years have passed, and Mr. Schurz is dead, and the Series is aged and will probably soon be dead also! But my anger is just as great as it ever was, and I am now, alas! hopeless of revenge.

Such are my feelings. But even in my wrath I would fain retain my self-respect and do justice. To this end it seems proper that I should say that the *Henry Clay* was an admirable piece of work, indeed so well done that it leaves no opportunity for any future biographer to endeavor to displace it with a successor.

And now, having unmasked the unworthy Schurz and admitted my own weakness in combat, I am going to yield to the temptation to show you, by way of contrast, what a truly noble and generous character I sometimes have. I considered that the prize subject in the whole Series was the *Washington.* To draw his magnificent personality, not after the fashion of Sunday-school teachers and Fourth-of-July orators, but as the grand human being that he really was — this was the most important effort of the whole undertaking. With splendid egotism I made up my mind that I would take this impressive task for myself — at least that I would try and see what I could make of it. I was afraid that I should fail, and I was resolved to be severe in self-judgment. But I had a right at least to *try*. So I went to work, and toiled as never before or since in my life. I wrote, and destroyed, and rewrote. If I got thinking about it at night, I lay awake till morning. For once in my life I was devoured by ambition (which has not usually much troubled me). By slow degrees I accumulated a pile of manuscript. This lay upon my desk one winter's afternoon when Lodge strolled into my room. He was in a very depressed frame of mind; politics had not been going his way; he sat in this despondent mood before the fire and talked gloomily about his future and such things. Suddenly he turned and said: " John, if you haven't allotted the *Washington* definitely to anyone else, I wish you would let me do it." I will not waste words in trying to depict my feelings; I can not depict them. Nevertheless, promptly, before any hesitation could embarrass him, I said: " Well, Cabot, Washington is — of course — yours." He was delighted, and soon afterward took his leave, very amiable and seeming quite to have cast off his political gloom. After he had gone, I got up, took my pile of manuscript, and threw it into the fire! I admit that I felt such an admiration for myself, that I was almost rewarded for my disappointment!

Doubtless some persons of critical or inquisitive disposition have wondered at the spectacle of Gouverneur Morris on parade in a quite short row of American statesmen. In deference to these critics, whom I by no means consider unreasonable, I will tell how it happened. One summer forenoon I was sitting on my piazza at Prides Crossing when Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt appeared, and in due time suggested that if luncheon was soon to be ready they would be also. As we moved toward the table, Lodge managed to pull me aside, and said: " John, won't you give Theodore the life of Gouverneur Morris for the Series? " Astonished, I replied: " But, Cabot, you surely don't expect Morris to be in the Series! He doesn't belong there." Lodge shrugged his shoulders in something like assent, but said: " You see, the fact is that just now Theodore has nothing to do — in a word, he *needs the money*." A moment later we were in our chairs, and before we left them Roosevelt was engaged to write the *Morris*. It's not a great book, but sufficiently good, and at least makes pleasant reading and presents a picture of some value. But it must be admitted that if, just at that time, Mr. Roosevelt's balance at the bank had been somewhat greater, Morris would never have been thus immortalized. Such are the little accidents of life. Roosevelt's *Benton* at least was a valuable contribution. Taken upon his own real merits, Morris overtopped Benton, but Benton was a vastly more important figure in the picture of American political life, and I expected Roosevelt to be just the writer to show that element in American politics which Benton most picturesquely illustrated. Perhaps I did not get quite all that I hoped for; but it is a good book.

There was no other volume in the Series, save the *Washington* and the *Lincoln,* which I was so anxious to have well done as that which was to tell the story of Charles Francis Adams. His services, rendered upon a stage less picturesque than a battle-field, had still been as important as any military campaign. For example, if the Laird rams had been let loose upon the high seas, it would have been fully as disastrous as if Grant had been forced backward upon the Peninsula. Mr. Adams, dimly observed by his countrymen across the Atlantic, was really doing as essential work as any other American — save, of course, Mr. Lincoln. The value of his services has never, in my opinion, been so cordially or adequately appreciated as it fully deserves. This is no time to sustain this thesis by argument, but I am confident that it could be made good. Moreover, his personal traits, both moral and mental, though not picturesque, were unique and very interesting. His temper was certainly not sweet; the pugnacity for which his father had been so distinguished had descended to him, and he liked nothing better than to face an opponent. But behind this quality and perfectly controlling it, his clear, perceptive intellect worked with the cool, passionless accuracy of a machine. No combination could have been more perfectly adapted for meeting the temperament of the English statesmen with whom he had to deal. They respected him as a gentleman, and as socially their equal, which, indeed, he was. To my mind the give-and-take between them was fascinating. Feeling thus deeply about the matter, I faced no easy problem in selecting a biographer.

Much anxious pondering led me at last to the conclusion that there was one and only one man who could do what I wanted to have done. That was Mr. Adams' own son, Charles. But the problem was to secure him, and I well knew that this would be no easy task. For he was immersed in much very absorbing and very exacting business, and could hardly have either free time or a free mind for literature. But at last, anxiously and resolutely, I approached him. As I anticipated, he looked very grave, ominously so, and finally said: "It is impossible! I think that I might like — yes, I certainly should like to try it. But I simply am not able. I am overwhelmed with business. It cannot be."

I was encouraged; for impossibilities are commonplace things and can always be overcome, especially when opposed by real temptations. So I simply said: "Damn your business, Charles. Business is only an occupation. This is a DUTY — a filial duty. You know perfectly well that no other man in the country can do this thing as it ought to be done, save only yourself. Now, it is *going to be done,* either by you or someone. You can't betray your own father in so critical a matter as the story of his life for posterity."

Before this high-toned moral and sentimental appeal my victim visibly weakened. And now for a little tact! Unfortunately I am not very tactful; but I did my very best, and managing to fall in with him quite casually from time to time, I good-naturedly said: " Well, Charles, what progress? " He would shrug his shoulders and say: " None " — which, of course, I expected. At last, one day he took me more seriously. He said: " John, there is only one way in which I can possibly do this thing. I shall have to lock my office door and put up a card saying that I have gone out West on business." I replied: " Charles, you seize the situation with your usual acumen. Do just that thing! " Two or three weeks later I went to his office and found the door locked. I did not really believe that he was within at work as I would have him, but I liked the omen. How long he toiled I cannot now recall; of course it must have been a great many months, and I don't suppose the door remained locked all that time, but it must have been so pretty often, for it was really within an incredibly short period that he called on me, holding in his hand a big bundle of manuscript. He handed it to me, saying: " There, John, there it is. I don't know what sort of stuff it is. I've not had time to read it over. That is your job. Edit it and doctor it just as much as you please. Use it or cast it aside, as you will. It's up to you now." I don't think that I ever felt such a thrill of exultation! As well as I can remember, I changed not a word, and the volume stands today precisely as he handed it to me that morning. It was a splendid success.

It would, of course, be highly unbecoming for me to draw comparisons as to the quality of different volumes in the Series. I have no intention of doing so in this case; many others are just as deserving of commendation as this one is. But it may be proper to remark that this one has a peculiar value in one respect. For it is hardly possible that any more intimate and more accurate account of our relations with England during the Civil War can ever be written. For this reason, at least, I should expect that when time shall have superseded others of these biographies, and when other writers shall arise to rewrite one or another from their own points of view, this especial one can hardly be displaced or superseded. I should anticipate that it will remain as permanent and authoritative history.

Concerning the intrinsic merit of the Series, regarded merely as an enterprise in the domain of historical literature, it may ill become me to speak. But commercially speaking I may say that it has been a marked success. Soon after it was initiated, George Mifflin said to me: "We may keep it going a dozen, possibly fifteen, years. In that case the firm will account it an eminently satisfactory enterprise." It is now about fifty years since the earliest volume appeared, and though I fancy that the firm may regard it as moribund, at least with regard to a large proportion of the volumes, yet many of them still have life and are in some fair measure of demand. In a less mercantile point of view, it undoubtedly did a little something in blazing the way for such noble and impressive work as was appearing or was about to appear from Fiske, Rhodes, and McMaster. With a little later start it doubtless could and would have been better done, but perhaps would not have been more useful.

One word more: as I look over this paper before coming here to bore you with it to-day, I feel that one paragraph in it may be liable to misinterpretation. I refer to that in which I speak of the difficulty I occasionally had in bringing some of my writers to time. It is too late now to reshape the passage, but I wish to say that I by no means speak it unkindly. An agreement to write a book — as I believe I have already suggested — will never be regarded by the promissor as being at all similar to signing a financial note which must be met at the day nominated, unless there is to be serious trouble. The old legal doctrine of *cy pres* will be invoked when needed, and if there is performance with reasonable proximity in point of time, there can be no ill feeling. With only one exception, and those of you who have done me the honor to listen to me will have no difficulty in naming that delinquent — not Colonel Magruder, in spite of the $500 — my relations with contributors, one and all, were always thoroughly cordial and friendly. I hope and believe that I may think that these feelings were reciprocated by them.

. . . . . .

There has lately occurred a further episode somewhat connecting the Adams family and the Series. My attention was called a short time ago to three passages in two books recently published. The earliest is in the *Letters of Henry Adams*. It occurs in a letter of Adams to John Hay, October 8, 1882, as follows:[1]

> Houghton declines to print Aaron Burr because Aaron wasn't a "statesman." Not bad that for a damned bookseller! He should live a while at Washington and know our *real* statesmen. I am glad to get out of Houghton's hands, for I want to try Harper or Appleton. Which recommendest thou? I incline toward Harper. . . .

The next is in another letter to Hay, January 7, 1883, as follows:[2]

> Of literature I know but little. Aaron Burr is not to be printed at present. He is to wait a few years. I hate publishing, and do not want reputation. There are not more than a score of people in America whose praise I want, and the number will grow with time. So Aaron will stay in his drawer and appear only as the outrider for my first two volumes of history, about a year before they appear, which may give Aaron three or four more years of privacy.

Neither of these passages names the *American Statesmen* Series in connection with this volume. If anyone had chosen to suspect a connection, that would have been only his own affair. But a passage in the history of the Adams family by Mr. James Truslow Adams seems to establish what might have remained only a not improbable inference. He says that during a certain winter Henry Adams was engaged in writing a life of Aaron Burr for the *American Statesmen* Series; then continues:[3]

> Whatever became of the manuscript of the Burr is unknown, although tradition avers that Henry promptly put it in the fire with

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[1] *Letters of Henry Adams, 1858–1891* (W. C. Ford, Ed., Boston, 1930), 341.

[2] *Ibid.*, 345.

[3] James T. Adams, *The Adams Family* (Boston, 1930), 329.

the remark that no one was to tell an Adams who was or was not a statesman. However that may be, the gesture would have been sufficiently characteristic and the manuscript has disappeared.

When I heard these passages I was filled with utter astonishment. It is true that nearly half a century has elapsed since the alleged occurrences, and true that I have now only such a memory as belongs to a very old man. But after making liberal allowance for these facts, I think that I may safely allege that until the aforementioned moment I had never heard of any such undertaking by Mr. Adams. I was also for a moment a trifle nettled, because, though my name was not mentioned, my responsibility could not escape notice. But I shrugged my shoulders, and said to myself, "Let it pass." Later, however, it occurred to me that this would be a rather ungenerous desertion of Mr. Houghton. A responsibility which ought to be mine was being laid upon him, and he was condemned to an eternal torment which in justice should inure to me. He had no friend to rescue him; I alone could save his good name, and it was dishonorable, at least ungenerous, on my part to leave him in the lurch. So I have decided thus to give the facts as accurately as I can recall them.

Primarily I may say that I was responsible editor and Houghton was simply publisher of the Series, with, of course, no power to accept or reject anything, and he was most scrupulous and courteous in refraining from any intrusion whatsoever into my domain. It was, therefore, a most unusual occurrence when one day he asked me whether I had made any arrangement for a life of Burr in the Series. "Burr!" I exclaimed, "no, indeed! He does not belong in the Series. He was a politician, but no statesman." So it was I and not the unjustly pilloried "damned bookseller" who had the audacity to tell an Adams who was, or was not, a statesman. But it should be remembered that at the time I had no idea at all that I was being so daring. I am not unwilling to stand alone in the scrimmage, yet I will give myself a comrade, as the most solvent promissor furnishes an endorser on his note. Lodge, my good friend, was warmly interested in the Series and was habitually consulted by me. My memory assures me that I met him a day or two after the aforesaid interview and asked him what he thought of Burr as a subject for a volume. He looked at me in astonishment: "Burr! Burr! What do you mean? You don't mean to put *him* in, do you!" At the time I didn't really care for this backing, but I am glad now to remember it. So, after all, the ill-starred "bookseller" may have such gratification in his eternal perdition as he can find in the companionship of an Editor and a Senator of the United States who are both in honor bound to share his misery.

The conundrum is, why, if Adams really undertook that life of Burr, intending it for the Series, was he so secretive about it? Why, indeed, did he run such a risk of suddenly finding himself checkmated? For at any time during the months in which he was secretly toiling, I might be entering into a contract with some other biographer. If Burr were really a proper subject, such an engagement might have been made by me any day. If he felt secure in the matter of desirability, why should he have hesitated to approach me on the matter and make sure that the way was clear for him? We were good friends, meeting from time to time very frankly and cordially. If he felt, for any unimaginable reason, hesitant about approaching me, why did he not make Lodge his intermediary? The two were close friends, and Adams well knew Lodge's intimate relations with the Series. Why did he enter neither of these open doors, but turn to such an unused postern gate as Mr. Houghton? To my mind it is inexplicable.

Further, it is noteworthy that Adams himself nowhere mentions the *Statesmen* Series in connection with his work. It is true that this is only negative and by no means conclusive evidence as to the purpose which might be lurking in his mind; and it would perhaps be stretching inference too far to suggest that this silence indicated any doubt on his own part as to the propriety of such a placing.

Furthermore, it is to be observed that though momentarily vexed at the rebuff of the "damned bookseller," he appears by no means reluctant to engage in the usual manner for an independent publication. Was there any possible reason why this course should not be pursued? I can think of none. He was sure also that he would encounter no serious competition from the more or less contemporary appearance of any other, doubtless inferior, volume in the *Statesmen* Series. He was secure of having the field to himself.

Obviously he not only suppressed, but absolutely destroyed, his manuscript. The situation, as it plainly appears, leaves it open for any one who may choose to seek an answer to the question, Why? With diffidence, because I can't keep my meddlesome pen quiet, I venture to offer my guess among the rest. It is this: that in some moment of lucid self-examination Adams may have wondered whether it was probable that he, a full-blooded, thorough-going scion of the Adams family, was a proper man to furnish an unbiased biography of the man whose most important act in life had been the removal of Alexander Hamilton out of the world. If he had any such misgivings, I think it is very highly creditable to him, indeed, so highly that I am a bit disinclined to accept my own suggestion. But I will go so far as to say that if I had desired a life of Burr for the Series, my friend Henry Adams' name would have stood like a forlorn, a very forlorn, hope at the bottom of the list of possible writers. All other topics in American history may be done admirably by an Adams — better, perhaps, than by any one else — but no high-minded Adams ought to meddle with Washington, Franklin, or, above all, with Hamilton; or, by consequence, with the man whose most famous act in life was the killing of Hamilton. I think that when Adams destroyed — as doubtless he did destroy — his life of Burr, he did an act which was supremely creditable to that most sane of all human good qualities, his just self-knowledge. I expect a great many admirers of Henry to disagree with me when I write this. But I half suspect that if my old friend himself could arise, with judgment freed from the limitations of mortal passions, he would not except to my remarks.

The Cabinet-Keeper, in addition to his regular report, announced the gift of a silver oar, with the following statement:

At the October meeting of the Council of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, a special committee was appointed, consisting of Judge Parmenter, Mr. James M. Hunnewell, and Miss Josephine E. Rayne, to investigate and report upon the ownership of the silver oar deposited there by the

Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society. The Committee made a careful search of all known sources of information, and felt that the facts which they submitted were as complete as it was reasonably possible to make them. The Society's own records gave hardly any information. The records of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, with considerable correspondence relating to its affairs, in our possession since January 11, 1921, through the gift of the estate of Henry G. Denny, were thoroughly examined. Other data were secured in the Thayer Genealogy, in vital records, and in Sabine's *Loyalists.*

In the records of a stated meeting of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society held on March 30, 1855, the following was found:

> The Corresponding Secretary announced the receipt of a communication from Nahum Capen, Esq. covering the following instrument of donation, engrossed on parchment, and accompanied by the several articles therein mentioned.

> DORCHESTER, March 27th, 1855.
>
> SIR, Accompanying this communication you will receive a silver oar, which belonged to our respected father, Arodi Thayer. He was commissioned as Marshal of the Admiralty, and this oar was his badge of office.
>
> In presenting it to the "Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society," which embraces several of our most respected friends, we have only to ask that it may be safely preserved; and should your association be dissolved, that it may be placed in the keeping of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
>
> That your institution may long be continued to serve as a bright link in the great chain of time to connect the past with the present and thus aid in preparing for the future, is the earnest prayer of
>
> Your sincere friends
> CHARLOTTE THAYER
> MARY THAYER.
>
> [*Addressed:*] To the Hon[ora]ble Edm[un]d P. Tileston, President of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, Dorchester, Mass.

> On motion, it was Voted, that the thanks of this Society be respectfully tendered to the Misses Charlotte and Mary Thayer for the valuable and interesting donations this day received from them . . . being . . . the silver, emblematic baton of Arodi Thayer, Marshal in Admiralty.
>
> Voted, that the President in acknowledging the above donations

be requested to signify to our benefactors our hearty desire for the perpetual preservation of the above gifts, and to assure them of the cheerfulness with which this Society pledge the fulfilment of their united request. . . .

Attest, EDWARD HOLDEN, Librarian.

On September 18, 1871, the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society deposited with the New England Historic Genealogical Society a large number of books, pamphlets, "and other objects," these last presumably including the oar. It was never mentioned by name in the Society's records, however, until this inquiry — although it had been in their possession continuously since then — except that a committee was appointed, February 3, 1925, to determine what disposition should be made of the oar, but made no final report to the Council.

After the deposit of this property the corporate existence of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society was continued for many years, there finally being but two surviving members, who, nevertheless, held meetings and kept records. Under date of January 1, 1903, the following report of a meeting appears:

For President: Henry G. Denny.
For Senior Curator: William B. Trask.
For Clerk: William B. Trask.

President in chair. Full meeting. Above unanimously chosen. Spoke of depositing Arodi Thayer's Oar with Massachusetts Historical Society; and of looking after tomb. Dissolved.

No other mention of the oar could be found in the records, nor any communication from either or both of the Misses Thayer authorizing any departure from the terms of the gift.

Upon the death of Henry G. Denny in 1907, all records and activity of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society ceased, and the Genealogical Society's committee decided that that Society thereby was "dissolved" within the meaning of the terms of gift of the oar. It appeared to them also that as this Thayer family is extinct, no claim in regard to the oar could be made by any individual, while on the other hand there was no one who could waive or change the original terms of the gift.

The Genealogical Society had received an offer for the oar from a member who desired to place it with a collection of silver at the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts, New Haven, Connecticut. Their committee, however, reported that in its opinion that Society was not the owner of the oar, but merely the custodian of it for the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, which had, for all practical purposes, gone out of existence. The committee recommended, therefore, that the offer be declined, and that the oar, in accordance with the terms under which it was originally deposited, be turned over to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Arodi Thayer (1743–1831) was commissioned by Charles Paxton, Marshal, as Deputy Marshal of the Admiralty for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, July 2, 1762. Seven years later, perhaps as reward for his self-attributed "diligence and integrity," he was appointed "Marshal and Serjeant at Mace of the Court of Appeals" at Philadelphia. To this in another two years was added an appointment as Tide Surveyor of the Customs at Philadelphia. A loyalist, he went to Halifax in 1776, thence to New York and London. Banished by Massachusetts in 1778, he remained in England until 1790 when he returned and settled at Dorchester where he spent the rest of his life.

It appears, therefore, that the oar was undoubtedly used here before the Revolution, and that Arodi Thayer probably took it with him when he left Boston, and brought it back when he returned. Whether the oar belonged to him or to the court, or whether there might be a claim of title to it by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, were questions upon which the Genealogical Society's committee expressed no opinion.

Mr. Norcross presented copies of letters in his collection written by Gouverneur Morris, Timothy Pickering, and Robert Morris.

DECEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 10, 1931, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From William Lincoln Palmer, of Cambridge, manuscript papers, 1690–1841, mostly relating to places in eastern Massachusetts; included are original petitions and deeds, Governor Bernard's commission to Nathan Hale, of Newbury, as a Justice of the Peace, November 19, 1761, countersigned by Andrew Oliver, Jr., Secretary, and three letters of Andrew Watkins to his brother, from on board the *Hero*, Marblehead, August 7, and Boston Harbor, August 18 and 22, 1777.

From George Blake Dexter, of Boston, a large Bible (London, 1708), containing the record of his branch of the Dexter family, 1714 to 1867.

From the Town of Cohasset, through Delano Wight, photostats of the Cohasset town road plan of 1825, of the plan of Little Harbor of about 1800, and of an old plan of a part of Jerusalem Road.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Grenville H. Norcross, a copper card plate of J. Morse, watch and clock maker of Walpole, Mass., a French World War badge, and a bronze medal of the 150th Anniversary of the Phillips Exeter Academy.

From the Port of New York Authority, the bronze medal struck to commemorate the opening of the new George Washington Bridge.

From the City of Newport, R. I., the bronze medal to commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Landing of the French Army at Newport.

By purchase, a very rare medal of Washington, bearing the legend " First in War," etc., and the Tercentenary medal of the Town of Attleborough.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from ALFRED CLAGHORN POTTER accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

George Read Nutter, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Allan Nevins, of New York, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. TOZZER read a paper, to be published elsewhere, on "Biology and Biography, or the Biologist looks at Biography."

Mr. MAYO presented a passage from the Diary of Mary Hersey Lincoln illustrating "The Effect of Good Music in Boston in the 1840's."

Mr. PHILLIPS spoke on the question of the precise landing-place of the *Arbella* on her arrival at Salem in 1630, contesting the view that the ship was warped into Beverly Harbor, and expressing the belief that the landing was in the region near the present entrance of the Salem tunnel.

Mr. NORCROSS presented copies of letters in his collection written by Franklin and Lafayette.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. FROTHINGHAM, BOLTON, and FRENCH.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE · A MEMOIR

BY

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN[1]

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE was born in Boston, March 6, 1866, the third child of Joseph Randolph Coolidge and Julia (Gardner) Coolidge. His ancestors for many generations back were almost without exception of Massachusetts and Virginia stock; the best blood of the Bay and of the Old Dominion flowed in his veins. He was a great-great-grandson of Thomas Jefferson.

Much of his boyhood was spent in Europe. He was there between the ages of four and five, during the Franco-Prussian War; and he used to be fond of telling a story of how the sight of a company of soldiers at a railway station raised his childish hopes that he might possibly witness a battle. Such experiences as this, coupled with an inherited tradition of wide and varied reading, caused him to devour, at an unusually early age, the standard historical and biographical works: he studied the great scenes and heroic deeds of the past, from mythological times down to the most recent periods, until they became a part of his very being. His passion for reading made him rather a recluse in his early days; and it was further stimulated and directed by the late William Everett, under whom he passed the last two years of his preparation for Harvard at the Adams Academy in Quincy. He often said in his later years that he had never been quite able to get over his boyish terror of his old schoolmaster; but the fact remains that Everett used to speak of him as one of his favorite pupils.

He entered Harvard College with the Class of 1887, and had a happy and busy undergraduate career. In his freshman and senior years he won the featherweight wrestling championship in the Hemenway Gymnasium, and in his junior

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[1] Reprinted in part, by permission, from the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXVI. (June, 1928), 550–557.

MHS

Archibald Cary Coolidge.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

year the featherweight boxing. "Whether he was skillful or not," writes a classmate, "I am not enough of an authority to know, but he certainly had a knack of making things very uncomfortable for his opponent." His chief triumphs, however, were academic. "He said once in his sophomore year (in which his average mark was 83 per cent) that he found that his scholastic standing was not what he thought it ought to be," and resolutely set to work to improve it: the result was that he raised it to 93 per cent at the end of his junior year, and graduated with a *summa cum laude* in history. One feat which he accomplished in his senior year is too characteristic to be omitted. He needed a high grade in History 12 — modern European history — in order to win final honors in that subject, but he was also exceedingly anxious to take Italian 4 — Professor Norton's course on Dante — at that time a half-course running through the whole year, and unfortunately coming at the same hour as History 12. He accordingly asked and received permission to cut the latter when it conflicted with Italian 4; but he succeeded, after attending less than half the lectures in the course, in passing it with a grade of 90 per cent. "His determination to master thoroughly the task in front of him" was unquestionably "the basis of all his success."

At the end of his senior year he definitely determined to fit himself for the life of a scholar; and it was chiefly with this idea in mind that he passed most of the next six years in Europe. He studied at Berlin and at Paris, and took his doctor's degree at Freiburg in Baden in 1892 with a thesis on "The Theoretical and Foreign Elements in the Constitution of the United States." But his life during this stage of his career was by no means exclusively academic. His family traditions and upbringing gave him access to diplomatic circles; he was private secretary to his uncle, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, when the latter was Minister to France, and also acting secretary of the American legation at St. Petersburg and secretary at Vienna. During these years he also found opportunities for extensive travel in Germany, Austria, France, Poland, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, and Russia. The experience thus acquired strengthened the tendency, which he had already begun to show, to turn his attention to the most recent periods of history and international relations, and perhaps even more to that of modern politics. Yet when he returned to Harvard as instructor, in the autumn of 1893, it was in a general rather than a special course that he made his first reputation. By the generation of Harvard men comprised in the classes of 1898 to 1908, Coolidge will always be chiefly remembered in connection with History 1.

He gave the course regularly, three times a week, first in Lower Massachusetts and afterwards in Sanders Theatre, to classes of from 300 to 450 men, and covered the whole of European history from the fall of the Roman Empire down to the French Revolution. Much more devolved on the lecturer in those days than at present; for the outside reading was nowhere nearly so extensive or so well organized, and the assistants were fewer and less competent than they are now. It would be affectation to pretend that the teaching of such a large class was Coolidge's forte; his manner and intonation were peculiar, and he often packed his lectures with more facts than freshmen could possibly assimilate. On the other hand, he gave his pupils an excellent foundation on which to build; he told them those famous stories of the great figures of the past which used to be considered part and parcel of a gentleman's education, but which to-day are often found to be a sealed book even to the specialist; he insisted on promptness, good manners, and good order on the part of his students, though he sometimes had to fight to maintain them. To those who were really interested and wanted to read more widely than the course demanded, he was always ready to give encouragement and advice. His rooms — first at Ware 15 and later at Randolph 4 — were always open to them; and they flocked thither in constantly increasing numbers. His long and prominent connection with the Administrative Board, and still more his membership in, and finally chairmanship of, the Committee on the Regulation of Athletic Sports, further served to enlarge his acquaintance and his influence. Indeed it would probably he safe to say that twenty-five years ago he was — next to Dean Briggs — the best-known figure in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences to the undergraduates in the University.

A brief word should be inserted here about several admirable changes in the social life of the College which were, to a great extent, the product of his influence. Himself a member in his student days of one of the most prominent of the undergraduate clubs, he had had ample opportunity to observe the workings of the system from within as well as from without, and was fully aware of the need as well as the difficulties of reform. Realizing that the main source of trouble was the extreme smallness of the proportion of Harvard undergraduates who had any club life at all, he set himself to work, with rare tact and skill, and with a constant realization of what was practicable and what was not, to do what he could to remedy the situation. He was in large measure responsible for the creation of several new clubs, and for the "going final" of others which had not been so before — long steps, both of them, toward the attainment of the desired end. The club system at Harvard is by no means perfect to-day, but it is vastly better than it was thirty years ago; and it is to Coolidge that the principal share of the credit for the improvement that has been effected belongs. At the time that his interest in such matters was at its height he was even given the significant nickname of the "King of Clubs."

Yet his connection with these various College "activities" did not divert him from his original aim: scholarship and its advancement remained the pole star of his life. In addition to conducting History 1, he began, soon after his return to Harvard, to give courses on the history of Russia and the Near East; in fact, his keen enthusiasm for lands comparatively unknown and remote — "unhealthy countries," as a senior colleague once humorously characterized them — was a significant illustration of the breadth of his intellectual interests. It was this enthusiasm, strengthened by actual work in the field, which prompted the writing of one of his earliest published articles, "A Plea for the Study of the History of Northern Europe."[2] In this early period of his productive work his connection with this Society began, his election to Resident Membership coming in Feburary, 1899. From the outset he took an active part in the Society's work, serving frequently as committee member, and from 1901 to 1904 as one of the Council. At many a meeting which he attended he participated in the discussion of the papers which were read. He did not, however, avail himself of our *Proceedings* for making known the results of his own researches, although this should perhaps cause little surprise in view of the fact that his interests lay chiefly in other lands.

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[2] *American Historical Review,* II. (October, 1896), 34–39. He stressed particularly Scandinavia, Poland, and Russia.

But it was not through the giving of courses or the writing of books that his principal service to the cause of American scholarship was performed, but rather through the tireless energy and enthusiasm, keen foresight and boundless generosity which he displayed in connection with the Harvard Library. His interest in it originated, almost accidentally, as a by-product of his giving of History 1; for at ten o'clock in the morning, after the ordeal of the lecture was over, he used to seek rest and recreation by straying across to Gore Hall and looking over the new books which had come in during the preceding days. It was in this manner that he became acquainted with the University's collections — with their specialties whose preëminence he was resolved still further to enhance, with their gaps which he was equally determined should be filled. What began as an incident to his other work, soon developed into an absorbing passion. I well remember my amazement when, in the course of a conversation with him in the year 1907, he revealed to me for the first time his vision of what the Harvard Library ought some day to become. In 1910, with his appointment as Director, the management and development of all the book collections in the University (including not only those in the College Library proper, but also those in the Law and Medical schools and other special departments) were for the first time officially placed in his hands; and two years later the opportunity presented itself to replace old Gore Hall with a building adequate to house the treasures it contained. It would be superfluous here to give any account of Mrs. Widener's magnificent gift, or of the tact and far-sightedness which Coolidge displayed in connection with the building and the arrangement of details; the Library as it stands to-day is an enduring monument to both. But it was never in his nature to rest on his laurels. "This is only a beginning" was the phrase which he reiterated again and again to the many who offered their congratulations.

The Harvard Library is to-day the fifth largest in the world, being surpassed only by the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, the Library of Congress, and the New York Public Library. It naturally lacks the great quantities of manuscripts and incunabula which European libraries possess; but it goes far to atone for that deficiency by the outstanding excellence of its specialities, by the manner in which all its collections are kept up to date, by the completeness of its "sets" of literary and scientific periodicals, and perhaps most of all by the facility and convenience with which access is provided to its treasures. It has been several times characterized — by European as well as by American scholars — as in some respects the best place to work in the world. Whether that compliment is entirely deserved may possibly be open to question, but there can be no shadow of doubt that such measure of justification as it possesses is due first and foremost to Archibald Cary Coolidge. Every teacher and scholar in Harvard is his debtor, and will continue to remain so for generations to come.

Great as was the part played by the University in enabling him to develop his powers to their widest scope, one would have a sadly inadequate conception of his multifarious activities and usefulness if one limited one's picture of his life to his achievements in Cambridge. He used frequently to tell his pupils that it was the duty of an educated man to know something at least about every country in the world; and he practised that precept with absolute faithfulness himself, not only by incessant reading, but also by extensive travel. When America entered the World War, he was too old to fight; but there were few citizens of the United States as well qualified as he to serve their country in the capacity of expert in matters political and diplomatic. He visited Sweden and northern Russia as a special agent of the State Department in 1918. After the armistice he was chief of the American Mission to Vienna for five months, and after that he spent three months more in Paris attached to the Peace Conference. In 1921 he was an important and very active member of the American Relief Administration in Russia.

Nor were these tasks, in all of which he displayed the greatest ability and energy, his only services to his country in connection with her external relations. In the same year, 1921, when the Council on Foreign Relations decided to establish a quarterly journal to be known as *Foreign Affairs,* they made haste to offer its editorship to Coolidge. He accepted the position, and conducted the review with conspicuous success until the day of his death. One wonders, indeed, if there was anyone in the country during those years more signally fitted to edit a periodical whose policy was summed up in these words of Coolidge himself: " We believe . . . that there is a place as yet unfilled for a review whose dominant purpose is to promote the discussion of current questions of international interest and to serve as the natural medium for the expression of the best thought, not only of this country, but of Europe when it wishes to address itself on these topics to the American public." One of the tributes which gave him the most satisfaction during the last weeks of his final illness was a compliment of Monsieur Poincaré on his article which appeared in the number for October, 1927, entitled " A Quarter Century of Anglo-French Relations." " There is no mistake in it," said the French premier; " moreover, what is even more important, the emphasis is absolutely perfect. No Frenchman or Englishman could possibly have done it. It could only have been written by a thorough master of the subject, who could approach it from a completely unprejudiced point of view. It seems indeed the perfect type of historical writing."

When one considers the depth and breadth of Coolidge's knowledge, his legacy of published work, outside numerous book reviews in his early years and his subsequent contributions to *Foreign Affairs* and other similar periodicals, is perhaps disappointingly small. He did not write easily, and was, one might almost say, rather hampered than helped by the enormous extent of his own information. So anxious was he to be perfectly fair, so conscious of the attitude of the other side, that he found it far more difficult to express his own ideas than would have a man of less knowledge and a narrower point of view. His first book, *The United States as a World Power,* which came out in 1908 and was an expansion of the lectures which he had delivered in the preceding year as Harvard exchange professor at the Sorbonne, was prophetic of his enthusiasm for a more intelligent and enlightened management of our foreign relations. It was translated into French, German, and Japanese, and was very widely read. In 1912, he edited, together with Edward Channing, the *Barrington-Bernard Correspondence,* a volume in the Harvard Historical Studies; and in 1920 an English edition of A. F. Pribram's *Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879–1914.* His other two books, *The Origins of the Triple Alliance* (1917) and *Ten Years of War and Peace* (1927), are really collections of essays and lectures of a more special character, and naturally appeal to a more limited public. But if the quantity of his output was small, its quality was in some respects unique. "His Europe-wide familiarity with national and local politics, parties, personalities, traditions, and aspirations, rested not only on the reports of others, and official documents, but also upon his own observation and reflection. He was in an exceptional position to interpret from within the moves of governments that weave the web of international relations; and he brought to the task of interpreting them a singularly penetrating and dispassionate intellect. He could not be labeled pro-British, pro-French, pro-German, pro-anything. He had what was rarer than an international mind: a multi-national mind; and yet he was a staunch American."[3]

Though he first came into prominence as a teacher of a large general freshman course, he was distinctly at his best with a small group of graduate students in one of his own special fields. There he could display, unhindered, to men who were fully able to take advantage of them, his vast stores of accurate and varied knowledge, his extraordinary ability to see and appreciate all the different sides of complicated international questions, and his truly amazing memory for facts. He was not an easy master for any pupil to satisfy. His standard was exceedingly high; he would have nothing to do with any one who could not read fluently at least two (and preferably three, four, or even five) modern languages besides his own; ignorant or prejudiced generalizations were certain to elicit his kindly but unforgettable reproof. But his graduate students almost worshipped him — the letters they have written from all over the country since his death are an enduring proof of that. And it is not too much to say that most of the best men in the younger generation of university teachers of modern European history in the United States have been moulded to a greater or less extent by his influence and precepts.

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[3] From a minute in the records of the Harvard History Department on the life and services of Professor Coolidge.

The dominant feature of his character — the moral complement as it were to the immensely wide range of his intellectual interests — was an abounding and affectionate sympathy for his fellow-men. Every one was perpetually running to him for advice, on all sorts of subjects; and invariably received it in full measure, shrewd, humorous, and wise. He had a multitude of friends, of all sorts and conditions of life, and was unswervingly loyal to each and every one of them. If ever they were in trouble or difficulties he was the first to hear of it and speak words of encouragement, and if it were possible to do so, to give generous and devoted help. He had a remarkable faculty for discovering the good, the strong points in every man he met, and emphasizing and capitalizing them to the utmost; not that he was blind to their faults — for he was an excellent judge of character — but he often affected to ignore them, for he acted upon the principle that the good drives out the bad. He was always a positive, never a negative force: he believed in "getting things done," and was impatient of the waste of useless friction and misdirected strength; but his energy was held in leash by shrewd and cautious planning, and he never tried to carry a program into effect without careful consideration of all its possible consequences. He was almost pathetically modest — at least in all essentials — and utterly unconscious of the place that he held in the hearts of his friends; but with that modesty there was coupled a very keen sense of personal dignity, nay, more, a harmless and really charming vanity about little things, which occasionally cropped out in amusing ways. Though abundantly aware, for instance, of the minor peculiarities of his methods of lecturing — for he was always religiously honest with himself — he intensely disliked to be reminded of them by others, and did not hesitate to show it. On the other hand, it gave him real pleasure, during the last weeks of his life, to learn that every one in Cambridge was commenting on the fact that the favorite one of his most recent batch of pupils, who had taken over the course which he had been obliged to lay down, had already begun to imitate, all unconsciously, the curious rising inflection with which he ended the sentences in his public speech. He bore with unflinching courage the pain and deprivations of the long illness that finally carried him off on the fourteenth of January, 1928; and he continued, with characteristic energy and enthusiasm, to do every hour of work which he could persuade his doctor to permit him, down to within two weeks of his death. His loss is irreparable to his University, to his country, and indeed to civilization.

JANUARY MEETING, 1932

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 14, 1932, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Arthur A. Shurcliff, a heliotype plan of the Burnt District of Boston (November 12, 1872), showing the improvements in streets proposed by Thomas W. Davis, City Surveyor, with area figures and names of some owners inserted, perhaps by Dr. Arthur H. Nichols, who once owned the plan.

From the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, Volumes 1 to 20 of the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings,* beginning in 1874, and from Arthur B. Denny, of Brookline, Volumes 21 to 53, ending in 1927. These came through the efforts of our Associate Dr. Gardner W. Allen.

From John D. Shore, of Boston, a design in buff and blue in the form of a broadside, prepared by him in commemoration of the bi-centennial anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Joseph W. Revere, of Canton, a piece of the keel of the French Frigate *Le Prudent,* sunk in the inner harbor of Louisburg, Cape Breton, in 1758, and raised in 1895.

From William B. Revere, of Canton, the fowling piece owned by Paul Revere, bearing a silver sight at the muzzle, probably made and attached by him, shaped in the grotesque form of a man's face having the nose on the sighting line.

From Guy Waring, of Milton, a portrait, without artist's name and date, of Capt. Samuel W. Dewey, noted for his daring exploit of sawing off the top of the figure-head of Andrew Jackson on the *Constitution.* This had been fastened to her bow about 1834, by order of the Navy Department, at the time of her rebuilding in Jackson's administration, creating much opposition in Massachusetts. A new figure-head soon replaced the old one.

From the estate of Miss Margaret Manning Salter, of Cambridge, a portrait, without artist's name and date, of her grandfather, William Worman Berry (1797–1824), a midshipman on the United States Frigate *Chesapeake* when she was captured by the British Frigate *Shannon* off Boston Light on June 1, 1813.

From Frank Gair Macomber, a medallion of Clara Elizabeth Macomber, by J. Salmer Larsen, 1929.

From Capt. Thomas G. Frothingham, a photograph of the model of the U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* designed by Josiah Barker, Naval Constructor, U.S.N., from the lines of the privateer *Union* built by him at Charlestown in 1815.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from GEORGE READ NUTTER, accepting Resident Membership, and from ALLAN NEVINS, of New York, accepting Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The President announced the death of RICHARD HENRY DANA, a Resident Member, on December 16, 1931, and spoke of his interest in the Society since his election on June 8, 1911.

Henry Latimer Seaver, of Lexington, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER read a paper on

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND SALLY FAIRFAX

In *The Virginians* Thackeray represents George Washington as writing love-letters to Martha Custis while he was an officer on General Braddock's staff. Authors of historical novels, even the best of them, do not always take pains to make the actions of their characters accord with the facts. Washington did not meet the young widow of Daniel Parke Custis before the summer of 1758 — three years after Braddock's death. During that summer he was in Williamsburg equipping the regiment that he was to command in the expedition that General Forbes was preparing against Fort Duquesne. Mrs. Custis lived at White House on the Pamunkey River, some few miles from Williamsburg. Washington made her acquaintance, visited her when he could, and became engaged to her. The marriage was to take place after his return from the campaign against the French and Indians at the forks of the Ohio.

The suitor in this swift, successful courtship was a somewhat disillusioned bachelor who was resolved to marry and settle down, not an ardent young lover whose mind and heart and imagination were all aflame. The only letter from Washington to Martha Custis before their marriage, that has been preserved, is the following brief note, written on July 20, 1758:

> We have begun our march to the Ohio. A courier is starting for Williamsburg, and I embrace the opportunity to send a few words to one whose life is now inseparable from mine. Since that happy hour when we made our pledges to each other, my thoughts have been continually going to you as another Self. That an all-powerful Providence may keep us both in safety is the prayer of your ever faithful and affectionate friend.[1]

As the letter of a newly engaged young man to his betrothed, this is perhaps satisfactory though sedate. In fact, George Washington at this period was a better subject for the satirist's pen than Thackeray was aware. The man of twenty-six, engaged to be married, wrote love-letters to the wife of a friend.

The woman whom he loved was Sally Fairfax, the wife of George William Fairfax, whose companion he had been at the age of sixteen on a surveying expedition in the Shenandoah. She was Washington's senior by two years. The story begins for us with the letter which Washington wrote to her from the camp at Fort Cumberland on September 12, 1758:

> DEAR MADAM,
>
> Yesterday I was honored with your short but very agreeable favor of the first inst. How joyfully I catch at the happy occasion of renewing a correspondence which I feared was disrelished on your part, I leave to time, that never failing expositor of all things, and to a monitor equally faithful in my own breast, to testify. In silence I now express my joy; silence, which in some cases, I wish the present, speaks more intelligently than the sweetest eloquence.
>
> If you allow that any honor can be derived from my opposition to our present system of management, you destroy the merit of it entirely in me by attributing my anxiety to the animating prospect

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[1] *The Writings of George Washington* (Worthington C. Ford, Ed., New York, 1889), II. 53.

of possessing Mrs. Custis, when — I need not tell you, guess yourself. Should not my own Honor and country's welfare be the excitement? 'Tis true, I profess myself a votary of love. I acknowledge that a lady is in the case, and further I confess that this lady is known to you. Yes, Madame, as well as she is to one who is too sensible of her charms to deny the Power whose influence he feels and must ever submit to. I feel the force of her amiable beauties in the recollection of a thousand tender passages that I could wish to obliterate, till I am bid to revive them. But experience, alas! sadly reminds me how impossible this is, and evinces an opinion which I have long entertained, that there is a Destiny which has the control of our actions, not to be resisted by the strongest efforts of Human Nature.

You have drawn me, dear Madame, or rather I have drawn myself, into an honest expression of a simple Fact. Misconstrue not my meaning; doubt it not, nor expose it. The world has no business to know the object of my Love, declared in this manner to you, when I want to conceal it. One thing above all things in this world I wish to know, and only one person of your acquaintance can solve me that, or guess my meaning. But adieu to this till happier times, if I ever shall see them. The hours at present are melancholy dull. Neither the rugged toils of war, nor the gentler conflict of A —— B——s [2] is in my choice. I dare believe you are as happy as you say. I wish I was happy also. Mirth, good humor, ease of mind, and — what else? — cannot fail to render you so and consummate your wishes. . . .

I cannot easily forgive the unseasonable haste of my last express, if he deprived me thereby of a single word you intended to add. The time of the present messenger is, as the last might have been, entirely at your disposal. I can't expect to hear from my friends more than this once before the fate of the expedition will some how or other be determined. I therefore beg to know when you set out for Hampton, and when you expect to return to Belvoir again. And I should be glad also to hear of your speedy departure, as I shall thereby hope for your return before I get down. The disappointment of seeing your family would give me much concern. From any thing I can yet see 'tis hardly possible to say when we shall finish. I don't think there is a probability of it till the middle of November. Your letter to Captain Gist I forwarded by a safe hand the moment it came to me. His answer shall be carefully transmitted.

Col. Mercer, to whom I delivered your message and compliments, joins me very heartily in wishing you and the Ladies of Belvoir the perfect enjoyment of every happiness this world affords. Be assured that I am, dear Madame, with the most unfeigned regard, your most obedient and most obliged humble servant.

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[2] Mr. Ford suggests "Assembly Balls."

N.B. Many accidents happening (to use a vulgar saying) between the cup and the lip, I choose to make the exchange of carpets myself, since I find you will not do me the honor to accept mine.[3]

From this letter certain inferences are obvious. It had been preceded by a letter to Sally Fairfax, not preserved, which probably had contained no sentimental passages, but which had expressed dissatisfaction with Forbes' choice of route and conduct of the expedition — a dissatisfaction that had been so openly manifested as to draw from the commander the remark that Colonel Washington's "behavior about the roads was noways like a soldier." Sally Fairfax had replied in a letter rallying Washington on the underlying cause of his impatience — his eagerness to be united to Martha Custis. Then from him bursts the ungallant disclaimer: "If you allow that any honor can be derived from my opposition to our present system of management, you destroy the merit of it entirely in me by attributing my anxiety to the animating prospect of possessing Mrs. Custis, when — I need not tell you, guess yourself." What were the words which she was to guess and which would complete the sentence? "When it is you that I really love!" In the next few sentences he scarcely veils the confession. What was his purpose in making it at this time? He was not given to writing idle words. "I feel the force of her amiable beauties in the recollection of a thousand tender passages that I could wish to obliterate till I am bid to revive them." Yet he has no sooner hinted that he would like assurance from her of her willingness to engage again in tender passages with him than he hastens, in the faint-heartedness engendered by conscientious scruples, to give her ground for refusing. "But experience, alas! sadly reminds me how impossible this is, and evinces an opinion which I have long entertained, that there is a Destiny which has the control of our actions, not to be resisted by the strongest efforts of Human Nature."

Having dashed this chilling reflection on smouldering passion, he discovers at once that he does not wish to quench it, and proceeds again to fan it into flame:

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[3] *Washington,* II. 95–98.

> You have drawn me, dear Madame, or rather I have drawn myself, into an honest expression of a simple Fact. Misconstrue not my meaning; doubt it not, nor expose it. The world has no business to know the object of my Love, declared in this manner to you, when I want to conceal it. One thing above all things in this world I wish to know, and only one person of your acquaintance can solve me that, or guess my meaning.

Perhaps we can guess his meaning. The thing that above all else he wished to know was the extent of her love for him. But again, having made the suggestion, he was a little frightened and added the nullifying words, " But adieu to this till happier times, if I ever shall see them."

Was Sally Fairfax gratified by his anxiety to keep the world from knowing that she was the object of his love? Does a woman glow with happiness when the man who protests that he loves her in the same breath discloses his fear lest others may suspect the fact? Poor, muddled young man, whose mind never failed to grasp clearly and certainly all the other problems that were ever presented to it, and whose heart was as guiltless of dissimulation and disloyalty in all the other trials of life as any heart that ever beat! From the depths came his cry, " I wish I was happy also! " He who never shrank from responsibility wrote this letter in which there emerge plainly his indecision of mind and his desire to have Sally Fairfax make the decision for him. He urges his love upon her and in the next line reveals his hesitation. George Washington furnished the supreme illustration of the truth that conscience makes cowards of us all.

The postscript — " N.B." — is the most puzzling passage in the letter. Is it to be taken literally in its reference to carpets? Had he offered her a carpet which she had declined to accept? If so, what exchange of carpets is it to which he alludes? And why the remark about accidents happening between the cup and the lip? Is not that perhaps a suggestion that between betrothal and marriage many things may happen? Does the remark about exchanging carpets mean that he must now take his place on Martha's carpet instead of on

Sally's? No satisfactory key to these cryptic lines has been presented.

To such a letter Sally Fairfax, however much she may have loved him, could have replied only in one way. Unquestionably she would have pretended not to understand what he had been hinting at. His own relief at her failure to welcome the opportunity that he had held forth so gingerly is almost audible in his response, written from the camp at Raystown on September 25:

> Do we still misunderstand the true meaning of each other's Letters? I think it must appear so, tho' I would feign hope the contrary as I cannot speak plainer without — But I'll say no more and leave you to guess the rest.

Then he drops the dangerous subject, devotes the greater part of the letter to news from the front and gossip, and closes with a touch of humor that is the surest indication of his relief that she has not required of him the reckless action for which, with cautious hedging, he had intimated his readiness.

> One thing more and then have done. You ask if I am not tired at the length of your letter? No Madam, I am not, nor ever can be while the lines are an Inch asunder to bring you in haste to the end of the paper. You may be tired of mine by this. Adieu dear Madam, you will possibly hear something of me, or from me before we shall meet.[4]

That no more love-letters passed from George Washington to Sally Fairfax is a fair presumption, for no others are preserved. And there is little doubt that she would have saved any others had he written them, just as she had saved these. But forty years later, from Mount Vernon on May 16, 1798, he wrote the epilogue to the story in an amazing fashion. Sally Fairfax had then been living in England for more than twenty years; her husband had long been dead; she had no children. With what stirring of emotions must she have received this unexpected letter:

> MY DEAR MADAM,
>
> Five and twenty years have nearly passed away, since I have considered myself as the permanent resident at this place, or have

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[4] *Washington,* II. 101, 103.

been in a situation to indulge myself in a familiar intercourse with my friends by letter or otherwise.

During this period, so many important events have occurred, and such changes in men and things have taken place, as the compass of a letter would give you but an inadequate idea of. None of which events, however, nor all of them together, have been able to eradicate from my mind the recollection of those happy moments, the happiest in my life, which I have enjoyed in your company.

Worn out in a manner by the toils of my past labor, I am again seated under my vine and fig-tree, and wish I could add that there were none to make us afraid; but those, whom we have been accustomed to call our good friends and allies, are endeavoring, if not to make us afraid, yet to despoil us of our property, and are provoking us to acts of self-defence, which may lead to war. What will be the result of such measures, time, that faithful expositor of all things, must disclose. My wish is to spend the remainder of my days, which cannot be many, in rural amusements, free from the cares from which public responsibility is never exempt.

Before the war, or even while it existed, although I was eight years from home at one stretch, (except the *en passant visits* made to it on my marches to and from the siege of Yorktown,) I made considerable additions to my dwelling houses, and alterations in my offices and gardens; but the dilapidation occasioned by time, and those neglects, which are coextensive with the absence of proprietors, have occupied as much of my time within the last twelve months in repairing them, as at any former period in the same space; and it is a matter of sore regret, when I cast my eyes towards Belvoir, which I often do, to reflect, the former inhabitants of it, with whom we lived in such harmony and friendship, no longer reside there, and that the ruins can only be viewed as the memento of former pleasures. Permit me to add, that I have wondered often, your nearest relations being in this country, that you should not prefer spending the evening of your life among them, rather than close the sublunary scene in a foreign country, numerous as your acquaintances may be, and sincere as the friendships you may have formed.

After making some observations on the growth and state of the country, he closes his letter as follows: "Knowing that Mrs. Washington is about to give an account of the changes, which have happened in the neighborhood and in our own family, I shall not trouble you with a repetition of them." [5]

A draft of the letter which Mrs. Washington sent has been preserved. It is in George Washington's handwriting. Martha Washington did not destroy it when she destroyed all the letters that her husband had written to her. Why did he desire his wife to copy out and sign as her own a letter giving neighborhood and family news which he might have incorporated in his own long letter? And by what means did he prevail on her to perform what she could hardly have helped regarding as an unnecessary and irksome task? Speculation and surmise on such matters may be unprofitable, yet one is disposed to indulge in them none the less. May the audacity of an attempt to reconstruct the domestic scene be pardoned.

We may imagine that after spending an hour or two at his desk Washington turned and addressed his wife as follows:

Patsy, I have been writing to our old friend Sally Fairfax. I flatter myself that she will be interested in having an account of recent events in America, but I am sure she would be still more interested if you would send her the news about her old friends and neighbors.

Mrs. Washington: I am quite sure she would not be at all interested in receiving a letter from me.

G. W.: Truly, I conceive you are mistaken. She would be very warmly interested in a letter from you.

M. W.: I don't know why you should think so. She and I had very little in common. She was very intellectual, and you know I'm not. And she's probably more intellectual now than ever, having lived in London all these years.

G. W.: That would not prevent her from having the liveliest interest in the news of the neighborhood — especially if it was transmitted to her by one for whom she has of course a warm regard.

M. W.: I know she had a warm regard for you. Why didn't you put the neighborhood news into the letter that you have been writing?

G. W.: Matters that are of a nature to appeal especially to a female can best be conveyed by the pen of a female.

M. W.: Everyone knows that you write wonderful letters, George, and you know that I can't write good letters. I don't intend to have her comparing one of mine with one of yours and thinking how inferior I am.

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[5] *Washington,* XIII. 497–499.

G. W.: You are unjust to her, Patsy, and you underrate your own accomplishments. By writing to her you will be showing a kindly consideration for her loneliness and remoteness from the scenes and friends of her early life. Our individual messages of regard and remembrance will affect her more sensibly than a letter of my own unaccompanied by any evidence of your interest could do.

M. W.: If you insist, I know I shall be obliged to do it. But you will have to tell me just what you want me to say. You had better write it out for me and let me copy the letter. Then she won't feel so superior when she reads it.

However Martha Washington's docility in copying the letter is to be accounted for, there seems but one reasonable explanation of Washington's desire to have her write to Sally Fairfax. All the last years of his life were given to the effort to harmonize relationships — human and political. What more natural than that he should wish to draw into some bond of cordiality the two women with whom his affections had been most closely knit? One might indeed think that the episode presents him in a wholly mellow and attractive light were it not for the phrase that casts a shadow on the picture. Although Washington's confession that the happiest moments he had ever known had been those he had spent with Sarah Fairfax may have been wholly truthful, one could wish that after forty years of married life with another woman he had refrained from making it.

And how oddly a phrase from the early love-letter to Sarah Fairfax reappears in the elderly gentleman's communication! "Time, that never failing expositor of all things," was to testify to his happiness at renewing his correspondence with her. Forty years later it is "time, that faithful expositor of all things," that will disclose whether acts of self-defence will lead to war.

What were the motives that could have caused Washington after he was betrothed to Martha Custis to write to Sally Fairfax the egregious love-letter? Brooding over the situation in which he had placed himself, engaged to marry a woman who with all her attractions had not Sally's enchanting charm for his mind and his heart, he was willing to hazard a rash and outlawed step should Sally be willing too. Yet he was too sensitively aware of all the penalties attached; his urgings lacked conviction. And to the clear-eyed Sally Fairfax, who laughed, perhaps through tears, and pretended not to understand her lover's meaning, America should be grateful, for had she taken the other course Washington would have gone through the remainder of his life with the woman he loved but with no opportunity for a career of public importance.

Mr. WINTHROP presented certain corrections of the communication on "The Winthrop Gift and Deposit" printed in *Proceedings* LVIII. 146–147:

Mary Winthrop (*d* 1713) was the wife of Colonel John Livingston.

The dates for John Winthrop, F.R.S., should be 1681–1747.

Of the list of portraits given there, the following are only copies of originals in the possession of Grenville Lindall Winthrop: Adam Winthrop, 1498–1562; Gov. John Winthrop, 1588–1649; Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., 1606–1676; Col. Stephen Winthrop, 1618–1658; Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop, 1639–1707; Chief Justice Wait Still Winthrop, 1643–1717; Mary Winthrop, wife of Col. John Livingston; Ann Dudley Winthrop; John Winthrop, F.R.S., 1681–1747; John Still Winthrop, 1720–1776; Ninegret.

The portrait of Mary Winthrop, 1708–1767, wife of Gov. Joseph Wanton, is a copy of an original by Robert Feke, now in the possession of the Redwood Library in Newport, Rhode Island.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated from his collection copies of letters written by General Clinton and Admiral Lord Howe.

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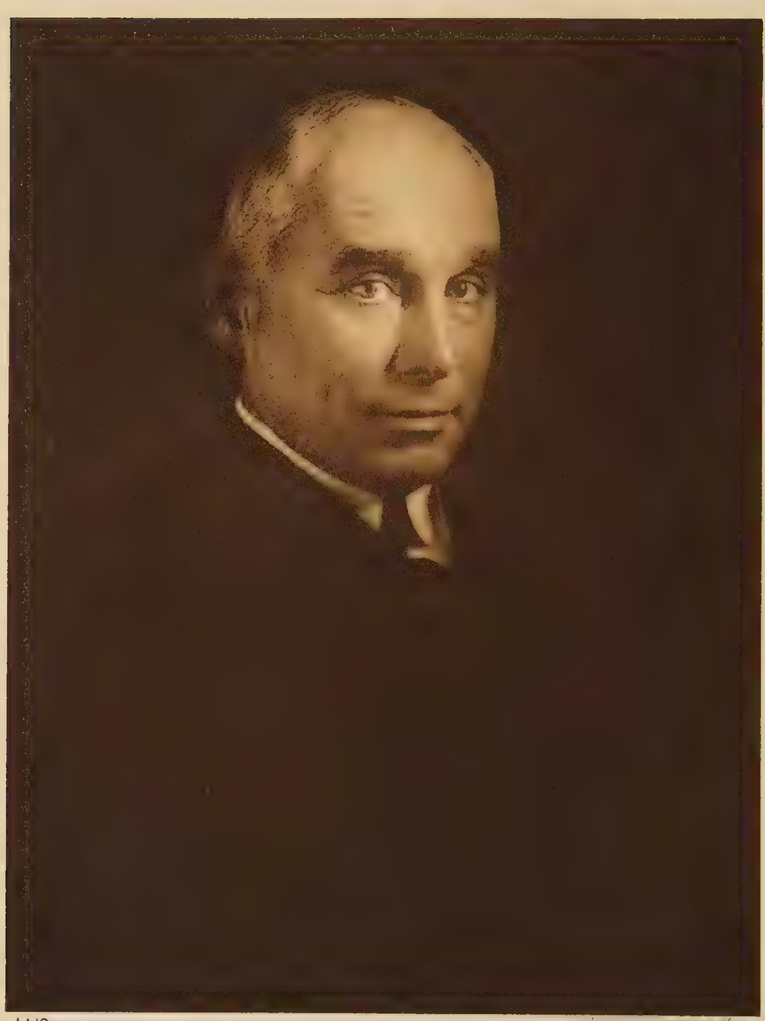

Francis Tiffany Bowles

FRANCIS TIFFANY BOWLES · A MEMOIR

BY

GARDNER WELD ALLEN

SAMUEL BOWLES, a native of Connecticut, founded in 1824 the *Springfield Republican*, one of New England's most famous newspapers. On his death in 1851, his eldest son, Samuel, Jr., became its editor and the second son, Benjamin Franklin, business manager. Francis Tiffany Bowles was the son of Benjamin F. and Mary Elizabeth (Bailey) Bowles and was born in Springfield, October 7, 1858. His preliminary education was obtained in the local schools and at the Gunnery School in Washington, Connecticut. Just before he reached the age of seventeen, Francis received an appointment to the United States Naval Academy.

Bowles' life career, therefore, began when he entered the Naval Academy as a cadet engineer, September 15, 1875. Having pursued the four-year course, he graduated June 10, 1879. Three months later he was ordered to the U. S. S. *Trenton,* flagship of the European station, and on board this ship he remained two years, still a cadet engineer. This seems to have been his only sea service while in the navy. He was now transferred from the Engineer Corps to the Construction Corps, and, although performed on shore, his subsequent service was in the highest degree important to the navy. On November 1, 1881, he was appointed assistant naval constructor with the relative rank of master.

At the end of the Civil War our navy was probably the largest, most powerful, and most modern sea force in the world, but as a result of the inevitable reaction which followed, it was not many years before it had sunk to a place among the weakest. At the same time other countries were making great progress in building steel ships of the latest type. This state of things was deplored by naval officers, and in consequence of their lamentations people in and out of Congress began to realize that a new steel navy must be built. There were no officers in the Construction Corps competent to design modern ships of war, and it was necessary, at first, to purchase plans in Europe.

It was at his own request that Bowles was transferred to the Construction Corps, and at the same time, also at his request, he was sent with another young officer to England to study naval architecture in the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. He there received the degree of Naval Architect in 1882. Upon his return to the United States he was ordered, in October, 1882, to the Naval Advisory Board as recorder, with the relative rank of lieutenant (junior grade). The function of the Naval Advisory Board was to plan the building of the new navy. The Board voted unanimously that the ships then under consideration should have single screws. Commodore Shufeldt, the president, asked Bowles his opinion. The youthful constructor replied: " I am sorry I cannot agree with the judgment of the Board. I believe twin screws are better, and if I am given the time, I think I can demonstrate it." After his demonstration the Board decided to equip the largest ship with twin screws.

After about four years of this duty Bowles was sent to the Navy Yard at Norfolk, Virginia. He was promoted, October 10, 1888, to the grade of naval constructor with the relative rank of lieutenant. At the Norfolk yard he was long occupied in superintending the construction of the battleship *Texas,* her plans having been purchased abroad. In 1895, he was ordered to the New York Navy Yard and here he remained throughout the Spanish-American War. By this time the new navy was well advanced and the officers in the service, perhaps especially the constructors, had the satisfaction of seeing the new ships tested in combat. Just before the war Bowles was engaged in making repairs to the largest dry dock at the yard, which was ready for the docking of battleships when most needed. In 1898, his relative rank was raised to commander and in 1899, to captain. Under the Personnel Act of 1899, officers of the various staff corps were given actual rather than merely relative rank.

Constructor Bowles carried on the work of his department with vigor, enforced discipline, and won the respect of his subordinates; he permitted no political interference. In January, 1901, it became known that he was to be promoted to Chief Constructor of the navy and that he would soon leave the New York yard. His long service there had endeared him to the workmen and mechanics who had served under him, and they drew up a testimonial expressing their respect for him. The first paragraph reveals their feeling towards him:

> We, the employés of the Construction and Repair Department of the New York Navy Yard, in convention assembled and by a perfect unanimity of thought and action, have formulated a token of our regard in this declaration of our sentiments, expressive of approbation to our Chief, Francis T. Bowles, who having been called to a higher post of duty, will shortly leave us.

In a letter to Secretary Long, transmitting a copy of this document, Bowles says:

> Unknown to me the *men* of the Construction and Repair Department held a meeting last week outside the yard and apart from the foremen who were not invited.
>
> They decided to present a set of resolutions and appointed a committee consisting of their own foremen to draft them. The method of presenting was considered and after the meeting I was asked if I would meet the men " with their coats on " outside the yard, and I agreed to do so *after* I was detached but not otherwise.

On March 4, 1901, the promotion went into effect, and Bowles, at the age of forty-two, became Chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, with the rank of rear-admiral.

Writing to Secretary Long, December 6, 1901, Admiral Bowles expressed as follows his views on the subject of rank and military titles in the navy:

> Replying to your note of the 4th instant, I am in entire agreement with you that the title of Rear Admiral is one that should only be applied to an officer who exercises military command, and it is much more fitting the head of the Construction Corps should have a title distinctly designating his office.
>
> It appears to me that this view of the matter of title applies with equal force, both in law and logic, to all Bureaus of the Navy Department, no matter from what corps their Chiefs are assigned or originate, because no Chief of Bureau exercises military com-

mand and the duties of all Bureaus are essentially and actually staff functions. . . .

No matter what his title, my experience from the Naval Academy thro' the various grades of the Construction Corps teaches me that the Chief of the Bureau of Construction must have *rank* with other officers, so the present question is merely one of whether or not it is best to use the title of Rear Admiral and does not admit of any doubt as to the matter of rank. . . .

Having cleared the ground by these remarks, I am personally not desirous of retaining the title of Rear Admiral, but I consider it my duty to see that the head of my corps, the responsible designer of naval vessels, shall lose nothing in way of honor and distinction by relinquishing that title and that no loss of naval rank is thereby involved.

The growth of the navy during the years following the Spanish War was notable. Many battleships and armored cruisers were built, much more powerful than the older vessels, and there was a tendency to make them larger and larger. Admiral Bowles was responsible for designing these ships and his influence in shaping the building policy of the Navy Department was great. But he did not remain long enough to see the completion of any ship laid down during his administration of the Bureau of Construction. His interest in the navy continued as keen as ever it had been, but in view of what he considered his duty to his family he felt that he could not afford to decline the offer which came to him in 1903 of lucrative employment as president of the Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation at Quincy. He resigned from the navy on October 31 of that year.

Admiral Bowles stayed with the Fore River company about ten years — until the plant was taken over by the Bethlehem Steel Company in 1914. During this time many ships for the United States navy as well as commercial vessels were built at this yard. The most conspicuous single event of this period — showing force of character and resourcefulness — was his obtaining the contract from the Argentine government for the construction of two battleships. This was accomplished in strenuous competition with the shipbuilders of England, France, Germany, and Italy. Bowles made trips to London and Buenos Aires on this business, and his personality won the prize. He was given an ovation at Quincy on his return. One of the ships, the *Rivadavia,* was built at the Fore River yard; the contract for the other was sublet to another company.

The World War followed close upon the admiral's resignation of the presidency of the Fore River company. He visited Europe in 1915 and received the impression that Germany was to win the war. After the United States joined the Allies, he was made assistant general manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, serving under Charles M. Schwab. He organized the division of construction and helped to develop Hog Island and other eastern shipbuilding yards.

After the war Bowles returned to private life in Boston, but kept up a lively interest in public affairs, general and local. He was appointed by the governor a commissioner of the Massachusetts Nautical Training School and gave close attention to the cruises of the *Nantucket,* which had been turned over by the Navy Department to the State for a training ship. He became a director of the *Springfield Republican* Company, but avoided all interference with the editorial policy of the paper. He was warmly interested in his native city and occasionally made speeches there, as at a dinner given to Speaker Frederick H. Gillett and at the centennial anniversary of the *Republican.*

Although he had devoted the best years of his life to building warships, the admiral was one of the earliest advocates of disarmament, in connection with the Washington Conference of 1921, and made a definite limitation proposition. He suggested that the nations should agree to scrap all existing battleships and submarines, thenceforth neither to build nor maintain any ships of more than 15,000 tons displacement, and to limit the gun calibre to six inches. These proposals doubtless influenced opinion and had weight in the Conference.

When he took charge of the Fore River ship-yard, Admiral Bowles became a resident of Boston, lived in Marlborough Street, and attended the Arlington Street Church. For more than thirty years his summer home was at Barnstable, and there he took great interest in local affairs, and was a public-spirited citizen of the best sort. He was chairman of the Barnstable Town Finance Committee and founder and president of the Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce, and he worked for the development of Buzzards Bay as a port and for the enlargement of the Cape Cod Canal. Through the Chamber of Commerce he hoped to bring about a plan under which the beaches of the Cape might be used by the public, abuses being prevented by proper supervision and policing; at the same time with adequate protection of private interests. He studied cranberry culture and promoted as far as he could the other industries of the Cape. He was active in the fight against the billboard nuisance.

Francis Tiffany Bowles married Adelaide Hay Savage, November 17, 1886. Their son, Thomas Savage Bowles, entered Harvard College with the Class of 1912 and died midway in his college course while traveling in Europe. Their daughter, Catherine Hayward Bowles, married Alfred Putnam Lowell, of Boston, and has three children. Admiral Bowles died at Barnstable, August 3, 1927, after a long illness. His funeral took place there at the Unitarian Church.

The admiral was a member of the Institution of Naval Architects, of London, and of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, of New York; of the latter he was for a time president. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; and of the American Antiquarian Society. He was elected a Resident Member of this Society on October 8, 1925. At the April, 1927, meeting of the Society, he contributed an able paper on "America's Debt to Grasse." Many years before, in 1919, Mrs. Bowles had given to the Society a valuable collection of manuscripts, including the commercial books and correspondence of Savage and Company, Savage and Son, and Savage and Lewis, of Louisville.

Bowles was not a prolific writer, and it is believed that no book by him exists. He wrote a good many scientific and professional articles, however, for the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* and very likely for other periodicals. Among them may be mentioned one on "Our New Cruisers" (1883) and one on "New Designs of Naval Vessels" (1902). He published an address on Preparedness in 1916. He read an important paper before the Colonial Society on "The Loyalty of Barnstable in the Revolution" (December, 1923). In the John Davis Long Collection, belonging to this Society, will be found a number of technical letters of Constructor Bowles to Secretary Long, from the New York Navy Yard just before the Spanish War; also two personal letters of 1901, extracts from which are quoted above.

A personal friend, who knew Admiral Bowles well for a great many years, has kindly contributed this estimate of the man: "He had an ardent and somewhat impetuous nature, guided and guarded by sound principles conservatively held and by a keen and logical intellect. He was never lukewarm in anything; he always knew just what he thought and just where he stood, and he had a positive genius for friendship."

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 11, 1932, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Julius R. Wakefield, of Dedham, a copy of Cotton Mather's *Grace Defended* (Boston, 1712); a Massachusetts bill of $20, May 5, 1780; the *New England Chronicle* of August 31, 1775; and a manuscript copy of a letter on Superstition, by William Pitt, 1733.

By the courtesy of Harry A. Gray, photostats of papers, dated November 6, 1718, in the files of the Supreme Judicial Court, on the inquest following the drowning, on November 3, of Mr. and Mrs. George Worthylake, their daughter Ruth, and their negro Shadwell, while going to Boston Light.

By the courtesy of Prescott Keyes, of Concord, through Allen French, a photostat of the Rules and Orders of the Union Fire Club of Boston, instituted September 1, 1772, with names of members.

From the Old South Association, through George G. Wolkins, photostats of the Records of the Old South Church, 1758 to 1802, 1819 to 1845.

From Charles M. Storey, through Mark A. DeW. Howe, fourteen letters written to Moorfield Storey, in the summer of 1912, by the late Charles Francis Adams, largely on political affairs connected with Taft, Roosevelt and Wilson.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Everett Olin Fisk, executor of the will of his daughter Harriet Storer Fisk, a portrait of her great-grandmother, Harriet Gookin Storer (1795–1880), wife of Capt. Tristram Storer, of Scarborough, Maine, and Boston.

From Dr. Ephraim Hackett, of Kennebunk, Maine, an enlarged photograph of a picture of George Washington, part of a repeated design in the cover of a quilt made by Mary Woodman about a century ago at South Hampton, N. H., showing also in each design the plan of Washington, D. C., 1792.

From George Frederick Robinson, of Watertown, a photograph showing the monument and bronze statue of Sir Richard Saltonstall erected there in 1930 in memory of the founders of that town.

From George Dudley Seymour, of New Haven, Conn., four photographs: a portrait of George Wyllys (1710–1796, Yale 1729); the homestead of Nathan Hale, of Coventry, Conn.; the bust of Nathan Hale, from his statue at Yale University; and an engraving of John W. Barbour.

From Dr. Sydney H. Carney, Jr., of New Rochelle, N. Y., a Colt revolver surrendered by a Confederate officer in command of a fort in the Civil War to Major Ethen Allen Brewster, M.D., of Salem, and given to Dr. Sydney H. Carney, Sr.; a musket picked up by Dr. Carney, Sr., at Burnside's Bridge, Battle of Antietam, September 16, 17, 1862; and a paddle made and used by Louis Anance of the Penobscot Tribe of Indians, who was eighty years old in 1866, and had been a guide for many years to Dr. Carney, Sr., to whom he had made it a parting gift.

From Grenville H. Norcross, the bronze medal struck in 1932 to commemorate George Washington's birthplace at Wakefield, Va., showing a profile of Washington from Houdon's bust.

From Harold Murdock, 830 coins and medals.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from HENRY LATIMER SEAVER, accepting Resident Membership.

Francis Parkman, of Southborough, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Professor HOVGAARD read a paper on "The Norse Greenlanders and their Discovery of America," illustrated by the use of lantern slides.

GEORGE H. LYMAN, in behalf of Charles A. Prince, presented five valuable French maps of America by D'Anville and made brief remarks.

The Librarian spoke of the Society's part in the Washington exhibit in the Museum of Fine Arts.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated copies of letters in his autograph collection written by General Nathaniel Greene and General Benjamin Lincoln, and of documents signed by General Artemas Ward.

GEORGE FOOT MOORE · A MEMOIR

BY

WILLIAM WALLACE FENN[1]

ON the afternoon of the nineteenth of May, nineteen hundred and thirty-one, a company of friends and scholars gathered in Appleton Chapel of Harvard University for the funeral service of Professor George Foot Moore, who had died three days before at his home in Cambridge. Probably there was not one in the whole company who would not have said ungrudgingly that Harvard, perhaps even America, had lost its greatest scholar, one fit to rank with the Buxtorfs and Scaligers of past centuries. His range of intellectual interests was astonishingly wide and his fund of accurate knowledge correspondingly extensive. In his special fields of Semitics and the History of Religions, he was an acknowledged master, and he was equally at home in those of the New Testament and Church History, particularly the history of Christian Doctrine. Indeed, it was often said that he could have taught any course in the curriculum of the Theological School, except those listed under Practical Theology and Social Ethics, quite as satisfactorily as the professor who actually offered it. One enthusiastic admirer even went so far as to say that Moore could teach equally well any course offered under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Of course that was an absurd exaggeration, but he was able to hold his own in conversation with teachers in all departments, and the exaggeration illustrates his wide reputation for encyclopædic knowledge. Besides, he was a lover of music, seldom missing a symphony concert in Cambridge, and an excellent photographer, not to mention other accomplishments. In fact, he seemed to be lacking only in appreciation of the charm of poetry. Some of his friends cannot remember ever to have heard him quote a line of poetry or make a poetic allusion. Yet one of his earliest appearances

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[1] Professor Fenn died before the proofs of this memoir were ready.

MHS

George Foot Moore

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in print was an article in the *Yale Literary Magazine* for December, 1871, on Browning's " Balaustion's Adventure," although even here his interest was plainly more in the author's interpretation of the Alkestis than in his verse. With the possible exception, then, of poetic literature, his mind ranged with familiar freedom through all fields of human interest and inquiry.

His scholarly aptitudes may be accounted for in part by his inheritance, especially from his mother. On his father's side he was descended from the Moiras, Mores, or Moores (the name is variously spelled) who left Argyllshire in Scotland after the Restoration and the execution of the Duke of Argyll, to make a new home in the north of Ireland. His first American ancestor came here in 1718 and settled in New Castle County, Delaware. Professor Moore's grandfather, Jacob, was a physician who graduated from the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania in 1817, and died in Strasburg, Pennsylvania, in 1829. His son, William Eves Moore, graduated from Yale in 1847 and studied theology under the Reverend George Foot, a Presbyterian clergyman in Newark, Delaware, whose daughter he married. The young couple went to live in West Chester, Pennsylvania, where William Moore was pastor of a Presbyterian church for twenty-two years, and where all his six sons were born, the oldest, our associate, named after his maternal grandfather, George Foot, on October 15, 1851. In 1872, the family moved to Ohio, where the father served another twenty-two years as pastor of a Presbyterian church in Columbus and died in 1899, five years after his retirement. He had lived a useful and honorable life, holding official position in the Church — Clerk of the New School Presbyterian Assembly for many years and, after the reunion, Moderator for one year (1890) of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church — and publishing a digest of its Acts and Proceedings; but he does not appear to have been conspicuous for scholarship or intellectual ability.

On the mother's side, however, there is a different story. She was descended from Nathaniel Foote (the final " e " was not dropped until near the close of the seventeenth century), who came from England to Watertown, Massachusetts, in

1630, and went to Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1636. From him was descended the Reverend George Foot, who was born in 1800, studied for two years at Union College, Schenectady, of which Eliphalet Nott was President, and then, threatened with tuberculosis, went south and graduated from the University of Georgia. While studying theology in the family of a Presbyterian clergyman of Georgia, he met and married Ann Fish, of Groton, Connecticut, who had gone south to teach school. Although George Foot had several short pastorates, and was for a time Agent of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, he was a man of exceptional learning, particularly in languages. Largely by independent study, he mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French; but Hebrew was his favorite, and there is a note in his Hebrew Bible to the effect that he and his daughter, to whom he had taught the language, had read it through together seven times before her marriage — and she was married to William Moore at the age of twenty-one. Small wonder that the son of such a mother was a Hebrew scholar, and that all her sons, save one who is a business man in New York, entered the learned professions — three professors, one parish minister, and one physician.

George Foot Moore entered Yale as a Junior in the autumn of 1870. He had prepared for college, and anticipated its first two years, at the Wyers Academy in West Chester where he spent ten years. Its principal, Mr. Wyers, a docent in Heidelberg, had been driven out of Germany with the exiles of '48. After various vicissitudes in this country he had finally settled in West Chester and established an academy. He had a German's profound respect for thorough scholarship and trained George Foot Moore in its ways. Undoubtedly his influence upon his pupil's formative years was potent and wholesome. Having graduated from Yale in the Class of 1872, Moore taught the next year in the Hopkins Grammar School of New Haven, and the following year privately in Columbus. The third year after graduation he was Principal of the Lancaster, Ohio, High School. By this time he had determined to study law, and had actually entered a law office in Columbus when the family inheritance asserted itself, and he turned from law to theology. After a year of study at home, he entered Union Theological Seminary in New York, and after one year there graduated in the Class of 1877. In October of the same year he began to preach in Bloomingburg, Ohio, where he remained until April of the next year, receiving Presbyterian ordination on February 8, 1878. In May, 1878, he became pastor of the Putnam Church in Zanesville, Ohio, where he spent the next five years, resigning in 1883 to become Hitchcock Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in Andover Theological Seminary, of whose Faculty he became President in 1899. In 1901, he was appointed Professor of Theology in Harvard University, and in 1904 became the first incumbent of the Frothingham Professorship of the History of Religion, a position which he retained until 1928, when he became *Emeritus*.

In 1878, he married Miss Mary Soper Hanford, of Chicago, who had lived five years in Syria and was a proficient scholar in Hebrew and Arabic. To her, " the Partner in all my Studies," he dedicated the second volume of his *History of Religions,* and to her also is dedicated, " In Memoriam," his *Judaism*. She died in Cambridge in 1924. Of this marriage were born two sons, one of whom survives, Albert Hanford Moore (H. C. 1905).

Although debarred by financial reasons from the advantages of foreign study during his years of discipleship, he spent the first nine months of 1885 in Germany, mainly at Tübingen and Göttingen, making many valuable contacts with German Biblical scholars, and two years later he visited Oxford and Cambridge, establishing similar relations with English scholars. He spent the year 1909–10 in Berlin as Harvard Exchange Professor to Germany, and during this year was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Göttingen. In this country, honorary degrees were lavished upon him: D.D., Marietta College, 1885, Yale, 1897; LL.D., Western Reserve, 1903, Harvard, 1908; Litt.D., Yale, 1915; D.H.L., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1925; D.H.Litt., Jewish Institute of Religion, 1927.

During his professorship at Andover, his work lay mainly in the field of the Old Testament, in which, in addition to many articles in Biblical reviews and the *Encyclopædia Biblica,* he published *Commentary on Judges* (International

Commentary Series, 1895), *The Book of Judges* (Translation and Notes, Polychrome Bible, 1898), and *The Book of Judges in Hebrew* (Critical Edition, with Notes, 1900).

With his removal to Harvard, his central interest shifted from the Old Testament to the History of Religions and, with the exception of a small popular volume on *The Literature of the Old Testament* (1913), he published no more books in the former field. In the same year, 1913, appeared the first volume of his *History of Religions* (International Theological Library), followed by the second volume in 1919. Both were revised for a later edition, and the whole work was translated into Italian by Dr. George La Piana. Meanwhile he had issued, in 1914, his Ingersoll Lecture on Metempsychosis, and in 1923 there appeared a small volume entitled *The Birth and Growth of Religion.* The latter book reminds a reader of what Cotton Mather (borrowing from Gregory's *Preface to Job*) says of John Eliot's sermons, that in them lambs might wade and elephants might swim. It contains almost no discussion of moot points to embarrass a novice, but one familiar with the subject is often able to discern from the choice of a word or the turn of a phrase where the author stands on a controverted point. Hence it may be read easily by beginners and studied profitably by experts.

Professor Moore once expressed feelingly his regret that removal from Andover to Harvard, with its change of central interest, had prevented him from writing a Hebrew Grammar which he had intended to make his *magnum opus.* When reminded that his *History of Religions* would have scores of readers to one student of a Hebrew Grammar, he shook his head sadly and repeated: " But I wish I could have written my Hebrew Grammar." When he came to Harvard, it was chiefly to carry forward and enlarge the work of Dean Everett, who for many years had given as part of his work in systematic theology a course on comparative religion; but Professor Moore's treatment of the subject differed widely from Dean Everett's in that it was purely objective, with little or no attempt at psychological interpretation and an outspoken rejection of metaphysical speculation. From documents and institutions Professor Moore sought to learn exactly what worshippers in the various religions actually thought and did — and that was all. His mind, that is, was essentially historical in character and method, and it would not be unfair to say that he aimed to teach the *history* of religion rather than the history of *religion.*

Although he never wrote his Hebrew Grammar, he did return to a development of his earlier interest in his final work, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era,* the first two volumes of which appeared in 1927, and the third volume, consisting of notes and excursuses, in 1930. For centuries the word Pharisee and its adjective Pharisaic have been terms of reproach among Christians, designating a hard, narrow, and intolerant pretence of piety by those who, having the form of godliness, deny the power thereof. Of course this notion of the Pharisees was derived from the New Testament, especially the Gospels, and the question whether the representation given there is correct or just seems never to have arisen in the minds of Christian scholars. Professor Moore, however, after prolonged and thorough study of the contemporary Jewish sources, had come to believe that the popular conception of the Pharisees, although possibly true of some members of the sect, misrepresented them as a whole. He sometimes said to his friends: " If you and I had been living in Palestine in the first century of our era, we should have been Pharisees, I hope." So he wrote his *Judaism* in order to set forth the religion of the Jews in Palestine as represented by its official and authoritative exponents in the age of the Tannaim. This was his last piece of scholarly work. His iron will kept him at his task until he had seen the third volume through the press, and then he seemed to relax his hold upon life and began a gradual course of slipping away which ended with his death on May 16, 1931.

Professor Moore once said that whoever would be a scholar must have the strength of an ox, and he himself was convincing proof of this principle. He had a large and powerful frame, and was rather proud of it. Once, while delivering a brief course of lectures at another theological school, he was called upon by a member of the local faculty who was small in size and perhaps in other respects also. Finding Professor Moore in his room at the hotel almost concealed in a thick cloud of tobacco smoke, he exclaimed in a tone of mingled surprise and reproach: "Why, Professor Moore, do you smoke?" "Yes," was the reply, and then rising to his full height from which he looked down upon his diminutive caller, Professor Moore added, "although I know it stunts the growth." As Thomas Fuller said of Scaliger, he had a golden wit in an iron body, and he was careful to keep both in working order. He consistently refused to tarnish his golden wit by light or desultory reading. On one occasion he carried to read on the train during a long railway journey a book written in Latin by a German scholar, and on his return spoke with glee of the pleasure it had given him to hear the author's "German growling through his Latin." That was his idea of reading for pleasure.

Such anecdotes, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely, show that, unlike the Scotchman of whom he used to tell who "joked with difficulty," Professor Moore had a keen and facile wit. Whoever tried to string him with a jest was pretty certain to be choked with his own cord. Once Dean Hodges introduced him to an after-dinner audience at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge as "a representative of the Harvard Divinity School situated on an avenue at the entrance to which is a sign: 'Private Way. Dangerous Passing'"; to which Professor Moore retorted: "Perhaps that sign is as significant as the one just outside this building on which I read as I came in: 'Speed Limit, 8 Miles an hour.'"

The modesty of a genuine scholar has become proverbial, but not all proverbs are true. Great scholars of the past have not invariably carried on their controversies with one another in terms of self-depreciation. Professor Moore knew that he was a great scholar and was too sincere to pretend that he did not know it. Perfectly well aware of his superior scholarship, it pleased him when it was recognized by others. He hugely enjoyed detecting an error in the work of a fellow-scholar, and the more eminent the scholar, the keener the delight with which his error was pilloried. An inaccurate or unverified quotation, a rash inference, or a hasty conclusion made in forgetfulness or ignorance of contrary evidence, was as the dead fly in an apothecary's ointment; indeed, it sometimes seemed as if, for Professor Moore, the ointment contained nothing but that one poor dead fly. How many outstanding scholars have taken to heart the apostolic words: "If a man be overtaken in a fault . . . restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted" ? He himself was never content to rely upon the statement of any scholar, no matter how eminent, but hunted down every reference and verified every citation. Statements which have become the commonplaces of learning, accepted and handed on without examination, were his pet abhorrence, and he loved to trace the process of "the standardization of error."

Hence he was sometimes rough in his manner. He had a violent temper which occasionally slipped its habitual leash. Woe to a student who pretended to knowledge which he did not possess, or who tried to bluff in an oral examination! Sham scholarship always roused his wrath, and he tore away the flimsy pretence with biting, often cruel, criticism and blighting scorn. Yet it was something of a distinction to be condemned by Professor Moore, however roughly, for he had too much sense to use a sledge-hammer on a gnat. It was rather gratifying to a student to learn that Professor Moore expected better things of him than he had accomplished. So his advanced students often felt uplifted when he laid into them with severity, remembering that "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." There is an old saying that "rough rebuffs make good Christians," and it applies also to scholars. Notwithstanding his savage outbursts now and then, few students failed to recognize his essential and habitual kindness. There was no member of the Faculty whose time was so precious as his, yet there was none who gave of it more generously to serious students seeking information and guidance. Many college teachers leave the tedious task of reading examination books to subordinates, but he, realizing the importance of academic grades to a student, not only read every book himself, but in doubtful cases would read a book twice or even thrice before giving it a grade. Although he might be deeply engrossed in an investigation of his own, he would cheerfully lay it aside in order to help a student bewildered in a maze of inquiry. To his colleagues he was even more generous, frequently putting at the disposal of one or another material which he himself had gathered by long and laborious research, with never a suggestion of "recognition."

He always resented familiarity and used to refer witheringly to a former colleague as "that fellow who once tried to put his arm round my neck." The unfortunate man was never again allowed to get near enough to him to repeat the intimate gesture. Yet he was a choice companion, "a clubbable man," as the phrase goes. Accordingly he was a welcome member of many clubs and societies. To learned societies he belonged as a matter of course. To mention a few out of many: he was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Science and its President from 1921 to 1924; a member of the Oxford Society for Historical Theology, and of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. He was elected a member of this Society on October 4, 1911. In April, 1925, he was elected Vice-President and after the death of President Lord acted as President until April, 1926, when he was formally elected to that office. At the expiration of this year of service, however, he declined reëlection although his interest in the Society continued until his death. He presented to the Society three papers: "Ezra Stiles's Studies in the Cabala" (March, 1918); "Judah Monis" (May, 1919); "Jewish Organized Charities in Galilee in the Second Century" (March, 1925).

MARCH MEETING

THE stated meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 10, 1932, at 3 P.M., the President, Mr. ENDICOTT, in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. HOWE, Recording Secretary, Mr. WOLKINS acted as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*. The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Estate of Major-General Clarence Ransom Edwards, by bequest, through Col. John W. Hyatt, the papers and correspondence of General Edwards since 1899, covering his service as Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and his later military commands in Texas, the Hawaiian Islands, and Panama Canal Zone; also his service in the Department of the Northeast, with the 26th Division, U.S.A., organized by him, in the World War, and in the 1st Corps Area at Boston; and the period after his retirement, on November 1, 1922, to his home at "Doneroving," in Westwood, Mass. With these papers are included his uniforms, silver trophies, military and personal relics, large maps of the seat of war in France, and various printed material in his library, besides a collection of certificates, diplomas, and photographs.

From Albert H. Miller, of Providence, a printed copy of the original specification of Charles T. Jackson and William T. G. Morton, Patent No. 4848, Nov. 12, 1846, for the use of ether as an anaesthetic.

From Mrs. Edwin A. Daniels, and her granddaughter, Miss Edna Holbrook Barger, typewritten copies of letters (1861–1864) written from the front in the Civil War by Col. Lewis Benedict, the "Hero of Albany," to Mrs. E. J. LeFavor, of Medway, Mass.

From Francis R. Hart, by deposit, photostats and other copies of Spanish maps, letters, and documents uncovered in his search in the Archives at Seville for records showing the activities of the Spaniards during the Siege of Havana in 1762, with about forty written and photostat copies of letters and reports of Admiral Pocock, Lord Albemarle, and other officers in the Admiralty and Colonial Office records, with notes showing their correlation to the Spanish records.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Francis H. Bigelow, of Cambridge, portraits, painted by James Frothingham, of John Low (1745–1827), first representative from Coxhall (now Lyman), York County, Maine, and of his wife Rachel (Francis) Low, sister of Ebenezer Francis; also photographs of the same; and a work-box made from the wood of the *Constitution* for Miss Ann H. Etheridge.

From Miss Amy W. Cabot, of Boston, thirty-five photographs of distinguished persons and officers in the Civil War, and a collection of cuttings on the war.

From Lt. Col. F. F. Jewett, of Fort Howard, Maryland, an album of photographs, including many of officers in the 54th Massachusetts regiment; two pieces of iron used in canisters fired from Fort Wagner, July 18, 1863; and a fifty-cent piece of paper money, series of March 3, 1863.

By purchase, an ivory plaque of Washington, framed in a silver laurel wreath.

The Corresponding Secretary reported receiving a letter from FRANCIS PARKMAN accepting his election as a Resident Member.

The President announced the death, in Cambridge, on March 6, 1932, of WILLIAM WALLACE FENN, a Resident Member, and of DAVID JAYNE HILL, a Corresponding Member, in Washington, D. C., on March 2, 1932.

Roland Gray, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

In preparation for the Annual Meeting in April, the President announced the appointment of the following committees:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: EDWARD M. PICKMAN, CHESTER N. GREENOUGH, and GEORGE G. WOLKINS.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: JOHN W. FARLOW, CLAUDE M. FUESS, and HENRY L. SEAVER.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts: ALLAN FORBES and JOHN WOODBURY.

Mr. FRANCIS RUSSELL HART communicated a list of

Spanish Documents Relating to the Siege of Havana, 1762

For the convenience of students of Spanish-American history, and particularly of those whose researches may lead them into the great storehouse of unpublished material at the Archives in Seville, I have prepared the following list of photostatic and other copies of Spanish maps, letters, and documents uncovered in my search for records showing the activities of the Spaniards during the Siege of Havana in 1762. All the items in the list are in my collection and have been deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society. Unless otherwise noted, the manuscript from which the copy has been made is in the General Archives of the Indies, at Seville. The figures indicate the *estante, cajon,* and *legajo* numbers in the Archives. All the copies have been made by photography, except Nos. 7, 15, and 24, which are in type-script.

Deposited with these Spanish documents are about forty written and photostatic copies of letters and reports of Admiral Pocock, Lord Albemarle, and other officers, copied for me from the Admiralty and Colonial Office records, with notes showing their correlation to the Spanish records.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

(1) General plan of the city, bay, and fortifications of Havana, showing buildings, roads, woods, the citadel, depths of water in harbor, etc. Explanatory text on plan. Original one metre square. May 16, 1733.

81–4–26.

(2) Plan of Morro Castle and, on separate sheet, a profile drawing of a new battery under construction on the skirt of the castle, with explanatory texts. Both dated June 18, 1739.

81–4–26.

(3) Ground plan of Cojimar fort showing thickness of wall and interior arrangements, with explanatory text. May 15, 1737.

81–4–26.

(4) List of original orders and replies which Don Juan de Prado presented to the Tribunal which investigated his acts. August, 1760 to January, 1762.

81–4–19.

(5) List of papers received from Treviño, Secretary of the Council of Generals, relating to the investigation of the siege and surrender of Havana (papers taken from the general military files and from among those found in the possession of Don José Garcia Gago, the secretary of Don Juan de Prado). 1761–62.

81–4–23.

(6) List of letters, with notes as to contents, from and to Prado, relating to the conduct of the siege and the surrender, submitted by Prado to the Tribunal. April–August, 1762.

81–4–19.

(7) Diary of Don Juan de Prado, recording events at Havana, day by day, during the siege. June–August, 1762.

81–4–24.
81–4–23 (No. 366).
L. of C. MSS.

(8) Report of Balthazar Ricaud de Tirgale to the Council of War in Havana as to the state of the siege, with details and recommendation "to continue resistance until capitulation is made necessary by an actual breach in the city's defenses." August 1, 1762.

81–4–19.

(9) Records of meeting of Council of War at Havana, August 1, 1762, at which were presented the reports of Ricaud (8), Crell (10), and Ramirez de Estenoz concerning strength of troops (10), the recommendations of which were adopted.

81–4–19.

(10) Report of Captain José Crell (in command of the artillery) to the Council of War at Havana, revealing the weakness of the city's walls, the strength of the English positions at Morro and Cabañas, the loss of arms in sorties, shortage of ammunition, with recommendations. Annexed is a report showing number and condition of troops available, by Ramirez de Estenoz.

81–4–19.

(11) Records of Council meetings at Havana on August 7 and 9, 1762, at which was discussed the relative desirability of conveying some portion of the money at Havana to other points for safety, or retaining it. Decision made to retain it and, for reasons of policy, to keep all bad news concerning the military operations from those engaged in defending the city.

81–4–19.

(12) Records of Council meeting at Havana, August 11, 1762, at which were present, in addition to the Council, the seniors in command of the various military services. Report of José Crell as to the supplies of ammunition in the city, with his recommendations, presented. Deplorable state of the defenses reported by naval officers Castejor and de Sortia. Practicability of active firing reduced to matter of hours. Question of asking for truce looking to honorable capitulation discussed.

81–4–19.

(13) Report of José Crell and accompanying letter of August 11, 1762, referred to above (12), concerning shortage of ammunition and progress of the fighting. He advises that an immediate truce followed by an honorable capitulation is preferable to a later unconditional surrender.

81–4–19.

(14) Correspondence between Juan de Prado, Pedro Castejor, and Fernando de Sortia at various hours during August 11, 1762, including a tabulation showing available troops made by Antonio Ramirez Estenoz.

81–4–19.

(15) Terms of capitulation proposed by the Spanish commanders to Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pocock, August 11–13, 1762.

L. of C. MSS.

(16) Map showing entrance to harbor of Havana, its forts, the positions of vessels, troops, and defenses on August 11, 1762, with explanatory notes.

81–4–26.

(17) Photostatic copy of manuscript diary of Siege of Havana, covering the period from June 6 to August 13, 1762. (Juan de Casta)

N. Y. P. L.

(18) List of declarations, confessions, and affidavits apparently submitted to the Minister as evidence in the investigation of the acts of Prado, and throwing light on the incidents of the siege, defense, and capitulation.

81–4–25.

(19) List of papers relating to the defense of Prado, other members of Council, and officers concerned, with list of related correspondence.

81–4–20.

(20) List of papers taken from José Garcia, with brief descriptions. Used in the investigation of Prado's acts, and inventoried as items Nos. 1–105.

81–4–23.

(21) Lists of documents, reports, correspondence, and other papers relating to military and other details of the siege and the charges against Prado, with notes relating thereto. Inventoried as items Nos. 106–297.

81–4–23.

(22) Similar lists, with notes in reference to correspondence with English officers (item 316), advice given concerning fortifying Cabaña in 1755 (item 299), the capitulation, summary of Prado's diary (item 366), account of things prior to appearance of enemy (item 367). Inventoried as items 298–461.

81–4–23.

(23) Similar lists covering letters from Admiral Pocock and other English officers, with notes in respect thereto (items 462–521). Many facts concerning *La Compañia de la Havana,* including expenditures for salaries, bonuses, " tips," etc., during ten years prior to the siege (items 555–556). Prado's letters to the English officers (items 564 *et seq.*). Inventoried as items 462–573.

81–4–23.

(24) Accusation against Don Juan de Prado, Captain-General of Cuba, and summary of the decision of the King's ministers condemning Prado to death.

L. of C. MSS.

(25) Photostatic copies of original reports, in English, from Admiral Pocock and other officers, including terms of capitulation, with notes, etc. (marked File E),

from records at the Admiralty and Colonial Offices, London.

(26) Written copies of original letters, reports, and lists, in English, from Admiral Pocock, Lord Albemarle, Lord Amherst, and others (marked File E–1), from records at the Admiralty and Colonial Offices, London.

Professor PERRY read a paper on "Some of Goethe's American Visitors," including an account of George Ticknor, Edward Everett, George Bancroft, and Joseph G. Cogswell as students in Göttingen.

Mr. FUESS read a paper, to be published elsewhere, on "Schurz, Lodge, and the Presidential Campaign of 1884."

Mr. NORCROSS presented from his autograph collection copies of papers of Philip Schuyler, Lord Stirling, and Thomas Sumter.

CALEB CUSHING · A MEMOIR

BY

CLAUDE MOORE FUESS

ON FEBRUARY 10, 1859, Caleb Cushing, a citizen of Newburyport, was elected a Resident Member of this Society. At that moment he was the leader of the Democratic minority in the Lower House of the General Court, where, with unusual patriotism, he was content to serve after having long occupied a conspicuous position on the stage of national affairs. He was still much in the public eye, for he had just been defeated by Henry Wilson for the United States Senate and had dared to defend the right of German and Irish aliens to prompt naturalization. It was rather remarkable that Cushing should have been admitted at that period to a Society whose members have usually been conservative in their opinions. His open friendliness to the South and his vigorous condemnation of abolitionists made him *persona non grata* in many Boston houses. Yet Bostonians forgot their prejudices and honored him for his talent and accomplishments.

Unpopular though he was in certain quarters, Cushing was undeniably a leading statesman of the Commonwealth. Born on January 17, 1800, he had entered upon a political career with an equipment seldom equalled in his generation. From a long line of distinguished forbears extending back to Matthew Cushing, his immigrant ancestor, who landed in Boston in 1638, Caleb Cushing inherited a sound body and the physical strength to endure hard work and fatigue. He graduated from Harvard at seventeen, studied law, and returned to the college as a tutor when he was only twenty. His social position was unquestioned, and the family fortunes were such as to relieve him from any embarrassment about money. Finally, he was lucky enough early in his progress at the bar to attract the attention of Daniel Webster, whose political heir in a sense he became.

In appearance, Cushing was a tall, robust figure, with bright restless eyes, a resolute jaw, a dignified bearing, and handsome features. At an early age he displayed an amazing capacity for sustained labor, together with a faculty for intense concentration on the subject immediately at hand. Through sheer perseverance and systematic methods of study he acquired a vast fund of information even on obscure topics, and his store of legal knowledge was the wonder of his associates. His extraordinary ability as a linguist stood him in good stead on several occasions. He wasted no time in frivolity, or even in recreation, but, by force of mind and will, made himself into something of a literary man and, aided by his rich and resonant voice, into an orator comparable with Edward Everett and Wendell Phillips. His skill as a logician compensated for his lack of imagination. Although he was more critical than constructive, his thinking did not paralyze his resolution, and, when the moment for decision arrived, he could act as well as reflect. Everybody who came within his range conceded that he possessed a first-rate mind.

Temperamentally, Cushing was disposed to be autocratic, relying on force and reason rather than on conciliation. Disdaining to be suave, he was often exceedingly, even irritatingly, positive. He seldom wavered between two courses of conduct, but usually espoused one with a militant partisanship. Although he was highly ambitious, he seems to have been intellectually courageous, and he refused to resort to those arts which are supposed to lead to popularity. Largely because of his lack of tact, he was greatly misunderstood; and even now he is sometimes mentioned half sneeringly as if he had been a renegade or a traitor. This opinion does an injustice to a man who customarily fought his enemies in the open, who held to his beliefs in the face of party denunciation and social ostracism, and who was as loyal to the Union as was his mentor, Daniel Webster. If Cushing had possessed the social graces of Franklin Pierce, he could have been President of the United States. As it was, he was saddened by missing his loftiest ambitions.

Thus equipped physically and mentally, Caleb Cushing entered politics at a time when the slavery question, after some years of abeyance, was being reopened by the Missouri Compromise of 1820; and with its agitation and ostensible settlement, his public life almost exactly coincided. In the beginning, he met it as Webster did — with a profound conviction of the iniquity of human servitude, joined with the feeling, natural enough to a lawyer, that the bargain made between North and South at the establishment of the Federal Union could not easily be repudiated. Like Webster, moreover, he could not see how breaking up the Union would eradicate slavery. In the end, however, Cushing went farther than Webster and came, without intending it, to be regarded as a typical " Northern man with Southern principles."

A brief summary of his career will help to explain its enigmas. For more than half a century, Caleb Cushing was in the public eye. Following an apprenticeship in the Massachusetts General Court and a disconcerting defeat for Congress, he broke down in health and sailed for Europe, returning late in 1830, fully restored and ready for the fray. After a long series of deadlocks had ended in the failure of another Congressional campaign, he was again nominated in 1834 and elected, partly because of Webster's intervention in his behalf. For four terms, as the Representative from the Essex North District, Cushing grew in power and reputation. His fortunes as one of the founders of the Whig party were linked with those of Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, both older than he, and his advancement depended largely on their success. In Congress he took an active share in the floor discussion, toiled indefatigably on committees, and showed himself to be facile in debate and convincing in argument. He was a very useful member. In 1840, he worked faithfully for Harrison's victory and was evidently marked by the new President for preferment. Up to this date, Cushing's progress had been normal and comparatively uneventful. And then Harrison unexpectedly died, and his mantle fell upon the shoulders of John Tyler, of Virginia.

When Henry Clay at that moment assumed the dictatorship of the Whig Party, both Webster and Cushing resented it and rebelled. Webster, in defiance of Clay, remained as Secretary of State when the other members of the cabinet resigned; while Caleb Cushing helped to organize the " Corporal's Guard," a small group of Tyler Whigs in the House of Representatives. For his adherence to Tyler's failing cause, Cushing was nominated as Secretary of the Treasury, but the Senate, controlled by Clay men, refused confirmation. Finally, on May 8, 1843, during the Congressional recess, Cushing was rewarded by an appointment as Commissioner to China.

As the negotiator of the Treaty of Wang Hiya (July 3, 1844) with the Imperial Chinese Government, Cushing added luster both to himself and to the slowly fading Tyler administration. When he reached New York on January 1, 1845, Polk had been elected President, and Tyler, although still in the White House, was discredited. At the outbreak of the hostilities with Mexico, Cushing, who had cherished military aspirations, aided in raising a regiment, was chosen its colonel, and was later promoted to be brigadier general. Although he was never under fire, he led his brigade over the National Highway from Vera Cruz to Mexico City in the wake of General Scott. During his absence, he was nominated by the Democrats for Governor of Massachusetts and, against the popular Governor George N. Briggs, increased the vote for his party by more than 9000 over the previous year. The campaign was enlivened by the clever but unjust satire of Lowell's *Biglow Papers,* in which Cushing figured as "Gineral C." He was again defeated in 1848, running third to Briggs, who was reëlected, and to Stephen C. Phillips, the Free-Soil candidate.

In January, 1851, as a Representative in the General Court, Cushing, together with his followers, refused to vote for Charles Sumner as United States Senator. Never having pledged himself to the coalition between Democrats and Free-Soilers, he was not bound by the action of the Democratic caucus, which had agreed to accept Sumner. Through his recalcitrancy, Cushing became even more obnoxious than before to the radical abolitionists, who rejoiced when Sumner was finally elected by a margin of one vote. Later in the year, Cushing became the first mayor of Newburyport, then recently incorporated as a city; and in July, 1852, he was appointed by Governor Boutwell as Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth. During his few months on the bench he became conspicuous for his knowledge, industry, and fairness.

Cushing entered aggressively into the presidential campaign of 1852 as one of the little group who plotted to make Franklin Pierce the Democratic nominee. On the floor of the Baltimore Convention he shrewdly directed the Pierce forces, and, when the New Hampshire man was elected and inaugurated, it was to be expected that Cushing would be in his cabinet. As Attorney-General for four years, Cushing proved to be the ablest incumbent of that office in our history. He was the first holder of that position to devote himself exclusively to its responsibilities; and he established a series of precedents which have been indispensable to his successors, rounding them out by a full discussion of the functions and traditions of the attorney-generalship. His opinions, filling three volumes, have been repeatedly quoted as authoritative on many subjects. In Pierce's cabinet, Cushing exercised great influence, and several of the administration policies can be traced to him. Thrown into contact with southern statesmen, he became more tolerant of their views on slavery; indeed one of his opinions anticipated the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision.

Cushing did not like the young Republican party, which he described in 1857 as "a jumble of freaks and follies." When Pierce's term was over, Cushing came back to Boston and was again elected to the General Court and, although the Democrats were in a minority, was conceded an intellectual leadership. At the Boston Union meeting (December 8, 1859) in Faneuil Hall, he joined Everett, Levi Lincoln, and others in denouncing John Brown's raid. He was chosen Chairman of the Democratic Convention held at Charleston in April, 1860. Accepting the Dred Scott decision as final, Cushing, though impartial in his rulings as presiding officer, favored the anti-Douglas faction; and when the delegates, after disbanding in confusion, reassembled at Baltimore, he appealed for harmony. After it became evident that the Douglas element was in control, Cushing led the "bolters" who nominated Breckinridge and Lane. He felt that the South had been badly treated and, even after the election of Lincoln, urged his fellow-northerners to make concessions. President Buchanan sent him on a mission to plead with South Carolina, and he was actually in Charleston when the Ordinance of Secession was signed. In a mood of despair, he reported to the President and, when war was declared, reaffirmed his loyalty to the Union by offering his services to Governor Andrew. To the latter's enduring shame, Cushing's request for a commission was refused. From then until his death, Cushing voted the Republican ticket.

During the Civil War, Cushing, as one of Lincoln's informal legal advisors, rendered important aid to the Department of State. He resumed his profitable law practice, making notable arguments before the Supreme Court of the United States. Meanwhile he transferred his residence to Falls Church, Virginia, only a few miles from the national capital. In 1868, he was appointed by President Johnson as a special Minister to Colombia, and spent some weeks in Bogota furthering negotiations for a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In the proceedings leading up to the Treaty of Washington in 1871, Caleb Cushing was a leader; and President Grant selected him as one of three counsel to represent the United States at the Geneva Conference for the adjustment of the so-called *Alabama* Claims. It was largely Cushing's astute brain which guided the deliberations, arranged a basis of compromise, and secured a favorable decision for his country. His ability to speak French fluently astounded the representatives of other nations and brought prestige to the American delegation.

Cushing's declining years were darkened by what to him was a culminating tragedy. His highest ambition was to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. On January 9, 1874, President Grant nominated him for that position, and his qualifications were so obvious that no opposition was expected. But attacks upon him soon developed from his enemies, especially from Senator Aaron Sargent, of California, with whom he had once quarreled, and it was soon apparent that he could not be confirmed. He withdrew his name and accepted the post of minister to Spain to which he had already been appointed before the vacancy on the Supreme Bench occurred. He remained in Madrid until 1877, when he resigned and settled down in his boyhood home at Newburyport, where he is still remembered as an austere, rather lonely person, who wanted to be loved but did not understand how to win affection. He died January 2, 1879, on a night as stormy as his life had been. He was interred in the New Burial Ground, in Newburyport, and a memorial service was held in that city on October 8, 1879.

Cushing married, in 1824, Caroline Elizabeth Wilde, daughter of Judge Samuel Sumner Wilde of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, by whom he had no children. In spite of his wife's persistent ill health, the marriage was very happy, and her early death in 1832 left him inconsolable. He was devoted to his parents and to his brothers and sisters. Caring little for money as an end in itself, Cushing earned a large income whenever he was willing to accept retainers. His tastes were very simple, even abstemious, and he was indifferent to luxury.

Caleb Cushing was not precisely a contributing member of this Society. So far as I can ascertain, he never attended a meeting, although, on May 8, 1873, through William Gray Brooks, he presented to it "a manuscript volume, finely illustrated with engravings, of the genealogy of the Cotton family, prepared for Mr. Cushing by the late H. G. Somerby." This interesting book is still preserved in the archives. At the first meeting after Cushing's death, President Robert C. Winthrop remarked: "He was too busy, and too often absent from home, to take part in our historical work, or even to attend our meetings." Winthrop did, however, pay a sincere tribute to Cushing, and his eulogy was supplemented by George B. Emerson and Charles W. Tuttle. On February 13, 1879, Mr. Tuttle was designated to prepare a memoir for the Society and went so far as to examine some of the Cushing papers. When he died on July 18, 1881, he had made little progress, and no one seems to have been appointed as his successor. Now, many years later, the duty of refreshing the recollections of posterity has devolved upon the present writer.

Perhaps, however, it is easier today to recognize Caleb Cushing's notable accomplishments than it would have been fifty years ago. Studying him with a mind free from controversial prejudice, we can perceive that he was an able lawyer, a thrilling orator, a shrewd diplomatist, an almost omniscient scholar, a versatile and far-sighted statesman, and an honest man. He made his mistakes, for which he paid in full, and he died disappointed. But he is not forgotten. Other men who seemed to their contemporaries more spectacular have vanished into oblivion; while Caleb Cushing's more substantial qualities have given him a permanent niche in history. His memoir will appear belatedly in our *Proceedings,* but at a time when the vindication of his much-maligned character is conceded by well-informed historians.

ANNUAL MEETING

APRIL, 1932

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 14, 1932, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Dr. Sydney H. Carney, Jr., of New York, a framed commission to Seth Bullard, his great-great-grandfather, to be Ensign of a Company of Foot in Walpole, Mass., dated June 5, 1772, and signed by Gov. Thomas Hutchinson; also a collection of writing and exercise books and children's books, a panorama of the Hudson River (1847), and other material used years ago by members of his family.

From Frederick A. Gutheim, of Winnemucca, Nevada, the titles of books which the late Henry Adams gave to Adelbert College Library, Cleveland, Ohio. These volumes, with those given by Mr. Adams several years ago to this Society, probably constituted his personal library.

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, the notebooks of Samuel S. Shaw (1856–1912), now added to her former gifts of the papers of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, a letter of George B. Emerson to James Savage, January 14, 1863.

From Mrs. Hayward W. Cushing, a photostat of a parchment deed by Henry Sewall and others, of Coventry, England, May 28, 1621.

From Matt B. Jones, a manuscript volume probably kept by James Russell, at one time Treasurer of the Province, containing copies of papers of the Andros period, and accounts of administrations granted and wills proved, 1692–1701.

From Stanley W. Smith, of Boston, a photostat of a power of attorney (June 12, 1692) by Thomas Clarke to his son Andrew, to buy lands then or formerly in the possession of the Indians Nepoitan, Sachemus, and Manomoite.

By purchase, a collection of Oaths of Registry of Vessels at Portland, Maine, from April 1 to June 30, 1813, sworn at the Custom House there.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Dr. Albert H. Miller, of Providence, a photograph taken by him, September 5, 1931, of the birthplace of Dr. William T. G. Morton, which stands about a mile from Charlton on the old road to Oxford; also one of the electro-magnet, in the possession of the Society, which was bought by Dr. Charles T. Jackson in Paris in June or July, 1832, and shown by him on board the ship *Sully* in October, 1832, to Samuel F. B. Morse, in connection with the telegraph.

From W. E. Stears, of Anselwyn, England, an enlarged photograph of a two-penny stamp intended for use on material coming to America in 1765.

From Dr. John W. Farlow, a large photograph of the Washington Elm, Cambridge.

From Francis H. Bigelow, a photograph of a portrait, painted by James Frothingham, of Anna Francis, of Beverly (1773–1857), sister of Ebenezer Francis and of Mrs. John Low.

From Julius R. Wakefield, of Dedham, a number of tokens, coins, and bills.

From Charles A. Davis, three medals of Washington.

And by purchase, a photograph of a portrait of Nathaniel Clap, said to be by Feke, in the Newport Historical Society; also a collection of bank bills, mostly of Massachusetts.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from ROLAND GRAY accepting Resident Membership.

The President announced the death of GAMALIEL BRADFORD, a Resident Member, on April 11, 1932, and that, on March 14, of FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, from 1904 to 1910 and since 1924 a Corresponding Member, and from 1910 to 1924 a Resident Member.

Stewart Mitchell, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Arthur Stanwood Pier, of Concord, N. H., a Corresponding Member.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. PICKMAN read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The Society published in September, 1931, Volume LXIII of its *Proceedings,* including the meetings from October, 1929, to June, 1930, and the letters of the Reverend William Gordon from 1770 to 1786. Volume LXIV, including meetings from October, 1930, to June, 1932, is in preparation, and may be issued in the fall. Several separates from this volume have been printed.

Volume XII of the *House Journals*, 1734–1735, was issued in October, 1931, with a photogravure frontispiece of Governor Jonathan Belcher. The Society, by an Act of the General Court, has been relieved of the necessity of publishing the Journal of more than one year in any one volume of this series which was begun in 1919. Volume XIII, 1735–1736, is in preparation, and may be issued as early as June.

Volume II of the *Winthrop Papers*, 1623–1630, was published in November, 1931, with a colored heliotype frontispiece of Governor John Winthrop from a portrait in the possession of Grenville Lindall Winthrop, of New York.

Volume IV of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, including classes of 1690 to 1700, edited by Clifford K. Shipton, may be issued as early as June. Volume LXVIII of the *Collections*, to comprise the Logs of the *Columbia* on the Northwest Coast, is still delayed. The work on the consolidated Index of the *Proceedings*, Volumes XLI to LX, by David M. Matteson, is still in preparation.

The Society's Editor, Mr. Stewart Mitchell, is on a leave of absence for a year until October 1, 1932, and during this period Mr. Allyn Bailey Forbes is serving as Acting Editor. From the list of long-delayed memoirs, several have been communicated to the Society.

The Society's two photostat machines continue to be of good service. Two years of the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon's), 1770 and 1771, have been delivered to twenty-six subscribers, and prints are being made of the continuing years of this series, 1772 and 1773. Two years of the *Boston News-Letter*, 1772 and 1773, have been furnished to twenty-two subscribing libraries and individuals. Many other prints of miscellaneous material have also been made.

EDWARD MOTLEY PICKMAN

For the Council

Report of the Treasurer

From the estate of Robert Gould Shaw the Society received a legacy of $5,000 for general purposes, and from royalties the Adams Fund was increased $1,962.94. If to these sums are added $25.00 credited to the General Fund, the $7,153.68 diverted to the cumulative funds under the respective terms of gift, and the $1,218 gained on maturities, the Society's book capital is $15,359.62 greater than a year ago.

Market values, however, measure a condition that is far less favorable. Taking last sale quotations of March 31, 1931, as 100, the relative current worth of the Society's securities exactly a year later would be expressed by the following indexes: government and municipal bonds, 74; railroad bonds, 70; utility bonds, 94; and industrial bonds, 62. Similar indexes for preferred stocks are 53 for railroads, 56 for utilities, and 66 for industrials. For common stocks among the Society's investments the relative indexes are: railroads, 28; utilities, 80; industrials, 32; real estate shares, 72; and bank stocks, 55. Viewing the securities as a whole, the relative worth of bonds this year is 78, and of stocks a fraction over 54. The index for the consolidated market value of both bonds and stocks is 65.1. Of book value the percentage invested in bonds is 46.8; while in preferred stocks the Society has 19.6%, and in common stocks 33.6%. In market value the proportion is 54.8% in bonds, 18.9% in preferred stocks, and 26.3% in common stocks.

Although $10,977.99 more is invested in securities than a year ago the net income from investments after amortization and interest items was less by $902.46. Income credits have been apportioned at the rate of .0584, comparing with .0608 a year ago. Emergency subscriptions by members of the Society amounted to $2,920, and were entered under a new account to be known as the Five Year Income Fund, the amount in that account being dealt with as income and not capital. The generous response to the appeal for this money was of great assistance in the management of the Society's finances.

Net operating expenses exceeded current available income, the Five Year Income Fund included, by $5,699.14, and that amount was taken from balances that represent income unexpended in other years. The net cost of publications was $11,002.99, and the operation of the photostat gave a debit balance of $1,594.44. The photostat arrears are accounted for in part by uncollected credits.

Of the Society's net outlay, 14% was used for operating the building, 3.7% for what is called "the bindery," 28% for the library and staff, 45% for publications and for editing staff, and 3.8% for the photostat.

Accompanying this summary are a balance sheet and accounting exhibits and tabulations that present the financial condition of the Society in customary detail.

G. G. Wolkins
April 14, 1932 *Treasurer*

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS AS OF MARCH 31, 1932

Schedule of Bonds

Government and Municipal	*Interest Rate*	*Due*	*Book Value*
Kingdom of Denmark Ext.	6	1942	$ 9,502.50
City of Winnipeg	6	1946	15,672.00
			$ 25,175.00
Railroads			
Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	5	1938	$ 10,125.00
Boston & Maine Railroad Registered	4½	1944	6,000.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.	4½	1946	10,000.00
Chesapeake Corporation	5	1947	4,000.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Co.	4¾	1949	10,160.00
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co.	4½	1961	9,525.00
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust	5	1935	4,807.87
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust	5	1936	4,796.32
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.	6	1948	25,000.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad	5	1946	10,000.00
Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	4¾	1963	8,779.25
Pere Marquette Railway Co.	5	1956	15,000.00
			$118,193.44
Public Utilities			
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1960	$ 9,807.50
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co.	5	1939	9,975.00
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1942	8,000.00
Central Georgia Power Co.	5	1938	9,950.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5	1963	8,640.00
Consolidated Gas Co. of New York	4½	1951	10,071.00
Dedham Water Co.	5	1935	5,025.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5	1933	9,500.00
Florida Power & Light Co.	5	1954	9,400.00
Home Tel. & Tel. Co. of Spokane	5	1936	19,025.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n	6	1953	5,200.00
International Tel. & Tel. Corp'n	4½	1952	9,682.50
Massachusetts Gas Companies	5	1955	7,840.00
New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1932	7,000.00
Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co.	5	1950	4,987.50
Pacific Gas & Electric Co.	5½	1952	9,800.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1937	9,565.00
Western Union Telegraph Co.	5	1938	8,716.53
			$162,185.03
Industrials			
American Sugar Refining Co.	5	1937	$ 2,944.50
Chic. Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5	1940	9,919.44
Crucible Steel Co. of America	5	1940	5,970.00
International Paper Co.	5	1947	9,770.00
Quincy Market Cold Storage & W. Co.	5½	1946	10,000.00
Warren Brothers Co.	5½	1937	9,975.00
			$ 48,578.94
Total Bonds			$354,132.41[1]

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[1] The market value on March 31, 1932, was $284,832.50.

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

Railroads	Shares	Book Value
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Ry. Co., pfd.	158	$ 15,800.00
Boston & Maine Railroad, prior preference	90	9,000.00
Boston & Maine Railroad, 1st pfd. "A"	25	2,725.00
Public Utilities		$ 27,525.00
Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co., pfd. "A"	10	$ 880.00
Electric Bond & Share Co., 6% pfd.	300	31,900.00
Engineers Public Service Co., 5% pfd.	100	10,000.00
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., pfd.	52	5,460.00
Southern California Edison Co., pfd.	700	16,925.00
Industrials		$ 65,165.00
American Smelting & Refining Co., pfd.	75	$ 7,800.00
American Sugar Refining Company, pfd.	50	5,781.25
Chic. Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards, pfd.	150	15,450.00
Kansas City Stock Yards Co., pfd.	302	23,556.00
United States Steel Corp'n, pfd.	60	8,490.00
		$ 61,077.25
Total Preferred Stocks		$153,767.25 [1]

COMMON STOCKS

Railroads	Shares	Book Value
Boston & Albany Railroad	35	$ 7,315.00
Old Colony Railroad Co.	25	4,200.00
Southern Pacific Company	375	46,494.38
Public Utilities		$ 58,009.38
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	200	$ 25,373.75
Consolidated Gas Co. of New York	100	6,192.50
Western Massachusetts Companies	197	12,483.75
Western Union Telegraph Co.	40	4,657.50
Industrials		$ 48,707.50
General Electric Co.	400	$ 8,056.88
General Electric Co., special	10	0
Pacific Mills	400	19,860.00
Pullman, Inc.	50	4,316.25
United Fruit Co.	263	10,858.25
U. S. Steel Corp'n	200	30,950.00
Real Estate		$ 74,041.38
Boston Ground Rent Trust	100	$ 11,775.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	60	6,720.00
Boston Wharf Co.	125	13,800.00
State Street Exchange of Boston	5	410.00
Western Real Estate Trustees	100	18,370.00
Banks		$ 51,075.00
Merchants National Bank of Boston	85	$ 24,332.50
Second National Bank of Boston	200	13,500.00
		$ 37,832.50
Total Common Stocks		$269,665.76 [2]
Total Stocks (common and preferred)		$423,433.01 [3]

[1] The market value on March 31, 1932, was $98,041.00.
[2] The market value on March 31, 1932, was $136,192.00.
[3] The market value on March 31, 1932, was $234,233.00.

BALANCE SHEET, MARCH 31, 1932

Resources:		
Cash, on deposit with State Street Trust Co. . . .	$ 568.75	
Petty cash on hand at 1154 Boylston St. . . .	200.00	$ 768.75
Investments — Bonds	$354,132.41	
— Stocks	423,433.01	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,402.32	778,967.74
Real Estate		97,990.32
		$877,726.81
Liabilities:		
Funds — Principal	$699,081.49	
— Income	18,983.80	$718,065.29
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston St.		25,000.00
Building Account		72,990.32
Capital Reserve		59,453.20
Gain and Loss		1,218.00
Notes Payable		1,000.00
		$877,726.81

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance March 31, 1931			$766,597.42
Acquired by purchase:			
Bonds:			
$10,000 Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. debs 4½'s, 1951		$10,075.00	
Stocks:			
65 shs. American Tel. & Tel. Co.	$6,675.00		
100 " Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y., com., ...	6,192.50	12,867.50	
Book value of securities acquired, 1931–32		$22,942.50	
Called or matured:			
Bonds:			
$ 3,000 American Sugar Rfg. Co. 5's, 1937	$2,944.50		
10,000 Western Tel. & Tel. Co. 5's, 1932	8,912.50		
Book value of securities disposed of, 1931–1932		11,857.00	
Increase in book value of securities . .		$11,085.50	
Less amortization of premium on bonds [1]		117.50	10,968.00
Balance, March 31, 1932			$777,565.42

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[1] *Amortization:*

$10,000 Boston & Albany Railroad 5's, 1938	$25.00	
10,000 Chicago & North Western R. R. 4¾'s, 1947 . . .	10.00	
10,000 Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. 4½'s, 1951	4.00	
5,000 Dedham Water Co. 5's, 1935	12.50	
5,000 Illinois Power & Light Corp'n 6's, 1953	10.00	
15,000 City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	56.00	
		$117.50

GAINS AND LOSSES ON SALES OF SECURITIES FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1932

Gains:	*Book Value*	*Sales*	*Gains*
Bonds:			
$ 3,000 Am. Sugar Rfg. Co. 5's, 1937	$ 2,944.50	$ 3,075.00	$ 130.50
10,000 Western Tel. & Tel. Co. 5's, 1932	8,912.50	10,000.00	1,087.50
	$11,857.00	$13,075.00	
Total gains			$1,218.00
No losses through sales.			

FUNDS PRINCIPAL ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1932

Added:	*Royalties*	*Gifts*	*Income*	
Adams	$1,962.94			$1,962.94
Anonymous			$ 863.14	863.14
Building Annex			2,820.20	2,820.20
General		$ 25.00		25.00
Lodge			61.98	61.98
J. L. Sibley			3,408.36	3,408.36
Robert Gould Shaw		5,000.00		5,000.00
	$1,962.94	$5,025.00	$7,153.68	
Net Increase in Funds Principal balances				$ 14,141.62
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1931				709,939.87
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1932				$724,081.49

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1932

Receipts:			
Income from securities, after deducting accrued interest on securities bought		$40,051.29	
Less interest paid on temporary loans . . .		57.38	
		$39,993.91	
Interest on bank balances, other than Savings Accounts		20.55	$40,014.46
Robert Gould Shaw Legacy			5,000.00
Sale of Kimball's "Thomas Jefferson Architect" through kindness of Mrs. T. J. Coolidge, added to General Fund Principal			25.00
Proceeds of 31 days loan from March 18, 1932 . .			1,000.00
Subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund			2,950.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal . . .			1,962.94
Withdrawal from Provident Institution for Savings			15.00
Securities sold, called or matured:	Bonds	$13.075.00	
	Stocks	0.00	13,075.00
			$64,042.40
Cash on hand, March 31, 1931			916.25
			$64,958.65
Disbursements:			
Net Operating Expenses			$41,447.40
Securities acquired:	Bonds	$10,075.00	
	Stocks	12,867.50	22,942.50
			$64.389.90
Cash on hand, March 31, 1932			568.75
			$64,958.65

Income Summary for the Year ended March 31, 1932

Receipts:			
Income from securities		$40,061.29	
Less:			
Accrued interest on securities bought	$10.00		
Interest paid on temporary loans	57.38		
Amortization of premium on bonds	117.50	184.88	
		$39,876.41	
Interest on bank balances		20.55	
Interest credited by Savings Banks		54.98	
Five Year Income Fund		2,950.00	$42,901.94
Deduct income added to cumulative funds:			
Anonymous Centenary		$ 863.14	
Building Annex		2,820.20	
Lodge		61.98	
J. L. Sibley		3,408.36	7,153.68
Current Income available for Operating Expenses			$35,748.26
Operating Expenses (net) charged to Funds Income			41,447.40
Excess Expenses over Current Available Income			$ 5,699.14

Net Operating Expenses for the Year ended March 31, 1932

Bindery:			
Salary	$1,440.00		
Supplies	129.48	$ 1,569.48	
Less credits		22.05	$ 1,547.43
Building			
Cleaning			
Janitor, H. C. Fuller	$1,700.04		
Labor, H. C. Fuller	300.00		
Supplies	36.34		
Towels	90.00		
Vacation and illness supply	56.50		
Windows and floors	92.40	$ 2,275.28	
Electricity for elevator and light		212.34	
Elevator		149.77	
Furnishings, care, replacement		182.19	
Grounds, care, etc.		56.00	
Heating:			
Alterations in supply	26.87		
Boiler repairs	11.29		
Gas for heating water	19.96		
Heating contract	1,100.00		
Inspecting gas burners	5.94		
New supply line	400.00		
	$1,564.06		
Less sale of coal	118.25		
	$1,445.81		
Return premium, boiler insurance	13.31	1,432.50	
Carry forward		$ 4,308.08	$ 1,547.43

Brought forward		$ 4,308.08	$ 1,547.43
Insurance:			
Fire, building and contents	$ 1,000.65		
General liability, compensation	66.16	1,066.81	
Repairs		232.79	
Telephone		221.88	
Water		23.46	5,853.02
Cabinet			148.51
Editor Emeritus, Editor, Acting Editor, and Assistant			7,680.00
Engrossing: diplomas			4.50
Fares			16.35
Library:			
Binding		$ 25.50	
Librarian and staff		10,547.08	
Purchases			
Books, Serials, etc.		1,303.73	
Shipping		20.05	
Supplies, net amount		132.96	12,029.32
Meetings			185.17
Photostat:			
Binding		$ 294.85	
Cleaning			
Photostat room	$ 7.70		
Towels and towel material	98.70	106.40	
Collection charges		.40	
Electricity		208.05	
Gas for heater		79.84	
R. H. Pearman, salary		2,600.04	
Purchases			
Chemicals	$ 162.24		
Negatives, etc.	21.45		
Sensitized paper, etc.	2,289.70		
Sundry supplies	21.99	2,495.38	
Repairs and replacement		64.73	
Shipping		48.35	
Water		70.38	
		$5,968.42	
Less credits, so far as collected		4,373.98	1,594.44
Postage			239.37
Publications:			
William Gordon Letters (General Fund Income)			
Storage of type		$ 5.56	
House Journals, Vol. 12 (W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income):			
Composition, etc.	$1,473.22		
Index	101.30		
Typing, preparing petition to General Court	3.00		
	$1,577.52		
Less sales	851.60	725.92	
Carry forward		$ 731.48	$29,298.11

Brought forward		$ 731.48	$29,298.11
Proceedings, Vol. 63 (Waterston No. 3 Fund Income):			
Binding	$ 319.70		
Collection charges	.15		
Composition, press work, etc.	3,202.93		
Illustrations, half-tones, etc.	208.93		
Index	200.00		
Photostats	1.97		
Postage, cartons, etc.	28.33		
Separates	134.51		
Shipping	8.40	4,104.92	
Proceedings, Vol. 64 (Peabody Fund Income)			
Composition, etc.	$ 241.65		
Illustrations	13.75		
Postage, cartons, etc. on separates	1.41		
Separates, additional	17.58	274.39	
John L. Sibley's "Sketches of Harvard Graduates" continuation (J. L. Sibley Fund Income):			
Photograph prints	$ 10.02		
Photostat copies	21.70		
C. K. Shipton, research, etc.	2,375.00		
travel	26.72		
Other searchers	240.65	2,674.09	
Winthrop Papers, Vol. 2 (Charge divided between Robert Winthrop Fund Income and Five Year Income Fund):			
Binding	$ 340.00		
Composition, press work, etc.	2,113.83		
Alterations	893.81		
Illustrations			
Engraving titles	17.00		
Manuscripts, maps, etc.	335.74		
John Winthrop portrait, in color	510.00		
Winthrop miniature	45.65		
Index	150.00		
Photographs	18.19		
Photostats	35.00		
Postage, cartons, etc.	22.37		
Shipping	1.54		
Storage of type	7.92	4,491.05	
Shipping, miscellaneous volumes		11.68	
Sundry collection changes		.25	
Volumes purchased for stock		25.00	
		$12,312.86	
Less			
Current sales of publications other than House Journals	$ 584.87		
Carry forward	$ 584.87	$12,312.86	$29,298.11

Brought forward	$ 584.87	$12,312.86	$29,298.11
Sale of Collections and Proceedings, complete set, through gift of Mrs. Frederic Cunningham	725.00	1,309.87	11,002.99
Shipping: sundry express charges			3.12
Stationery			187.08
Subscriptions:			
Bay State Historical League			2.00
Treasurer:			
Assistant		$600.03	
Audit of accounts, May 1931		50.00	
State Street Trust Co., agency fees		186.07	
Sundry supplies		88.50	
Surety bond premium		25.00	
Typing for budget		4.50	954.10
Total Net Operating Expenses			$41,447.40

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS PRINCIPAL AND FUNDS INCOME
March 31, 1932

	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1931	Funds Income	Charges to Income	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1932	Funds Principal
Adams		$ 2,415.60	$ 2,415.60		$ 43,366.79
Amory		175.03	175.03		3,000.00
Appleton		711.95	711.95		12,203.00
Bigelow		116.69	116.69		2,000.00
Billings	$ 1,215.88	583.43	1,799.31		10,000.00
Boit	2,881.39	291.71		$ 3,173.10	5,000.00
Brattle Street	92.98	7.76		100.74	100.00
Chamberlain		71.90	71.90		1,232.33
Dowse		583.43	583.43		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	2,811.89	1,458.56[1]	1,577.52	3,544.53	25,000.00
Ellis		1,847.51	1,847.51		31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		291.71	291.71		5,000.00
Five Year Income		2,950.00	2,631.97	318.03	
Frothingham		175.03	175.03		3,000.00
General		3,383.20	3,383.20		58,013.66
Hunnewell	6,213.32	291.71	110.15	6,394.88	5,000.00
Lawrence	280.87	175.03	455.90		3,000.00
Lodge		247.89	247.89		5,373.05
Lowell		175.03	175.03		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs	121.71	116.69	238.40		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		583.43	583.43		10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross		583.43	583.43		10,000.00
Parker	169.36	47.22	15.00	201.58	1,000.00
Peabody	−358.57	1,290.71	16.12	916.02	22,123.00
Salisbury		291.71	291.71		5,000.00
Savage	364.78	350.06	217.67	497.17	6,000.00
Schouler		166.28	166.28		2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw					5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		1,313.26	1,313.26		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	4,451.70	10,225.05	14,004.35	672.40	237,087.20
Slafter		58.34	58.34		1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		875.13	875.13		15,000.00
Warren		58.34	58.34		1,000.00
Washburn		145.86	145.86		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	3,133.49	291.71	100.00	3,325.20	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	242.86	583.43		864.15[2]	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	4,114.77	583.43	3,204.92	1,493.28	10,000.00
Waterston Library	−2,754.79	226.09		−2,528.70	3,875.14
Robert Winthrop	1,499.86	875.14	2,169.72[3]	11.42	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		700.11[4]	856.11		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		137.96	137.96		2,364.66
William Winthrop	201.44	291.71	493.15		5,000.00
	$24,682.94	$35,748.26	$42,299.00	$18,983.80	$657,264.97
Anonymous		863.14[5]			15,657.62
Building Annex		2,820.20[5]			51,158.90
Lodge		61.98[5]			
J. L. Sibley		3,408.36[5]			
Total Funds Income		$42,901.94			
Total Funds Principal					$724,081.49

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[1] Does not include $851.60 representing sales of House Journals 12.
[2] Includes journal credit to correct 1929 error, $37.86.
[3] Does not include journal debits to correct errors in 1924 and 1929, in amount $193.86.
[4] Does not include journal credit to correct 1924 error, $156.00.
[5] This income included in Funds Principal in right-hand column.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we enclose herewith.

ALLAN FORBES
JOHN WOODBURY
Committee

April 13, 1932

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 13, 1932

MESSRS. ALLAN FORBES AND JOHN WOODBURY,
Examining Committee

Dear Sirs:

I hereby certify that I have audited the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1932, and I find that all payments have been posted, supported by the proper vouchers, and receipts entered and deposited. I compared the schedule of the investments with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company and they agreed.

Respectfully yours,
E. E. JOBLING
Auditor

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

During the past year the Library has been enriched by gifts of nearly two thousand titles, and by the purchase of more than four hundred, besides nearly two hundred gifts of maps and broadsides. With these have come gifts, and a few purchases, of a large number of manuscripts, including several bound volumes, and also deposits of valuable family papers. The Society is grateful to members who have generously given their own publications and other historical material.

The general work of the Library has progressed as well as conditions would allow. The cataloguing of titles and the indexing of manuscripts are done as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible, but still more help is needed to bring the latter important feature up to date. The excellent work of the bindery is duly appreciated, as it furnishes valuable aid in the repair of manuscripts and books, and in many other ways. The binding of current serials, newspapers, and pamphlets has been regretfully delayed. Much has been done to arrange and make accessible the large number of pieces which have been furnished by the photostat machines. One important addition is the series of Diaries of the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman in photostat reproduction made on our machines through the helpfulness and courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society. These were trimmed, arranged, and placed in attractive cases on our shelves by the bindery. Copies of rare or unique works in other libraries are treated in the same way as they come from the machines.

During all of the Society's venerable life, the Library has been an indispensable aid in carrying on our chief function — to publish material for history. It has furnished at the same time a rich source for original research, and it attracts scholars. The thoroughness and depth of the guest-historian today surpass those of any earlier period in the Society's history, and offer a fine challenge to the genius, ability, and courteous service of your Library staff. Whatever difficulties and inconveniences exist in our widely separated material my associates have cheerfully overcome in promptly serving every day to numerous researchers our rich treasures for investigation. There is also a happy response to many inquiries by letter and telephone. In many ways the Library is rendering an important service to the public at large. Grateful appreciation is expressed to my associates on the Society's staff for their unfailing and devoted interest in every detail of the work in hand.

Julius H. Tuttle
Librarian

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper

The additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings*.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports additions to the number of four hundred and ten, of which three hundred and six were general coins and medals; forty-four, Massachusetts medals; and sixty, bills.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS
Cabinet-Keeper

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET

Under the guidance of Mr. Tuttle, your Committee visited the Library and Cabinet on April 8. It may be assumed that there can be no proper solution of the Society's problems until the long-talked-of annex is built and there are sufficient funds in hand to care for its maintenance. The Committee, therefore, took up the question of what might be done with the meager sum of money likely to be available at present and in the near future.

Last October the Society made a fortunate arrangement with the Boston Medical Library, our next-door neighbor, to supply us with sufficient heat to warm this building, its halls, stacks, and wherever needed. The result has been so satisfactory that it is no longer necessary for us to use our own heating plant. A large bin, formerly used for holding over sixty tons of coal, is now empty, and your Committee consider it a suitable place in which to place stacks capable of holding about 15,000 volumes, more particularly such books as are important enough to keep but not often called for. The books, many of which have lain on the dirty basement floors for years, and the bin should be thoroughly cleaned, and then the books can be placed on the shelves in proper order so as to be easily found when wanted.

Another feature of this new heating scheme is that Mr. Fuller, the Society's janitor for many years, is now freed from all care of the boiler and the rest of the basement, which had always required constant attention because of the omnipresent coal dust. He can now be called on to assist in moving books and pamphlets, looking after the accessions, and arranging this material for placing on the shelves.

In the middle of the basement there is a large room more or less occupied by old sets of newspapers, many of them in bad condition on account of the coal dust. The Committee feel that the new conditions arising from the removal of the source of dirt warrant the placing of shelves against the walls on which the papers can be placed after they are cleaned and arranged. Good housekeeping demands, or at any rate justifies, this important step. Many of the papers can be thrown out and sold as old paper because they are now of little or no value, and are too soiled to be worth preserving. There are also piles of publications and hundreds of duplicates for which no use has been found in twenty years, and which might well be disposed of.

On the entrance floor, the Cabinet room on the left is dark because the two windows in the rear were bricked up a few years ago to eliminate the fire risk. The installing of a few additional electric lamps with long flexible cords would enable our visitors to read the labels more easily and examine the valuable objects which now are often passed by without attracting attention. The large exhibition room is now much used by persons consulting and copying manuscripts for themselves or as secretaries for others. The room is warm and all parts of it are available for use, even near the windows.

On examining the rooms on the librarian's floor, and the stories of stacks, the Committee found the floors and tables so piled up with books and documents of all kinds that it seemed to them as if great deterioration must result, to say nothing of the difficulty of finding what was wanted. A visit to these overcrowded stacks by any of our members interested in the working part of a large special library, would give them an idea of the serious conditions which confront Mr. Tuttle. General recommendations to remedy this situation are the most that the Committee can make, but it seemed to them that good housekeeping (meaning cleanliness) was a necessary first step. Removal, when possible, of books and papers from the floors and discarding of a not inconsiderable number of publications which have accumulated during the years, but really have no true place in a special historical library, should be a part of the program. It is suggested that a few small, light tables, easily moved about, would enable workers to examine books and papers better than having to rely on large, heavy furniture already piled with material which should have been distributed before instead of having been allowed to remain in a situation which has really proved to be a permanent storage place.

The question of fire risk was discussed and it was considered that the danger from outside the building was fairly well guarded against, but that there was more cause for concern from the interior, principally due to the menace of papers and other inflammable material scattered about on floors and in corners. The suggestions already made in regard to the removal of such material, as a matter of housecleaning, would serve to remove a risk of damage by fire.

John W. Farlow
Henry L. Seaver
Claude M. Fuess

The Committee to Nominate Officers for the ensuing year made its Report, presenting candidates, and a ballot being taken, the following were elected:

PRESIDENT
William Crowninshield Endicott

VICE-PRESIDENTS
Henry Lefavour
Roger Bigelow Merriman

RECORDING SECRETARY
Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
Francis Russell Hart

TREASURER
George Gregerson Wolkins

LIBRARIAN
Julius Herbert Tuttle

CABINET-KEEPER
Grenville Howland Norcross

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE OF THE COUNCIL

CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH
CLAUDE MOORE FUESS
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
CLARENCE HENRY HARING
FREDERIC WINTHROP

It was *voted*, That the Massachusetts Historical Society strongly favors the replacing of the statue of the Hon. Edward Everett, who rendered distinguished service to our Commonwealth and Nation, in such place as the Art Commission of the City of Boston may select.

Mr. PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE read a paper on

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PROTESTANT CLERGY IN MASSACHUSETTS DURING THE ELECTION OF 1884

The essence of the Mugwump episode was the affiliation of Independent Republicans with the Democratic party in order to defeat Blaine. This breach in party discipline, though not peculiar to Massachusetts, deserves special attention in the case of that state because of the relatively large number and the prominence of the bolters.

In order to give " to a candid world " a complete justification of their course, the Independents issued several declarations of independence, in which they stressed especially this point:

> This election differs from most others in that there is no sufficient difference of policy between the parties to distract the voter's attention from the qualifications of the two candidates; that these candidates in their records, in the method of their selection and in their relation to the party leaders represent such opposing principles of politics that the voter has a very clear-cut question presented to him.

This was apparently firm ground on which to start a campaign of moral issues, but there were two complicating factors, one of which appeared at the start and the other in midsummer. Most unexpectedly the two factors worked together to prevent the full strength of the anti-Blaine sentiment from being thrown to Cleveland. The first was the desire of a minority of the Independents to run a separate ticket regardless of the candidate selected by the Democrats. While there were several reasons for this, it was chiefly a distrust of the ability of any candidate selected by the Democrats to pursue an independent course on such issues as Tariff Reform and Civil Service Reform. But there was also a desire to start a new political party "to grow," as President Eliot said, "as the Liberty and Free Soil parties grew into the Republican party of 1856." Once the decision had been reached by the Massachusetts Committee of One Hundred to join with the New York Independents in supporting Cleveland, this demand for a third party nomination quieted down, but never entirely disappeared.

The second disturbing factor appeared in the middle of the campaign when the attack on Cleveland's personal character assumed serious proportions. Conscientious voters had to decide whether a candidate of bad private morals was to be preferred above a candidate of bad public morals. Incidentally, the demand for a third-party ticket flared up again with all the strength of "I told you so" in the arguments of the old objectors. The belated calling of a convention to name a third ticket to represent the Independents was agitated by President Seelye, and though the proposal was made light of by the *Springfield Republican* and other Independent journals, it encouraged timid souls to abandon their support of Cleveland and turn to St. John, the Prohibition standard-bearer, as the only immaculate candidate left to them.

On June 7, the day after Blaine and Logan had received the Republican nominations, the Massachusetts Reform Club planned a meeting which was held six days later in Meionaon Hall. Here, under the presidency of Charles R. Codman, it resolved

> that the country would be better served by opposing these nominations than by supporting them. . . . That we look with solicitude to the coming nominations by the Democratic party; they have the proper men; we hope they will put them before the people for election. That an executive committee of 100 be appointed with

> full powers. That whatever action be taken by the Democratic party in Chicago, we as Republicans and Independents direct our committee to call a convention . . . after the Democratic candidates have been nominated, and not later than August 1, and to take such other action as may to them seem necessary to carry the sense of this meeting into practical effect.

As a result, a Committee of One Hundred was appointed which three days later created an Executive Committee of twenty-five, and sent a delegation to New York to confer with sympathizers there.

The following week, headquarters of the Massachusetts Independent Republicans were opened at 166 Washington Street, Boston, and a circular was prepared calling upon all Massachusetts voters dissatisfied with the nomination of Blaine and Logan to send their names to the Committee of One Hundred. This circular, after reporting the resolutions adopted at the Meionaon Hall meeting, proceeded as follows:

> DEAR SIR:
>
> I write to ask you, as one of our leading sympathizers in the anti-Blaine movement, to enter upon a correspondence with me, to the end that the best measures be adopted to realize & add to our voting strength in your town.
>
> I wish to know if you are willing to call together for a private conference such of our sympathizers, be they few or many, as you think would coöperate with you in work, which upon further consideration may appear advisable.
>
> I trust you will be able to answer me immediately, & I need not say to you that our communications will be confidential.
>
> If, in answering, you can give me the names of leading Independents, & your impressions of the strength of our movement in your town, I shall be pleased, but I am particularly anxious to know if you will undertake this preliminary work.
>
> When you answer I shall be pleased to suggest a plan of action such as has been found productive in towns similarly placed.
>
> Very sincerely yours
>
> GEO. FRED WILLIAMS

These circulars were at first sent out broadcast, but after the formation of committees of Independents in each county and town a special circular was sent to the persons named by the local committees as probably in sympathy with the

Independents. Each circular was accompanied by the following letter from the headquarters of the Committee of One Hundred, dated June 30, 1884:

> Dear Sir: Will you permit us to call your attention to the enclosed circular. We are desirous of enrolling all men whose convictions will not allow them to support the nominations of Blaine and Logan, and we have therefore taken the liberty of asking you, if you approve the movement referred to in the circular, to send us the names of such men in your vicinity as will be of assistance in perfecting our organization.
>
> Yours respectfully,
> Moses Williams, Secretary

In compiling their mailing list the Executive Committee included the names of Protestant clergymen of whatever denomination. It is now impossible to discover whether the circular was sent to every minister in the State,[1] but from the geographical range of the replies received and from the fact that some circulars seem to have been addressed "To the Pastor of the — Church" in a given town, it would appear that the intention of the committee had been to cover the entire field, including all the major Protestant sects.[2] Apparently no circulars were sent to the Jewish rabbis, or to Roman Catholic priests, or to any representative of the Society of Friends.

As the replies came in they were examined by members of the Executive Committee, the names of suggested sympathizers noted, answers in rebuttal to objections drafted, and provision made to supply the correspondent with campaign literature. The answers were then filed by localities, and almost every town seems to have contained someone, layman or clergyman, who replied. At the time, probably no one anticipated that the national campaign would degenerate into a contest of scandal-mongering and that the moral issue of private chastity versus public corruption would threaten to overshadow other questions and so create a challenge to the clergy to participate in the canvass to an extent then unprecedented, except perhaps in the election of 1800, and since matched only in the election of 1928. It is for this reason that a study of these replies and of the position taken by leading denominational journals, associations of ministers, and both clerical and lay contributions to the press becomes of some significance.

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[1] A study of the reports of the various denominational bodies for the year 1884 gives the following census of Massachusetts Protestant clergy: 242 Baptist ministers in charge of parishes; 700 Congregationalists; 162 Episcopalian clergymen, including one bishop and seven deacons; 225 Methodists; 17 Presbyterians; 133 Unitarians; and 92 Universalists serving 113 churches.

[2] Mr. George Fred Williams was Secretary of this Executive Committee. I am indebted to him for the use of the replies to this circular.

It should be noted at the start that the material available affords no adequate basis for a statistical study. There is no record of the number of clergy actually circularized, nor is it certain that all the replies received were filed if they afforded no clue to the correspondent's political intentions. Furthermore, the number of replies on file is too small in relation to the whole number of clergy to afford a reliable basis for generalization. Though in July, 1884, there were in Massachusetts 23 cities and 324 towns, the files of the Committee of One Hundred contain replies from but 119 cities and towns. Among the missing are some of the largest, including Boston, Beverly, Cambridge, and Worcester. To some extent, however, these omissions are remedied by letters to the daily press. Assuming that circulars reached all 1571 clergymen, and making due allowance for the lack of records for the most populous towns, it is clear that the proportion of clergy who replied was small.

The meagerness of the replies bears out the statement made at the time that most of the clergy refused to commit their political opinions to writing, especially where they feared lest their names be used publicly to influence the votes of others or as representatives of a denomination. It should also be remembered that in 1884 the "sales resistance" of the professional classes to questionaires had not been broken down by the *Literary Digest's* and the National Education Association's periodic inquisitions. Fifty-six definite replies received directly from clergymen have been preserved. About as many other letters from laymen contained expressions of opinion as to the political inclinations of the ministry. About the same number could be gathered from the partisan press, which encouraged correspondents to submit their views and canvassed the more conspicuous of the clergy. From the tone of the denominational journals and especially from such a periodical as the *Independent* (New York), it is evident that the clergy corresponded with their brethren and editors of journals more freely than they did with the Committee of One Hundred. It is apparent also from the letters from ministers published by such Republican organs as the *Boston Journal*[3] as well as from editorial comment that an effort was made by the Republican organization to counteract the appeals issued by the Independents.

Of the fifty-six definite replies tabulated, seven rejected the Committee's appeals and declared for Blaine, twenty-seven agreed with the Committee to the extent of opposing Blaine, five went further and definitely favored Cleveland, six said they would refuse to vote for Cleveland, two declared for St. John, and nine declared that they were not prepared to state their position. Of those who most hotly resented the tone of the circular and declared positively their faith in Blaine or, if not espousing Blaine, rejected Cleveland at once, seventeen were Congregationalists, four were Baptists, and three, Methodists. Among the Congregationalists were pastors in South Peabody, Plymouth, Middlefield, Lancaster, Norton, Marlborough, Springfield, Smithville, Stoughton, and Marshfield. Baptists replied from Millbury and Methuen, and Methodists from Taunton and New Bedford. The significance of all this lies in the greater number of replies from the smaller towns than from the dozen largest towns in the state, rather than in the distinction between denominations. That is, the country clergy, regardless of denomination, were more likely to reply than the urban clergy.[4]

Clericals of Independent political persuasion in the small towns expressed a yearning to get in touch with the leaders in Boston, declaring themselves lonely Independents in rock-ribbed Republican districts. The Reverend William A. Fobes, Congregational minister in Monterey, wrote on July 10:

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[3] See, for instance, issue of July 15, 1884, p. 2.

[4] This assumes that the missing returns from the large cities would have been distributed among sects in pretty much the same way as appeared in those cities from which we have replies.

> I very heartily approve of the movement referred to in the circular you sent me, but it is lonesome off up this way. It reminds me of the way it used to be with the free soilers in 1851 and '52. I do not know of a single soul who sympathizes with me, and with my views in this section, but of course as a minister I do not mean to be very noisy and it is possible that there are numbers who agree with me.

On the other hand, from similar towns came letters declaring that the spirit of disgust and opposition to Blaine and Logan was rife. In response to the committee's letter of June 30, addressed to the Reverend George J. Pierce of Phillipston, a list was returned of some thirty-five voters believed to be favorable to the Independent cause. Of this number, six were ministers, and as many more were described as doctors, either of medicine, dentistry, or laws. Henry W. Eldredge, Congregational minister of Turner's Falls, declared himself friendly to the movement of Republicans and Independents, while four of his parishioners, he believed, including Deacon Mahonney and Deacon Whitney, were in sympathy with it.

The more typical reply of the clergyman, however, was to the effect that while for himself and his flock the Blaine nomination was repugnant, the thought of supporting a Democrat was even worse. The solution suggested was a third ticket or the support of St. John. The Reverend E. A. Perry, for example, writing from Palmer on July 8, said:

> . . . I cannot support Blaine and Logan, shall not vote for them except as a choice between two evils. In the event of Butler's nomination I should vote for Blaine, if compelled to choose between the two. I have no love for the Democratic party and no confidence in its integrity of purpose. . . . I hope the Independent organization will be maintained as a separate and distinct party accepting, if a good one, the nominee of the Democratic convention. I can at present send but few names and these more from supposition than from knowledge.[5]

On the other hand, the Reverend George W. Coon, Methodist, of Swampscott, wrote:

> Allow me to say that the treatment of the temperance question received at the hands of both the Republican and the Democratic

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[5] He then names the Reverend O. R. Hunt and Dr. W. H. Stowe.

parties makes it altogether impossible for me to vote for either one of them without violating the dictates of my conscience. Years ago I cast my first vote for the Democratic party but I was compelled to leave said party because I would not vote for Francis Kernan, Roman Catholic, for governor of New York State. . . . For years I have believed with Dr. M. B. Anderson, president of Rochester University, in the "divine right of scratching ballots". . . . Let every true Independent vote for St. John and Daniels and thereby hasten on the greatest victory ever known in the history of nations.

Similarly, from Manchester the Congregational minister, D. O. Clark, wrote on July 29:

> I am at present undecided what course to pursue relative to the coming election, but have no idea of voting for Cleveland. Don't like the party, and believe you are making a mistake. If you bolted for St. John I believe you would have the backing of most of the clergy.

Even before the Buffalo scandals were aired in the press, certain correspondents declined any compromise with their Republican consciences. Thus, from Marlborough a Congregational minister declared (July 9): "I do not know of anyone to whom I can refer you [as a probable supporter of the Independent cause]. I do not see any advantage to the country or the state by opposition to Mr. Blaine." From Plymouth there came a shower of hostile comment. The pastor of the Congregational Church of The Pilgrimage wrote: "I am not in sympathy with the movement and must respectfully decline to assist in the way suggested"; but the pastor of the Congregational Church in South Plymouth was more emphatic: "I have no knowledge of any who are in sympathy with the Independent movement. I regret very much its existence, for it will not only be futile in itself, but will injure the best interests of the people which doubtless many of those concerned in it may have at heart." Somewhat similar letters came from the Congregational ministers in South Peabody, Stoughton, and New Bedford. From the latter city a clergyman (S. Wright Butler) wrote on July 10:

> My confidence in the Republican nominees, as the peers of any possible prospective candidates, my enthusiasm for Mr. Blaine as a Christian and a statesman, for Logan as a Patriot and a Man,

> forbid myself or counselling my friends to aid any defection whose only practical result can be to give aid and comfort to the Nominees of the party which (unrepentant and unpurged as yet) demanded both in Forum and in Field the sagacious Sacrifices of Blaine and Logan to maintain to us the privilege of being Republicans and the possession of the Union of States still comprising our Country. Wishing you Peace personally but Confusion politically, ...

From Middlefield another note was added:

> My advice would be for you to manifest a little more solicitude for the success of the party of which you claim to be members, namely, the Republican party, and less for the success of the democracy, which was so fittingly characterized by George William Curtis in the late National Republican Convention at Chicago. I would also say to all Boston dudes and cranks, you would do well to shut up shop, go home, cool down, and in November next vote for Blaine and Logan. You will save your credit for sanity if not also for honesty and the country will be benefitted by your votes.

Besides these and other replies which the Committee received directly, valuable evidence of the trend of clerical opinion is afforded by letters published in the *Boston Journal* on its editorial page — previously, of course, carefully culled over by the editors with an eye to partisan advantage. Two or three items from the issue of July 19 will suffice:

> I have no sympathy with the attempts of so-called Republicans to defeat the nominations made in the most representative convention held by the party for years.

> Unless I have more very strong clear light I shall vote with ex-President Woolsey, Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., Rev. Dr. Webb, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Senator Hoar, Governor Robinson, John D. Long and Wm. Walter Phelps for Blaine and Logan. For Cleveland I would not vote with anybody or everybody.
>
> N.B. I do not absolutely know of more than one anti-Blaine Independent Republican here.[6]

From the Lancaster Congregational Church an old-line Republican wrote: " I was a Liberty Party man in '43, and later a Free Soiler and a Republican. I look upon Mr. Blaine as the worthy successor of Mr. Birney, John P. Hale, Abraham Lincoln and James Garfield." Ephraim W. Allen, of the Taunton Congregational Church, wrote: "I cannot consent to throw the government into the hands of its would-be destroyers, the Democratic party. That result is in my view the only tendency of your mischievous action. I am too old a fly to be wheedled into the parlor of the Independent spider."

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[6] The writer, the Reverend H. E. Barnes, of the Center Congregational Church, Haverhill, also brings in an interesting note of loyalty to brothers-in-arms when he says: " Logan I knew personally when we lay together before Vicksburg in '63 and entered that city July 4 of the same year."

On the other hand, the Independents received early encouragement from clergymen resident in towns normally strongly Republican. Among the Congregationalists replying to the Committee were three from Fall River, one from South Hadley, one from Springfield, and one from Baldwinville, and in addition there was a Methodist from that stronghold of Republicanism, Provincetown. It is significant that in general these bolting clergymen, by comparison with their more regular brethren, expressed themselves very mildly. The clerical "dander" was not fully roused until the issue of personal morality was raised later on.

> Although a Republican, [wrote one] and honoring that party's record in years gone by, I am compelled to break with my fellows and refuse to support by vote or influence that party's nominees.

> For one I am ready [said another] to vote for Cleveland or Bayard against Blaine, or for a third party nominee. When the machine usurps the place of the true Republican party, and uses the party name and organization for its own purposes, it is time to crush the machine at any cost, or to seek a new name and organization.

> Please place my name on your list as being opposed to the election of Messrs. Blaine and Logan [wrote a third]. Having cast my first vote for President Lincoln, I have nearly always thought it best, from that day to this, to vote for the nominees of the Republican party. For some years past, however, Mr. Blaine has seemed to me a dangerous element.

Before following the course of clerical opinion in the development of the campaign after the Buffalo revelations, it would be of interest to consider for a moment the early expression of opinion in the religious journals, either those avowedly denominational, or those, such as the New York

Independent, which had made themselves to some extent an organ of Protestantism. On June 12, the *Congregationalist* in an editorial entitled "Blaine and Logan" commented upon the outcome of the Republican National Convention:

> The failure of those opposed to Mr. Blaine to unite against him at the last made his nomination possible. His selection is gratifying to many but to many others, among whom we regret that we must rank ourselves, it is a sad disappointment. . . . If the Democrats nominate a man like Gov. Cleveland or Sen. Bayard, believed to be of high character, he will receive thousands of Republican and Independent votes, especially in New York.

Another spokesman of Congregationalism, the *Andover Review,* a monthly which had made its first appearance in the year of the campaign, indicated its general approval of the Independent movement when it said (July):

> The Independent movement is strong because it is so terribly personal. It names men. Its contention is not simply for general morality of administration. It does not hesitate to say of such and such men that they have not the political character which warrants the trust of citizens.
>
> The emphasis thus placed upon political character if rigidly insisted upon and supported by resolute efforts towards civil service reform will surely purify American politics. And nothing else will. . . .[7]

The *Independent* took sides at once against the Republican nominations, stating on June 12:

> THE INDEPENDENT will not support the ticket nominated at Chicago. It commands neither our enthusiasm nor our convictions. . . . Blaine and Logan are fit comrades. They were the two most objectionable candidates before the Convention and it was natural that they should combine and conquer. . . . If some power could give the Democrats the grace to nominate some respectable candidate, like Bayard or Cleveland, they would make the election of Blaine impossible.

In the same issue they began a policy, pursued throughout the campaign, of soliciting from prominent men their opinions on the political situation. In this number they published a letter from Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson in which he stated:

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[7] The editors of the *Andover Review* were Egbert C. Smyth, William J. Tucker, J. W. Churchill, George Harris, and Edward Y. Hincks.

> Between Blaine and Cleveland . . . no really Independent Republican can hesitate; and it is the duty of these Independents so to emphasize this fact that the blindest Democrat shall see it. . . . Should the Democratic Party also prove faithless, the further course is plain; to found a new party and let it grow as the Liberty Party grew, until it controls the nation.

On June 26, the *Independent* published expressions of opinion from other distinguished men, including James Freeman Clarke, who wrote: " I am one of those who have always voted the republican ticket . . . but if the democrats nominate Grover Cleveland I expect to cast my vote for him in November." On the other hand, Edward Everett Hale said: " The objection to Mr. Blaine in the journals edited by Englishmen [8] is that his policy will be national or American. With my views of the politics of the world, this is not a serious objection." [9]

In the issue of July 17, having heard the result of the Democratic convention, the editors of the *Independent* declared: ". . . we withdraw our support from him [Blaine] and take our part with the Independent Republicans, who care more for economy and reform than for party success." A week later, they confirmed this position in an editorial entitled " The Conclusion Reached ":

> Is there anything in the private moral character of either of the two candidates which should forbid honorable men from voting for them? We only know their public moral character. As to their private moral character rumors are sure to be started against both. Our duty is to presume them to be false. We have seen no evidence of their truth. We have waited a full week after both nominations have been made to see if any such rumors would be substantiated by anything which would bear record. We expect nothing and nothing has been offered. As it stands we can be concerned only with the political principles and public life of the two candidates as they stand on record.

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[8] Obviously hitting at the *Nation.*

[9] A pro-Blaine statement from President T. D. Woolsey, of Yale, was published, as were unfavorable comments by Washington Gladden, Professors William G. Sumner and William Everett, and the Reverend J. P. Gulliver, of Andover.

Up to this moment there was nothing to rouse the clergy to more than a moderate expression of interest in the campaign — to sympathize vaguely with the platform of the Independents, or to regret their breach with the party of Lincoln and Garfield. But on July 21 the storm which had been brewing in a ministers' meeting in Buffalo reached New England and was given publicity by the *Morning Star,* a Baptist journal of Dover, N. H. The story was seized upon with avidity by the *Boston Journal* and quoted, with editorial comment, in the issue of July 25:[10]

> We have been repeatedly and warmly assured by Democratic and Independent journals that the present campaign is to be pre-eminently one based upon character. The Independent platform opens with the declaration: "The paramount issue of the Presidential election of this year is MORAL rather than political." The New York Independents based their call upon "the interests of public morals." The New York Evening Post, a few days since, remarked: "We presume there are very few observers of the political field to-day who doubt any longer that *the personal character of the candidates* is to be *the great issue and the chief topic of discussion* in the canvass." We have therefore the very highest Independent authority when we urge the importance of investigating, and not of investigating merely, but of vindicating, if that be possible, the personal character of Grover Cleveland, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. It cannot be said that we have intruded the personal issue into the canvass; it has been pushed forward by the other side. The unmeasured laudations of Governor Cleveland and the unsparing and malignant aspersions of Mr. Blaine, which have constituted, up to the present time, pretty much all there is of the Democratic-Independent campaign, not only justify but compel an examination of the personal character of the Democratic candidate.
>
> To what disclosures is such an examination likely to lead? We will contribute a few points toward the solution of the question.
>
> The Morning Star, a Baptist paper published at Dover, N. H., and for nearly sixty years an influential and respected representative of its denomination, in its issue for July 16 (*sic*), in an editorial

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[10] Copies of the *Buffalo Telegraph* containing the first published charges against Cleveland were in the hands of the delegates returning from the Independent Republican Convention in New York on July 22, but little attention was given the matter until the *Boston Journal's* editorial of July 25.

article upon The Democratic Candidate, used the following extraordinary language:

"Historians agree that lust in high places is one of the greatest perils to public morals and national security. It would be a most alarming symptom of ruin to this Republic if personal crimes were to be ignored in candidates for office. The safety of the Republic, the morals of the people, the best interest of young men, require that the villains should be exposed and the penalty of uniform defeat be visited upon every man who is convicted of crime. There are papers in New York State that openly accuse the Democratic candidate for the Presidency of committing crimes against chastity which, if he is guilty of them, make the mention of his name in connection with the White House a gross sacrilege. Solely in the interests of morality do we refer to this sickening subject. If Mr. Cleveland is innocent, let it be made to appear. Such charges as these are not to be ignored. With such evidence as lies before us at this writing, it would be criminal for us to forbear saying this much. We loathe Mormonism, but not half as much as we loathe a kindred crime that does not even seek the semblance of law or of fanaticism for its justification."

This is not the language of malignant partisanship, but of the outraged moral sense, crying out against sickening iniquity in a character paraded before the public eye as a model of integrity. It is scarcely to be supposed that a conservative religious journal would use such words of a candidate of a great party for the Presidency of the United States, unless it had in its possession evidence which made it an imperative duty to speak, and to speak plainly. What this evidence is we have no authority to say. What it may be, it is not difficult to guess, from other material at command. . . .

If these assertions are true, it is time that the masquerade of Grover Cleveland as the embodiment of personal integrity should come to an end. We do not believe that the American people, if these statements are proved to be true, would elevate to the Presidency of the United States a betrayer of women, a man of shameless and profligate life. But if these assertions are not true, it must be an easy thing to disprove them. They are not vague, but specific, the persons concerned in them, or with definite knowledge of them, are named. The charges are not to be disposed of as idle scandal or campaign calumnies. Responsible parties are behind them, and can be held accountable for them. We submit these three propositions, and shall be pleased to maintain them against all comers:

First, that Grover Cleveland cannot ignore these accusations.

> Second, that if they are true, he is not fit for the position which he now holds, and far less fit to be placed at the head of fifty-five millions of people.
>
> Third, that the failure to meet and disprove these charges will be *a confession of guilt.*

In its issue of July 26, the *Woman's Journal* took up the cry. This paper was edited by Lucy Stone, her husband Henry Blackwell, and her daughter Alice Stone Blackwell. With them Thomas Wentworth Higginson was associated as a contributor. The editors said:

> The *Buffalo Evening Telegraph* of the 21st inst. makes specific charges vs. Governor Cleveland's reputation for morality which should either be refuted or sustained. We should think that all these persons who support Governor Cleveland on moral grounds would not rest satisfied until the falsity of these charges has been demonstrated.

It appears that on July 23 one John A. Creswell had written to the editors of the *Woman's Journal* from the office of the *Buffalo Evening Telegraph:*

> I am making a fight for decency, purity and womanhood. The man I attack in this cause is governor of N. Y., a candidate for president. . . . I want the help of the Woman's Journal. I am no scandal monger. No politician knew I was going to make this fight. For my reputation as a journalist and as a man I refer you to Mrs. J. Morgan Smith, Grand Rapids, widow of my pastor . . . Rev. S. Graves, Pastor, Baptist Church, Rev. Chas. Fluhrer, Pastor, Universalist Church. I owned and edited the *Grand Rapids Saturday Evening Post* from Feb. '79 to Dec. '82. I know you need only be convinced of the truth of the charges against Cleveland to strongly protest against him. . . . [Gives names, among them Geo. H. Ball, D.D., Pastor Hudson St. Baptist Church] can tell you what Buffalo decency thinks of Governor Cleveland.

The Baptists' official organ, the *Watchman,* like other denominational journals, was more hesitant than individual ministers to take up the controversy. On July 10, when the chief attack was on Blaine, the *Watchman,* in an editorial entitled "Character Wrecking," urged its readers to hold to the attitude of "not proven" in regard to the charges brought against both candidates. By August 7, although the burden of the attack on the moral issue had now been shifted to Cleveland, the *Watchman* continued to argue that the charges were not proven and had better be let alone, but it adds: "When a public man is charged in the public press by known and responsible parties with flagrant immorality it is not an unworthy condescension for him to vindicate his character — if possible."

Meanwhile the Reverend Kinsley Twining, D.D., had gone from the office of the *Independent* in New York to Buffalo to investigate the charges emanating from a group of clergymen for whom Messrs. Ball and Creswell were spokesmen. Mr. Twining's report was the only independent, impartial investigation of the charges which received general publicity. For this reason the *Independent* was thrown into the thick of the fray and was attacked by religious papers and by the independent lay press. That part of Twining's report that appeared on the front page of the *Independent* of August 14 is as follows:

> Letters having been received at the office of the INDEPENDENT from two reputable clergymen in Buffalo, N. Y., charging Mr. Cleveland, the candidate of the Independent Republicans, with habits of gross immorality which, if true, would render it impossible for any Christian man or decent journal to support him, it was thought best, on consultation, that I should go to Buffalo and make personal and thorough investigation of the facts.

After stating the facts which he had investigated as to specific charges against Cleveland, the report continues:

> There remain the worse and damning charges of general libertinism and drunkenness. I say distinctly, after abundant inquiry, that they are false. . . . On the other hand, my inquiry of the noblest Christian men in the city, especially in the legal profession, men above all reproach, men who will vote for him, and men who will vote and speak against him for political reasons, men who know Cleveland most intimately, who have been his partners in business or his nearest neighbors, men who know him by day and by night, brings the unanimous reply that it is utterly impossible that such reports can be true.

The author proceeds to state his own views:

> It is now proper that I should indicate my own view of the effect the truth in reference to these unexpected charges should have upon Independents who are ready to give their support to Mr. Cleveland. There is nothing in it that would naturally placate them towards Mr. Blaine, or mitigate their opposition to him. That rests upon grounds of public political morality. It does not require them to withdraw their support from Mr. Cleveland. That rests on the same grounds as their opposition to Mr. Blaine. But it does send them into the canvass with a fact in the history of their candidate which they cannot forget and which they will have to carry as a burden.

During this same week[11] the *Woman's Journal* quoted extracts from the *Boston Journal,* the *Boston Transcript,* the *Boston Traveller,* the *Boston Post,* and the *Springfield Republican,* but did not take a position of its own until August 9, when an editorial entitled "From a Woman's Point of View" and signed "L. S.," presumably Lucy Stone, declared: "The supporters of Cleveland have only one course open to them and that is to search for the truth." On the same page was printed a letter from Mary A. Livermore urging voters to stand by the Republican party, and stating that "their candidates are neither drunkards nor libertines and their relations with women are so noble that they will be accompanied to the national capital by wives and women friends of rare intelligence." From Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony came an appeal to woman suffragists to stand by the Republican party, but in the same issue Thomas Wentworth Higginson presented the Independents' side of the case in the following statement:

> The readers of the *Woman's Journal* will testify that while I am well known to take an interest in the coming presidential election, I have carefully avoided all allusion to it in my editorial articles. . . . But as the charges against one particular candidate have already occupied much space in the *Woman's Journal,* I must for the sake of justice have something to say about these. . . .
>
> Mr. Cleveland is, in the opinion of many reformers, including myself, a man of such admirable public career as to leave no comparison in this respect between him and his leading rival. Were men to be supported in public life for public service alone . . . the

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[11] August 2, 1884.

> case would be clear. Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton were thus supported in spite of just censures on the very point now concerned. . . . All the mass of indecent trash that is now being circulated by political committees really bears upon a single transaction . . . which took place some fifteen years ago. Deeply as I deplore that transaction I must distinctly decline to abandon for that reason only a candidate whose public record is so admirable. It must be proved to my satisfaction not merely that he committed one such culpable act at that time, but that he habitually commits such acts today. Against it there stands the manly telegraphic message sent by him to his friend, "Tell the Truth." No evidence has been brought forward . . . to show that Gov. Cleveland's present habits are anything but correct in private as in public. . . . Public character is a thing of which all can judge and which is often judged more correctly at a distance than near home. But the test of private character is in the concurrence of opinion among a man's own neighbors. What that verdict is in regard to Grover Cleveland the citizens of Buffalo without regard to party have shown.

Replies were immediately forthcoming to Col. Higginson's article. On August 16, a communication from "E. D. C.," of Jamaica Plain, entitled "Stand By Moral Principles," stated:

> The office of president is not merely one of executive service but of honor, and I think we are treacherous to the cause of virtue if we put in that high position a man whose example we cannot hold up as worthy of our young men to follow. There remains the plea which Mr. Higginson makes so ably that Governor Cleveland is not a man of evil life, but one who having been tempted into sin in his [*obliterated*] has confessed, repented, reformed and is now living a pure and upright life without denying the past. If this can be proved must we not accept it as a manly and upright attitude? But the proof is difficult.

The editors added:

> . . . as women involved in the good or evil, the honor or shame of these United States, they should not withhold the expression of their utter dissent from having elevated to the presidency a man whose private life is like that which is admitted to be true of Governor Cleveland.

The *Independent*, in view of its agent's report from Buffalo and the expressions in the religious press, began to show embarrassment. On August 21, its editorial "The Crisis and Our Duty" said:

> We cannot, in view of all the facts, resist the conclusion that this part of the scandal is true; and this is quite enough to determine our course. . . . We hence desire to have all of our readers plainly understand, once for all, that whatever has been said in the editorial columns of THE INDEPENDENT favorable to the election of Governor Cleveland was said *prior* to the recent sickening disclosures in regard to his private character, which have justly shocked the moral sense of all pure and right-minded people. . . . Grover Cleveland should positively decline to be a candidate and withdraw immediately from the canvass, and be compelled to do so if it is necessary.

Having now changed sides, its editorial the following week cried:

> We call upon the religious press of the nation, and also the Christian pulpit, to speak out in bold and emphatic language against his [Cleveland's] election. The issue now is a moral one, and that, too, of the gravest character; and this is no time for any timid, half-hearted or half way utterances.

From this time on to the end of the campaign the editor of the *Independent* gave considerable space to letters from clergymen attacking Cleveland and either recommending the support of St. John or refusing to take part in the campaign. Editorially, however, the *Independent* refused to give its support to Blaine, and took the position (September 11) that while St. John was in the field "no man need throw away his vote or cease to work for the good of the country."

It is noticeable that the Episcopalians in Massachusetts abstained from the controversy, but the Unitarians were eventually drawn into it. The *Unitarian Review,* at that time edited by the Reverend Henry H. Barbour and the Reverend James DeNormandie, carried in the August issue an editorial entitled "The Call for Character in Public Men":

> A question of political judgment and duty stands before the people of this country, which comes home to us as citizens not only, but as patriots, as Christian moralists, and as men. . . . The

> monstrous assertion of a leading newspaper that a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people is above the law of common morality, and must not be criticized for conduct that would drive a village official from decent society, is almost enough to make one despair of political journalism. . . .
>
> Above all, rebuke the monstrous sophism that private character in public men is not the proper subject of just discussion; since, if not of discussion, then not of choice. That doctrine, flagrant in some influential newspapers just now, and latent in many more of both parties from the beginning of this political campaign, is shocking to the moral sense.

Another Unitarian organ, the *Christian Register,* maintained its aloofness somewhat longer. It clearly tried to avoid the question for six weeks, but on September 25 it said:

> One of the most unpleasant and baneful effects of this rivalry [between the parties] has been the bitter agitation between both parties to destroy if possible the reputation of the opposing nominee. The public has a right to know what sort of man has been nominated for president, but it can form no truthful idea of his character when it is seen only covered with mud and malice of detraction and hate. If Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland are as bad as they have been represented by the partisan press they ought both to go to a public reformatory instead of to the White House. . . . Into the question of the guilt of either of the candidates we do not now enter. It is a matter of evidence, and nothing seems more difficult to procure in the heat of this agitation than a truthful statement of facts. . . .
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> But one thing we believe to be well established. . . . It is that the mass of our people are not careless of the moral issues of this campaign and that both political parties are committed by the force of a moral sentiment which they dare not disregard to higher moral standards than they have been willing to accept before.

Some weeks later (October 30) it said:

> *The Christian Register* is not a political paper in the technical sense of the word. It has other interests to uphold whose prosperity is more dependent upon its advocacy. It has therefore contented itself with pointing out the moral issues and left its readers to apply for themselves the principles they involve. This it has endeavored to do without partisan bias. . . . Those who find the evidence painfully damaging to both candidates may find them-

selves facing the question as to whether a clean private life or a clean public life is the more important recommendation for a chief executive. It is an unfortunate alternative to meet and one which many voters will avoid either by voting for St. John, or staying away from the polls altogether.

The Congregationalists, far the strongest denomination in Massachusetts as well as by tradition ardent Republicans, were naturally the most active in taking up the moral issue now that the Democratic rather than the Republican candidate was under attack. Their organ, the *Congregationalist,* however, pursued a cautious course. On August 28, it declared:

> The conditions of the present campaign have rendered clear the obligations of Christian men in one respect, at least. They may not be decided yet for whom to vote, or to vote at all. But it is the duty of every good man, and every good citizen to do his utmost to defeat corruption in both public and private relations of life: and especially that teaching to which we have referred — that it is no matter what a man's personal morals are if he be publicly above reproach — should receive such a prompt, unanimous and emphatic condemnation that nobody ever again shall dare to whisper such a scandalous theory.

As late as September 18 the *Congregationalist* said:

> We have recognized the fact that the Republican candidate is extensively believed to have been guilty of using official station for private gain, and have urged the general principle that magistrates of the nation ought to have clean hands. We have brought out the fact that the Democratic candidate is conceded to have been guilty of gross personal immorality and have insisted upon the impossibility of having one standard of purity for private life and another and different one for public life of a public man. . . . Not for Butler nor for St. John. No commitment — more light may shine before election.

On September 15, the Ministers' Meeting of Massachusetts Congregationalists was held, with the Reverend Dr. Merriman, of Worcester, presiding. The Reverend F. W. Gunsaulus opened the discussion of the topic The Political Problem, urging support of the Prohibition ticket. A report of this meeting appeared in the *Boston Journal* of September 30:

> The Congregational ministers to the number of 200 discussed on Monday the political questions of the day. The general favor which the speakers expressed for Mr. Blaine was enthusiastically appreciated by the listeners, showing how strong a majority of their number were supporters of the Republican party. . . . Rev. Dr. E. B. Webb [the first speaker] has been a life-long friend of Mr. Blaine and knows his history almost more intimately than almost any other man. . . . [He] at the beginning considered the arguments of Rev. Mr. Gunsaulus and Rev. Mr. Packard in behalf of temperance in politics. . . . Said Dr. Webb: ". . . But in this issue prohibition is not the overshadowing question. There is a question deeper and more vital, — the question of the family. That is the question at issue, and that is the question that lies at the foundation of society, back of the State and church. The purity of the family involves everything that society holds dear. Now the nominee of the Democratic party has no respect for the family. He trifles with and insults womanhood."

The development of Methodist opinion must also be studied in the pages of the *Boston Journal:*

> The members of the Methodist Episcopal Ministers Association had an informal talk about candidates for president yesterday at their weekly meeting. Cleveland it was found had no friends. In the course of the conversation it was suggested that St. John ought to be supported as the candidate of the prohibitionists. Rev. Merritt Hulburd of the Washington Square Church read a paper entitled A Preacher in Search of a Party in which he argued that it was the duty of the temperance people to vote the Republican ticket and not for St. John. He declared that " the Republican party has counted 85% of the voters of the M. E. church and 91 and 30/100% of its ministry among her numbers."

The chief Catholic paper in New England, the *Pilot,* throughout the campaign, once Cleveland was nominated, supported him, justifying his acts as governor, denying the charges of bigotry made against him by other Catholic papers and denouncing the Republican press for circulating the attacks on his private character. The *Pilot* used its heaviest guns, however, in attacking Blaine for his failure to free the Irish-Americans arrested in Ireland, featured McSweeny's visit to America, and reported his speeches at anti-Blaine meetings.

The Independents found it necessary to meet the widespread attacks of the clergy upon their candidate, and at a meeting at Tremont Temple on October 1 they enlisted the services of the Reverend James Freeman Clarke to speak on Cleveland's private character. There were also speeches by Col. Henry Lee, Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Dr. William Everett.[12] The speech by James Freeman Clarke became the storm center for clerical and lay opinion on the moral issue.

> I have been asked again and again [he was reported as saying] how, as a minister of the Gospel, can you support an immoral and depraved man as president — a man who is stained with debauchery and vice? I never could support such a man as that for President. No such man shall ever have my vote, for no matter what his other qualities might be, he never could fulfill his public duties aright. I don't believe Grover Cleveland to be such a man as that. I will give you my reasons for that conviction.
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> First — if he were so why did the best citizens of Buffalo who knew him well, support and elect him triumphantly for the office of Mayor? Why was not this charge made against him then by those who knew him? Why did such an eminent man as Sherman S. Rogers lead the Republican party to his side and change that city's majority from Republican to Democratic? And why were those charges not brought forward when he was candidate for Governor of New York? . . . .
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> Second — these charges originated in one Buffalo newspaper, of which hundreds of thousands of copies have been circulated, which accused him of " beastly drunkenness," " habitual immorality with women," of being found in a drunken fight in a saloon, of seduction and of being a notorious libertine. Thereupon the editor of the Independent newspaper went to Buffalo to inquire into the matter, and he gave as the result of a most faithful and honest examination of the truth that there is no foundation for such charges, that the life of Mr. Cleveland is a pure life, free from stain, and that the only event in his past which could be brought against him was one which had happened long ago and from which he had passed on and became a different man. . . . [These charges] originated among the base people of the city of Buffalo who hated him because he had opposed their wickedness and their evil. . . .
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> And therefore, I agree with my old friend Bishop Huntington of New York, that Cleveland having risen above these past errors and left them behind is not, if we follow the principles of the

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[12] Reported in the *Boston Journal,* October 2.

Gospel of Jesus, to be prevented from rising to any other height of usefulness, for he has shown his repentance in the true way by doing works meet for repentance. . . . The difference between Mr. Blaine and Cleveland as candidates is not merely that the offences of one belong to private life, and of the other to public affairs, though that distinction is important, but chiefly this — that the offence of Mr. Cleveland is not disguised nor excused nor defended; but that of Mr. Blaine is denied or excused or defended. The great harm to morality does not come so much from the wrong action as from its being defended, palliated and called right. . . . No young man who has seen what an awful burden Governor Cleveland has had to carry in consequence of this one offence can possibly be tempted by his example to any like iniquity. But when a man who has devoted himself to making money out of office is defended for doing so by our best men — when asking to be paid for doing justice in a high judicial position is treated as a mere accident, when asking a man to perjure himself by writing a letter prepared for him full of falsehoods, is considered as something not worth speaking of, then the morals of society are being cancered at their heart.

The *Nation* described Clarke's speech as " the most solemnly accurate description of the present extraordinary political situation " that it had yet seen, and commended it as such " to all honest men, especially young men, whom so many of their elders — some of them ministers — are daily on the stump inviting into paths of dishonor and shame." The Reverend Robert Collyer, D.D., an Englishman filling Unitarian pulpits in Boston and other American cities wrote of Clarke: " I think he was right. His speech, to my mind was wise, manful and true, and just what you should expect from [a man who was] the patriot when the need came, and has stood in the vanguard as a leader in every true reform."

On October 9, the Buffalo Association of Ministers, which had been bitterly attacked by the Independent lay press as scandal-mongers, struck back with a circular letter which undertook to answer various questions which had been thrown at them. This circular gives a list of the ministers who were " active in this exposure," including representatives of the Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, Free Methodist, and Asbury Methodist churches, the principal of the State Normal School, and the editor of the *Christian Advocate,* the Reverend A. P. Ripley.

As the campaign drew towards its close in late October, the *Independent* threw its weight more and more definitely in favor of the candidacy of St. John, acknowledging that St. John himself centered his attention on New York in the belief that the major parties there were evenly balanced and that he might take advantage of the Independent vote and of its vacillation in the face of the Buffalo scandals.

Col. Higginson's relations with the *Woman's Journal* during October must have become rather strained. He stated on October 4: " It seems fortunate that the women of the nation are now divided as the men are divided "; and adds: " Most of the women I happen to meet among my relatives and friends are in favor of the election of Cleveland." To this the editors replied in the same issue:

> Women are divided among all the other candidates but not one woman of note so far as we can remember has publicly declared for him [Cleveland]. No doubt some women favor his election, especially among the immediate friends and relatives of men who have espoused his cause and are being sharply criticized for it.

On October 11, Dr. Clarke wrote a letter to the *Woman's Journal* asking that both sides be heard. Lucy Stone replied:

> It was at first the wish and intention of the *Woman's Journal* to take no part in the presidential contest. The one course open to Grover Cleveland and his friends is to bring the Rev. Mr. Ball with his facts and witnesses into court. The question is not one of party. It is whether that class of sins which most debases the individual . . . shall have the restraint of public sentiment removed or lightened by apology for or by special honor to a man who stands before the public as Mr. Cleveland does.

On October 8, the Reverend W. G. Eliot of Washington University wrote to the *Boston Journal* criticizing Col. Higginson's course. The Colonel replied on October 18: " I wonder that so clear-sighted a man as Rev. Dr. Eliot does not see that we honor Grover Cleveland not because of his sin, but in spite of it." He then went on to cite the *Scarlet Letter* and two similar examples of women in public life that he knew of. " If there is room for a woman to efface almost the memory of her error by noble deeds, why not for a man? " From this point the woman suffragists almost forgot the main issue in their endeavor to attack the idea of a double standard of morality for men and women, and to assert the evident need of women in politics to purify the political parties.

Meanwhile, the *Congregationalist* had endeavored to make the moral issue of the campaign clear as it understood it. On August 21, the editor made the point that

> If Cleveland could be shown to have abandoned evil courses 7 or 8 years ago, and to have lived since and to be living at present an upright life, very many people while not failing to condemn that past sin and to regret that any candidate who has such a dark past in his history should have been nominated for the presidency, would refuse to bring it up against him now.
>
> The question whether he is a man of correct life at present, therefore, has the utmost importance. Upon this point testimony differs but the weight of it certainly is adverse to Gov. Cleveland.

The following week it defined the issue still more carefully:

> This campaign, more than any other within our recollection, if not actually more than any other in our national history, will be known to posterity as that in which it was argued soberly and persistently that a candidate's personal character is of no consequence whatever. And the saddest as well as the most amazing fact in this connection is the unblushing advocacy of this position by certain popular leaders and widely known journals including some professedly Christian men and religious newspapers. Some of the foremost to call for political reform avow themselves utterly indifferent to that private character of officials without which no public reform of any permanence can be secured.

As soon as Cleveland's famous " Tell the Truth " telegram was published, there was a demand from ministers and the religious press that the Independents who had been trapped into the support of Cleveland before the Buffalo scandals were known should now break loose, reject the Democratic nominee, hold a belated conference, and put up a new candidate. President Seelye was the leader in this cause, but his article in the *North American Review* just before the election was a most disappointing presentation of the issue. The only conclusion to which he came was that " the man of sensitive conscience may find a safe object for his ballot in the prohibition ticket which if swelled to considerable proportions even if not enough to defeat the undesirable nominations will register a noble protest."

The *Congregationalist,* like the *Woman's Journal,* in the heat of the campaign seized upon extraneous issues and attempted to turn the attention of an excited electorate to objects which were really nearer to their heart than the political integrity of the candidates of the chief parties. In September, in the midst of the tumult, the *Congregationalist* became concerned with the growth of the foreign element in the American population, especially in Boston and Massachusetts. It named as the chief issues in the campaign "Civil Service, the further coinage of silver, the banishment of the Chinese and the introduction of laborers from any nation," and it called upon every one of its readers to "see to it that his representatives represent the better elements of his party."

One is inclined to suspect that Dr. Clarke's address drew added hostility to his cause from clergymen of the orthodox sects who had previously in doctrinal matters found occasion to criticize his views. In particular they recalled that back in 1852 he had published a sermon on "The Christian Doctrine of Forgiveness of Sin." The orthodox clergy and journals declared that once a sinner's guilt was established, the burden of proof was on him to prove that he had mended his ways. Nevertheless, advocates of the Independent movement in other parts of the country recognized Clarke's address as a valuable document in the campaign.

As might be expected, the battle was more evenly waged in the press than in the private letters to the Committee of One Hundred. The replies received at headquarters after July 25 were either recantations of earlier assurances of support or defiant rejection of the literature sent out by the Independent center. One of the interesting cases is that of the Reverend George A. Tewksbury, of Plymouth, who in earlier correspondence had declined to assist the Independents. On the recommendation of a layman the Independents had sent him additional literature, including Clarke's speech of October 1 and Moorfield Storey's pamphlet "Mr. Blaine's Record." To this Mr. Tewksbury replied on August 27:

> It is quite superfluous to send me documents of this character. . . . The inconsistency, one-sidedness and prejudice apparent to me in the position of Mr. Clarke are to say the least surprising. These things charged and proven against Mr. Cleveland occurred eight or ten years ago. He is "all right now," says Mr. Clarke; and why is not the same argument of time as good for Mr. Blaine even though the financial irregularity charged but not *proven* against Mr. Blaine be admitted, but which I do not admit. Evidently in Mr. Clarke's view the interval of time, good in one case, is not good in the other. And why is not Mr. Blaine as worthy and honorable *now* as when Mr. Clarke lauded him so highly in 1876? The position which Mr. Clarke has taken is in my view not enviable either for the Christian minister or for the Christian citizen.

Similarly, the Reverend Ephraim W. Allen, of the Congregational Church in Taunton, after indicating his lack of sympathy with the Independents on July 10, was again approached by them and given a copy of Carl Schurz's address in Brooklyn. On receipt of this he wrote on August 11:

> In view of the whole I am bound to say that into whatever depths Mr. Blaine has sunk, there is an infinitely lower depth into which your infamous candidate has sunk. His betrayal of female innocence, his brutal treatment of the woman he wronged, and the son he begot, settle the question with me. He can never receive my vote.

More disturbing was the backsliding of several clergymen who had earlier expressed sympathy with the Independents, or at least with their opposition to Blaine and Logan. Thus, the Reverend R. H. Howard, of the Methodist Church in Millbury, having written on July 8 that he was an Independent, anti-Blaine-and-Logan, in sympathy with the general purposes of the Independent movement, but somewhat undecided as to what to do about it, came forward on October 30 and said:

> I am an Independent but the independence I favor is manly, candid, straightforward, honest, really independent. I must confess that the course pursued by our Independent leaders especially in their scurrilous and unscrupulous abuse of Blaine, their ignoring of the Temperance question, and their persistent and humiliating subserviency and devotion to the candidacy of Cleveland after his

> truly beastly record was disclosed and confessed, seems to me self-stultifying to the last degree. . . . And this is the man our Independents like Higginson, Curtis, etc., going back on their record of a lifetime invite us to vote for, and *in the interest of virtue!!*

From the same town, the Reverend J. L. Ewell, of the Second Congregational Church, had said on July 10: "I sympathize with the indignation of the Independents at the nomination of Mr. Blaine and hope to be able to serve my country better than by voting for him, but *being a pastor* I do not wish to have my name used in print in politics." This same clergyman, on August 12, having received further literature from Independent headquarters, wrote as follows:

> As you have honored me with a letter, several circulars, will you permit me to express my deep grief at the charges against Governor Cleveland, and my indignation at the New York Post's defence which is a virtual condonation of unchastity. See their editorial "What we think about it now." I had expected to cast my first Democratic ticket and vote for Cleveland but as it looks now I cannot. If I fear Blaine is politically corrupt I cannot vote for him. As matters now stand I incline to cast my vote for St. John and on the right and the left I meet those who seem to feel as I do. Yours sorrowfully. . .
>
> P. S. This is not for publication. I am no politician.

From Shrewsbury, on October 30, came a very frank statement of the attitude of the Congregational pastor, the Reverend Frank H. Allen:[13]

> You are a pack of fools if you think the sober people of Massachusetts who do a little quiet thinking for themselves are blinded by the dust you are throwing in their eyes or are deceived by your documents. The animus of those precious epistles is too evident. I have too much faith in the people of my state to believe that they are going to enthrone unchastity in the White House. When our brother clergymen of Buffalo put forth statements like those before the country at the present time and do it over their own names, we know them too well to be influenced by your malicious insinuations against the characters of these gentlemen. And if you think your vague claim to an irresponsible investigation, is

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[13] It is notable in some of these letters that the writer uses the word "we" rather than "I" as indicative of a sense of unity among the clergy, or at least of an intention to take collective action.

to have any weight with us, you are entirely mistaken, especially if the one which has been paraded before the public by Dr. Clarke is a fair sample. When you call such an affair a careful, thorough and independent investigation, we all can perceive it to be only a miserable shift to deceive. I cannot conceive of a greater shame to our country than the placing of Grover Cleveland in the White House; therefore I am using every particle of influence to prevent it.

It had become clear by the end of the canvass that the Independent Republicans had made a move of doubtful wisdom in sending their circulars to the clergy and stressing public morals as the main issue. At the time the first circulars were sent out the committee were probably either unaware of the weakness in their own candidate's armor, or did not realize that this weakness would be exposed by a clergyman in Cleveland's home town and be taken up with such avidity by the religious journals and by the clergymen of the same denominations as those who originated or sponsored the publication of the scandals in Buffalo. The refusal of the Democratic managers to prosecute the Reverend Mr. Ball or the *Buffalo Evening Telegraph* for libel, and the virtual admission by Governor Cleveland and his friends of the original facts on which the stories were based made the task of the Independent press in meeting the demands for an investigation almost futile. Such attempts as James Freeman Clarke's to discriminate between the original charge and the unsustained generalizations of libertinism were received with jeers by the Republican press and by many of the orthodox clergy, who seemed to take a narrowly sectarian satisfaction in catching the leading representative of liberal theology in what they made out to be an immoral and unethical position.

Embarrassment over the predicament in which the Independents found themselves is also expressed by the lay press which had been foremost in sustaining Cleveland. The *Springfield Republican* tried to get out of it by asserting that they accepted it "as a truth that the chastity or unchastity of public men of national repute and nominated for office before the people of the whole country" was not "a proper subject for discussion. . . ."

After the election the *Nation* said (November 6):

> It was the services rendered by the wretched Ball in Buffalo in spreading filthy stories, we fancy, that suggested the extraordinary course of calling the clergymen by advertisement to meet Blaine on his recent arrival in this city. No minister of standing or repute in this city responded to it. . . .
>
> Apart from Dr. Burchard's mistake nothing came of the interview, but materials for fresh unbelieving sneers at the separation between religion and morality. Blaine gained nothing from it, and the clergy suffered much, as it has suffered indeed from the whole of its participation in this canvass. As Dr. Brown, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Buffalo, well said in a letter to a friend about the doings of some of his clerical brethren in that city, " the ministers have poured more filth into the laps of this community than all their religious washings can cleanse for twenty years. You have no idea of the destruction of religious faith in this city." And what should we say if three or four hundred Catholic priests were called to meet a candidate on his travels and gave him their blessing and he were to tell them that the high tariff was suggested and justified by the decrees of the Council of Trent?

On November 13, the *Independent* printed an article contributed by request by ex-Gov. Daniel H. Chamberlain:

> *First.* I think the recent canvass has established and vindicated the right and duty of *bolting*. . . . *Secondly.* I think this canvass and its results are a distinct rebuke to party servility. . . . *Thirdly.* I think this canvass has distinctly shown us that many of our foremost men cannot be safely trusted to lead us in the paths of honor and safety. I think this is true of the clergy in a striking degree. . . . Decidedly, to my mind, the least respectable phase of this canvass has been the action of the Rev. Mr. Ball and his clerical companions at Buffalo, and the call of the Rev. Mr. Burchard and his clerical companions on Mr. Blaine at the Fifth Avenue Hotel; and decidedly the saddest phase has been the support of Blaine by some of our great moral preceptors and leaders. *Fourthly,* I think this election will teach public men of all classes that our people, after all, cannot easily be lead astray on such an issue. . . . *Lastly,* I think this canvass has shown the moral power and influence of the secular press. . . . The decisive influence in defeating Mr. Blaine has been the moral firmness and courage of three great secular newspapers, *The New York Times, The New York Evening Post,* and *Harper's Weekly*. I think these journals have shown a far higher moral tone, a far finer moral instinct and feeling than the majority of the clergy.

Aside, however, from the question of the Buffalo scandals, it would seem from the replies received from clergymen and from the discussion in the religious press that the point on which the Independents had made their initial bid for clerical support had fallen rather flat. The question of the proper standards of conduct in public office raised against Blaine seemed to have received scant consideration. The clergy were generally fearful of bolting where it involved positive support of a party not generally regarded as respectable in their neighborhood and by their social class. They were willing to show moral indignation at the failure of the Republican convention to select the candidate of their own political leaders' choice, but they preferred to do this safely by supporting St. John and thereby exhibit a respect for the temperance movement which some of their crusading brethren had hailed as one of the great missions of the Christian ministry.

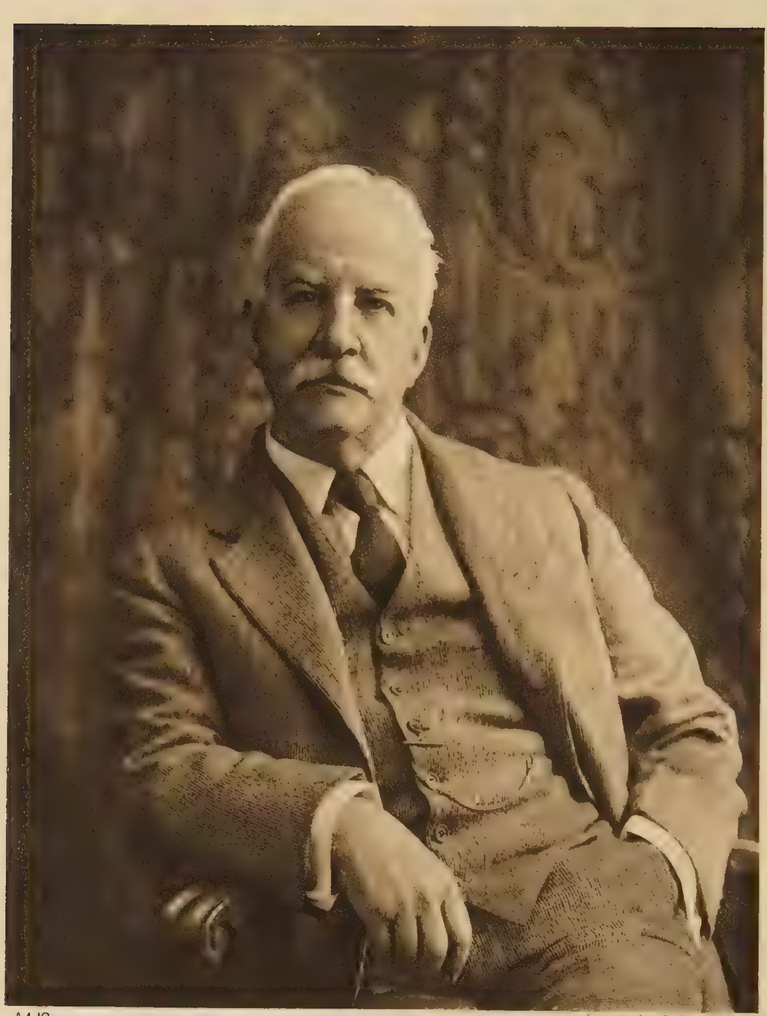
But the moment the question of chastity and licentiousness was raised, especially where the charge came from a clerical source, the clergymen's crusading zeal was aroused. The promptness with which the most extreme charges were accepted and the obvious reluctance to believe in the sincerity of repentance and the completeness of reform reveals the Christian ministry of Massachustts in a most unlovely light.

The *Springfield Republican* concluded its campaign editorials on November 7 with this comment:

> One of the most deplorable features of the canvass has been a combination of the worst weaknesses of the clergy and of the press in a determined effort to blacken private character. . . . [Cleveland] was assailed after his nomination to the presidency, in regard to his private life by an agency owing its whole respectability to a quasi support from the local clergy. Not a man of them had denounced him when he was running for mayor. . . .
>
> Many clergymen all over the country . . . have laboriously peddled the same garbage. A severe blow has been dealt to the influence of the pulpit by this exhibition of recklessness of truth, of unscrupulous injury to character and of zeal for scandalous defamation.

Mr. NORCROSS presented copies of letters in his collection written by four Chief Justices of the United States Supreme Court: John Jay, Oliver Ellsworth, John Marshall, and Roger B. Taney.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH



MHS

Henry S Howe

HENRY SALTONSTALL HOWE · A MEMOIR

BY

ROBERT GRANT

HENRY SALTONSTALL HOWE was a sagacious and prosperous merchant with a charming personality and a lifelong fondness for books. Well-born, and an alumnus of Harvard of the Class of 1869, he owed his success in life mainly to his own industry and diligent devotion to his calling in early manhood.

Following four years spent in the study of cotton manufacture, he obtained a position as manufacturing agent of the Falls Company of Norwich, Connecticut, a foothold on what was in his day one of the favorite ladders of commercial preferment. He secured it at the dawn of the developing period in New England textiles, but one of the indispensable terms of this novitiate was a not infrequent change of residence, with consequent isolation from former associates. Meanwhile he was forced to be thrifty, as his pay was small for a man with a wife and children. From Norwich he was promoted to the Pocasset Manufacturing Company at Fall River and thence to the Pepperell Manufacturing Company at Biddeford, Maine. It was not until 1887, eighteen years after his start, that he moved to Boston to become a partner in the firm of Lawrence & Company, of Boston and New York, one of the great wholesale dry goods commission houses of the country, a founder of which was Amos A. Lawrence, distinguished Massachusetts citizen, and long a member of this Society.

Harry Howe, as he was known to all his friends, had "arrived," and it was plain that he had been singled out because of his sound judgment, sterling integrity, complete fidelity to the corporations whose affairs he had managed, and his engaging disposition. These same qualities continued to be characteristic of him during the forty years exactly that he was a member of the firm, during the last fifteen of which he was its head. They manifestly explain also why he was presently chosen a Director of several outstanding business organizations. He served with every President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company from its incorporation, and was a member of its Executive Committee. He became a Director and member of the Executive Committee of the National Shawmut Bank, a Director and member of the Executive Committee of the Pacific Mills, a Director of the Merrimac Manufacturing Company, a Vice-President and Trustee of the Provident Institution for Savings, and a Director and member of the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. These employments presuppose a widespread local confidence in his sagacity and uprightness.

Though it does not follow that an individual who wins success in a given line would have been likely to win it in any other, the facts to be gathered from ancestral trees often exemplify this. Henry S. Howe's people belonged to Haverhill, Massachusetts. His grandfather, Isaac Redington Howe, lived there as lawyer and editor most of his life. He married Sarah Saltonstall, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall (H. C. 1766), descended in the sixth generation from Sir Richard Saltonstall who came over in the *Arbella*. Their son, Nathaniel Saltonstall Howe, Henry's father, was born in Haverhill on April 24, 1817, graduated from Yale in the Class of 1835, and entered the law. He was elected to the State Senate in 1853, and later became Judge of Probate of Essex County. From 1866 to 1870, he was United States Collector of Internal Revenue. During the latter part of his life he lived in Washington, where he died February 20, 1886. His wife, Henry Howe's mother, Sarah Bradley Howe, was a sister of Charles Smith Bradley, who graduated from Brown in 1858, studied at the Harvard Law School, served in the Rhode Island General Assembly, and in 1866 was elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island. Later he was a lecturer at the Harvard Law School (1869–73), and in 1876 was Bussey Professor of Law at Harvard. It appears, too, that Sarah Bradley Howe's great-grandfather was the Reverend Hezekiah Smith, prominent Baptist preacher and

Revolutionary War chaplain. Information from Princeton University shows that

> after graduating from Princeton in 1762 Mr. Smith made an evangelizing tour through the South, and on September 20, 1763 he was ordained evangelist at Charleston, S. C. He preached at Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1764 as an evangelist, and the Baptist Church there was founded as a result of his meetings, and he was made the pastor, being installed on May 9, 1765. He remained there until his death in 1805. . . . During the war he was a chaplain with the 4th Regiment Continental Infantry, 1776; chaplain 6th Massachusetts, 1777. He was a Fellow of Brown University, 1765–1805. He received . . . the honorary degree of A.M. from Princeton in 1785; the honorary degree of A.M. from Brown in 1769, and from Yale in 1772; and the degree of D.D. from Brown in 1797.

Henry Howe, who was born in Haverhill on August 12, 1848, became a member of this Society late in life, in 1929, when he was eighty-one years old. He attended its meetings frequently until his death, March 2, 1931, serving as auditor and on other committees. He was until within the last few weeks of his life a remarkably youthful and well-preserved man for his age, with a fresh complexion, unwrinkled countenance, and genial address. At the height of his career he had responded to many demands upon his time outside of business affiliations. He served as a Trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital and as a member of the Corporation of the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital. For many years he was closely identified with the Massachusetts Humane Society, in whose work he was greatly interested. He was active in the affairs of the Episcopal Church, having been a Trustee of Donations and a member of its Diocesan Board of Managers, and also a member of the Corporation of the Church of Our Saviour at Longwood, Brookline.

Henry S. Howe was married on October 22, 1874, to Katharine Dexter Wainwright, daughter of Henry Chapman and Sarah Blake (Dexter) Wainwright of Boston. There were at the date of his death five surviving children of this marriage, four sons and one daughter. He left twenty grandchildren. His marriage was an especially happy one, and the death of his wife, which occurred only a few months before his own, was a blow from which he never rallied. Their commodious house on the corner of Ivy and Essex Streets, Longwood, into which he moved shortly after becoming a partner in Lawrence & Company, enabled him to indulge his instinct for hospitality and love of books and pictures. The spacious library running half the width of the premises contained the literary treasures the collection of which during many years was an intense avocation. On the walls of his rooms hung many fine pictures, the selection of which was secondary as a taste only to his interest in books. He was fond of entertaining, and his invitations generally took the form of large dinner parties of his friends and their wives. These agreeable entertainments had an elegance which now seems old-fashioned because of their rarity in a day when space is more restricted and ceremony no longer at a premium. Mr. Howe was also much interested in agriculture. He maintained a large stock farm at Holliston, at which he ordinarily spent a restful week-end, returning home on Sunday afternoon. Though neither a golfer nor a devotee of any strenuous sport, he loved to be in the open air of the country or at his summer estate at Dark Harbor, Maine, where he also operated an extensive farm.

His dearest hobby, approaching a passion, was the collecting of books. To this most of his leisure hours were given for years with systematic devotion. His library, comprising some 4,000 volumes at his decease, was, except in certain outstanding particulars, that of a gentleman of a generation ago, of the period from 1870 to 1890. It was strong in memoirs, especially Napoleonic literature, and in history and *belles lettres*. Most of his books were in fine bindings. A smaller group were more elaborately bound, chiefly by modern English binders, and a few were in jewelled bindings. He was partial to early nineteenth-century poets, men of letters, and statesmen. He had acquired an extensive collection of Thomas Hardy and of first editions, including some of the eighteenth century such as *The Vicar of Wakefield, Tom Jones,* and several of Sterne. There was a Bible thought, though the evidence was not complete, to have belonged to John Bunyan, which had come down in the latter's family. There were also in the collection a good many illustrated books of the Ackermann period, 1810–30, with colored plates of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, Westminster Abbey, and the like. The rarer books are all more valuable now, the first editions doubly so. In addition he had a fine group of autographs, which included a Charlotte Brontë manuscript very minute in size and exquisitely done.

The notable items in his library, however, were his so-called association books, books once owned by celebrated persons and authors' presentation copies, mostly of the Victorian period or earlier nineteenth century. He was most assiduous in this pursuit, and the *chef d'oeuvre* of it was his collection of books belonging to Presidents of the United States. Of this Mr. Howe was deservedly proud, and he spared no pains to perfect it. That his deepest literary interest was in books thus individualized is shown by the following clause from Mr. Howe's will:

> I give to Harvard College my books from the libraries of the Presidents of the United States and my sets of first editions of Jane Austen, George Eliot and Thomas Hardy, and such one hundred additional books of mine having association interest as it may select; and I give to Harvard College the sum of $25,000 to be known as the Henry Saltonstall Howe Fund in trust, to use the income thereof for the purchase of books, preferably those having association interest.

This valuable right of selection has been already exercised by the college.

While Mr. Howe's collection of association books of Presidents of the United States was begun early in life, at the beginning of 1930 there were nine presidents not represented in it. Resolved to secure the missing volumes, if possible, he organized an intensive search with the coöperation of a friend, Mr. W. F. Augustine, formerly of Virginia, and by the end of a year the collection was complete. The last book to be acquired was one from the library of William Henry Harrison. The book itself was in Mr. Howe's possession at the date of his death, but the terms of purchase were determined subsequent to it. Only a few books that belonged to this President are known to be in existence. The whole collection, of course, is a heterogeneous one as to subject matter. For the nine volumes obtained during the year 1930 Mr. Howe paid money for not more than three, and the aggregate cost was $560. Among the books secured with the help of Mr. Augustine was an autographed copy of the *Congressional Globe* containing the record of Andrew Johnson's impeachment, the gift of President Johnson's grandson, Colonel Andrew Johnson Patterson. As the result of an interesting correspondence between Mr. Howe and a son of John Tyler, a book from this President's library was obtained. A volume belonging to President Van Buren was found at Kinderhook, N. Y., where he died, though his granddaughter had only three in her own possession. Much difficulty was encountered in obtaining a book that had belonged to President Harding. The Harding Home and Museum at Marion, Ohio, where his library was assembled, declined at first to part with one. A few days later word was received that a book had been sent. It turned out to be a light novel on a sexual subject, which seemed to account for the liberality.

Mr. Howe was not merely a collector of books, but he was familiar with the contents of those he owned. Though never pretending to scholarship in literary knowledge, he was fond of and proud of his library, delighting to dwell upon his latest treasures to those of his friends who he thought would be interested. He possessed a serene and amiable temperament, with a gay sense of humor and a methodical tendency which, being not easily ruffled, enabled him to cope with a variety of daily contacts without fatigue. For years he so coördinated frequent attendance at board meetings in New York or service to hospitals at home with opportunities to pursue his hobbies as to appear refreshed both in body and spirit. Though charged with many large responsibilities, he was no less modest and unassuming than he was gracious in all human relations. Those who knew him intimately were impressed by the warmth of his affections and the sterling directness which made his friendship precious. He enjoyed life with zest, never being narrow in his sympathies; as a consequence one never thought of him as old, but saw him to the end as the cheerful, well-balanced, untiring man of affairs, with the touch of a Mæcenas, that he was.

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 12, 1932, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

By the courtesy of Stanley W. Smith, of Boston, a negative photostat of a deed of land at Narraganset, on Seconcquanset Neck, from James and Lydia Browne "of Wannamoyse al[ia]s New Jersey in the Colony of Plymouth in New England" to John Vinal of Boston, May 19, 1668.

From Mrs. Wilder P. W. Purinton, of Topsham, Maine, through Dr. Langdon Frothingham, of Boston, a part of a letter from the Reverend William Frothingham, May 9, 1815.

From A. Hyatt Mayor, of Annisquam, several papers (1804–1812), including bills, bills of lading, and a contract by the crew of the brig *Victory*, of Yarmouth, Asa Bly, Master.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From C. W. Byrnes, a Soldier's Memorial, in colored lithograph form, of the 9th Battery, Massachusetts Volunteers, Captain John Bigelow, mustered into U. S. Service, August 10, 1862, by Lieut. M. Elder, U. S. A., at Lynnfield, Mass.

From the estate of Charles Deane, by Charles E. Deane, Ruthven Deane, and his granddaughter Miss Mary Deane Dexter, of Cambridge, Mr. Deane's diploma of membership in the Pilgrim Society, engravings and photographs of John Quincy Adams, Washington Irving, Edward Everett, Robert Waterston, and the Historical Society group of 1855, and a library table, and a small collection of letters to Mr. Deane, 1832–1882.

From Bishop William Lawrence, a photograph of John Brown, taken in Boston in 1856 by J. J. Hawes at the request of Amos A. Lawrence, his father.

From Lawrence Shaw Mayo, the Lindbergh non-stop medal of May 20 and 21, 1927.

From Mrs. Edmund M. Wheelwright, by deposit, a portrait of Peter Chardon (*d* 1766), a classmate of the Reverend Edward

Brooks (H. C. 1757), painted by Copley (1765), and framed by Paul Revere; also a portrait of Nathaniel Gorham (1738–1796), President of the Continental Congress in 1786, painted by Charles Willson Peale.

From Francis Hill Bigelow, of Cambridge, and Mrs. G. B. Davis, by deposit, portraits of Noah Worcester (1758–1837), painted by Joseph G. Cole, and of William Clark Tyler (1802–1882), painted by William S. Mount (1837); and by gift, negatives of photographs of Anna (Francis) Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Isaiah Thomas, and Daniel Webster.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the acceptance of Resident Membership by STEWART MITCHELL, and of Corresponding Membership by ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER.

The President announced the death of FREDERIC WINTHROP on May 6, 1932, who since his election as a Resident Member on January 9, 1908, was deeply interested in the welfare of the Society.

Daniel Berkeley Updike, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

It was *Voted,* That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The President then announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: ALLAN FORBES, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART, and GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS.

Library: CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM, *Chairman;* KENNETH B. MURDOCK, and DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE.

House: JOHN WOODBURY, *Chairman;* ALLEN FRENCH, and JOHN W. FARLOW.

Publication: SAMUEL E. MORISON, *Chairman;* ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, FRANCIS R. HART, LAWRENCE S. MAYO, and CLARENCE H. HARING.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman;* WORTHINGTON C. FORD, and MARK A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

Meetings: Samuel E. Morison, *Chairman;* Francis R. Hart, and Stewart Mitchell.

Building: Charles A. Coolidge, *Chairman;* John W. Farlow, and George H. Lyman.

Judge Charles Thornton Davis read a paper on

Some Thoughts on Early Colonial Development

From the standpoint of our present system of law and methods of government one is apt, in looking back at the past, to endeavor to trace to the earliest days of the colonies certain principles now well established as among those brought with them by the forefathers and inherent in their earliest conceptions of law and statecraft. As a matter of fact many of these principles were, I believe, rather the result of environment, the necessary consequence of the conditions in which the men who first settled our shores found themselves — indigenous, a native growth.

The Pilgrims found themselves on a new soil, beyond the limits of their patent, and bound themselves together by a new compact. They knew little of law. They had observed and learned something of socialistic or perhaps communistic life in Holland, but had tenaciously retained the autonomy of their own small community. They sought liberty of conscience and of life, but they brought with them no established system of government or of laws. The compact was in no sense a constitution. They had their heredity, a capacity and an intense longing for self-government, and the discipline of the sea.

The individual adventurers and planters to the east were simply what their name implies. They took and held what they individually could. The fishermen came for fish, as the early Marbleheaders rudely told the godly men of Salem.

The Puritans came with a charter and a system for a Bible Commonwealth. They came partly as a commercial company, partly to create and establish in a new world a new system of government and religion, an oligarchy with the ecclesiastical control and the commercial profits closely held by a few highly educated men of power, position, and experience who had despaired of reform in Church or State at home.[1] They did their best to retain this control. No roystering Cavalier like Morton, no Anglican like Sir Christopher Gardiner, no non-conformist to their own church polity like Williams, no interfering female like Anne Hutchinson, with ideas about the new woman and, what was much worse, about theology, could be tolerated. As early as 1631 it was decided that no man be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as were "members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same." [2]

Very different from those of either Pilgrims or Puritans were the principles and purposes of Thomas Mayhew. Full of religious zeal, he converted the Indians to Christianity and their lands to his own use. As Lord of Tisbury and Governor for life, with all offices on the island held by his own immediate family, he ruled for fifty years over Indian, Puritan, and Pilgrim on Martha's Vineyard.

But the first settlers, whatever their theories of government, were soon joined and overwhelmed by newcomers seeking what their descendants called "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and later descendants of their Teutonic ancestors called "a place in the sun." It was a very restricted sort of happiness, and not a very genial sun. But the early colonists brought with them, as I have said, their heredity, and with that heredity the principle, inherited from their Teutonic ancestors and thoroughly Anglicized, of the right of every freeman to have and to hold that which he could take and maintain.

The old Anglo-Saxon theory, or rather fact, of seizin was a fundamental principle of the common law and is a vital part of our law of real property today, although it has become so obscured by the intricacies of our modern record titles that, as Sir Frederick Pollock says, "it is possible for even learned persons to treat it as obsolete." "The Roman theory of 'true ownership' has but little place in our law," says Sir

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[1] General Pew in a paper on Lady Arbella written for the Salem Tercentenary celebration has, perhaps with some imagination, certainly with great vividness, portrayed the purpose of the active promoters of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (*Essex Institute Historical Collections,* LXVI. 395–410). An account by Professor Morison is to be found in his *Builders of the Bay Colony* (chapters 2–3).

[2] *Massachusetts Bay Records,* I. 87.

Howard Elphinstone. " The person in possession is prima facie the owner, and the only use of investigating the title is to show the nature of his estate. Most land owners have no knowledge what their title is; all they know is that they and those through whom they claim have had possession." The common law has never had a procedure analogous to the Roman Vindication. " Actual enjoyment and control of land and the recognition of peaceable enjoyment and control as deserving the protection of the law are the points that stand," says Sir Frederick Pollock, " in the forefront of the common law when we take it as presented by its own history and in its native authorities." It was held in one of the early cases in the *Massachusetts Reports* that he is the true owner who has the right to possession.[3]

Whatever the theories of the earliest colonists as to the property rights of the Crown, the chartered company, the community, or the individual, it was the individual right of liberty to take and make and own in the New World that animated the great body of those who shortly followed. They were no lawless crew, however. They recognized and sought the protection of a society governed by the principles of the laws which they had inherited. They recognized right as well as might. They bought Indian titles, flimsy as they were, and if a second chief claimed to be the true owner of what they had already purchased from another they bought from him too. They procured deeds from individuals claiming under rival royal grants as well as from chartered companies. Many later grants from the colony and from the Commonwealth were of lands " as already held and possessed." Early grants were sometimes to a newly formed settlement, sometimes to the individual members. In either case they were held to be grants in fee simple, though in tenancy in common. The underlying principle throughout, however, was succinctly expressed in what Mr. Jenkins quotes as a vote of the inhabitants of Milford, Connecticut, in 1640. At town meeting it was, he states, solemnly " Voted, that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; voted, that the earth is given to the Saints; voted, that we are the Saints." [4]

[3] Wellington v. Gale, 13 Mass. 483.

[4] Stephen Jenkins, *The Old Boston Post Road* (New York, 1913), 209.

The individual adventurers and planters and the earliest colonists were at first necessarily dependent, among other things for their supply of shellfish and wild fowl, and for safety from the fancied or real danger from Indians, upon a wide expanse of marsh and flats. Their settlements were therefore usually on or near a retired cove or estuary: on the sandy shore of Plymouth or the Cape; near the marshes of the west parish of Gloucester; at Capaum harbor, now a pond, at Nantucket; up the back river at Ryalside in Beverly; at Little Harbor, Marblehead. As more settlers came, as the forest fell back, and as access to the sea became important, they moved to the larger harbors and to sites better suited for village purposes.

Their methods of holding and of using land and their system of government developed in accordance with their local and immediate needs. On the one hand were the individual adventurers pushing back the frontier with individual holdings; on the other, caused by the necessity of having a common base for supplies, communications, and protection, were the small settlements where the holdings were partly individual and partly in common. In the early days the inhabitants of a town, whether for land-owning, church-going, or strictly municipal purposes, formed practically one organization. At first all meetings were simply meetings of the inhabitants, held in the meeting house. There was not only no distinction between church and state, but the average community was a single entity for every purpose of life. The worship of God, the holding of property, the ordering of affairs, and protection against the enemy were all matters calling for common action. In the early days one call and one set of records sufficed for all purposes.

Later, distinctions grew up, and the community life took on separate organization as to its separate phases, and still later not only were these separate phases represented by different persons, but they became separate corporations or quasi-corporations. Title to church property became vested in the less godly, but from a business standpoint safer, parish, in trust, however, for the ecclesiastical body of communicants constituting the Church. At first the inhabitants and the proprietors were the same people. But although alike in their origin, and not only similar but identical in their early management, the two phases of town life were very dissimilar in their purpose and in the nature of their legal title to land. The town was a permanent corporation, the proprietors a temporary and self-disintegrating body. As stated in Monumoi v. Rogers in the first volume of the *Massachusetts Reports,* the first was formed to live, the other was expressly formed to die.[5]

It is earnestly contended by a student of early colonial records, Mr. Samuel D. Hannah, that there were two separate corporations — one that of the inhabitants forming a chartered corporation under the English law, in which was vested, at least in Plymouth Colony, title to the lands of each settlement, and the other a later political organization incorporated by the Colony. I can find no ground for this assumption which is contrary to the whole trend of our reported decisions. However, the matter may be determined in a recent case that I heard and which is now pending before the full Bench.

The method of tenure and of use of the common lands, whether fields, meadows, or beaches, depended upon attendant conditions in each community. There were statutory organizations provided very early for proprietors of common lands which were to be divided in severalty by set-off, and for proprietors of general fields lying for use in one common enclosure. Shares and the extent of individual ownership were designated as sheep commons in Nantucket, cow rights on Cape Ann, and "loads" or "tons" of hay on Cape Cod and elsewhere, meaning as much land as under the local conditions was necessary for the maintenance of a sheep or a cow or to produce that amount of hay. Usually the ownership until division by set-off was that of a tenant in common in fee. It is clear from the researches of Mr. William H. Macy, the old Register of Deeds and father of the present President of the Nantucket Historical Society, that sheep commons in Nantucket were ordinarily holdings in fee. But I have found instances where from the nature of the land and from the method of dealing with the sheep commons they were clearly mere usufructory rights. This was not because of any clash between the early Dutch manorial customs prevailing in New

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[5] 1 Mass. 159.

York before the union of Nantucket with Massachusetts and our custom of tenancy in common in fee, but because in each instance it was the natural way to use the property. So with meadows on Cape Cod. There were stretches in which some lots were rich and some sparse; and the allotments were of shifting use from year to year. So with stretches of beach and marsh on Cape Ann. Such holdings were usufructory and not in fee.

As needs grew or changed, custom crystallized into law. Mr. Benjamin N. Johnson, the late President of the Lynn Historical Society, has told in one of his unpublished papers the story of the first county road. The way east from Boston led around Great River — now the inconspicuous Saugus, but then debouching over the bed of an old glacial lake — and crossing the river by a bridge at a corner of what was then the town of Lynn. The General Court ordered the town to repair it. The town refused and twice was fined, then heavily fined and its representative excluded from the General Court. The town then petitioned showing that it was a poor little farming community having no use for the bridge on the highway from Boston to the great commercial ports of Salem and Marblehead and ought not to bear so grievous a burden for the sole benefit of other parts of the colony. Representatives of frontier settlements in Middlesex and as far west as what is now Worcester County woke up to what might happen to them as communications pushed west, and Lynn was forgiven.[6] The burden was shifted to the users, and county roads came into existence.

It is said that the early settlers brought with them the common law of England. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they brought what they understood to be the common law; or so much of the common law as was suited to their needs. In Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations* (p. 74) is this statement:

> From the first the colonists in America claimed the benefit and protection of the common law. In some particulars, however, the common law as then existing in England was not suited to their condition and circumstances in the new country, and those particulars they omitted as it was put in practice by them.

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[6] *Massachusetts Bay Records,* I. 233, 266, 311, 317.

And in a note he cites from a decision by the great Massachusetts jurist, Story, the statement:

> The common law of England is not to be taken in all respects as that of America. Our ancestors brought with them the general principles and claimed them as their birth-right, but they brought with them and adopted only that portion which was applicable to their condition.

An interesting example of what I mean is the law of the foreshore. Charles I held that title to the foreshore was in the Crown. This claim formed one of the items in his subsequent indictment. The claim was asserted by his Attorney General, Hales, but the Court held that such was not the law. Then came the overthrow of the Stuarts and later the Restoration. Hales became Chief Justice; the earlier decision was overruled, and ownership of the foreshore continued to be in the Crown by the common law, private ownership extending only to high-water mark. That is the law in this country, the public succeeding to the rights of the Crown, except in what was or is Massachusetts. When our early settlers came, they brought with them the common law as it then was, as they understood it, and as they claimed it. Private ownership of the foreshore was as necessary to them in the New World as they had deemed it to be in the Old World. Such was and remained the law in Massachusetts. The peculiarity was attributed by Chief Justice Gray and the earlier authorities to long-established custom. It was a valued member of this Society, Mr. Nathan Matthews, whose researches discovered the reason and the history of this anomaly.[7]

Another example of the changing effect of changing conditions is that of the Colony Ordinance of 1641, 47. The right to get fish, both shellfish and wiggles — as the Nantucketers call what we usually mean by fish — as well as water fowl, was an absolute necessity of life to the early settlers, and such a right along the shores of the sea and of great ponds was preserved by this Ordinance.[8] The exact rights of the public over the beach (between high- and low-water marks) were determined in Butler v. Atty. Gen., a case that was tried before me some years ago. General Butler owned an estate at Bay View in Gloucester. Adjoining his estate to the west there grew up a colony of small cottages. The owners, or rather their wives, found that much the shortest as well as the most convenient way to the post office lay across the Butler beach. As the colony grew, the user became annoying to the Butler heirs, and General Ames, a son-in-law, built a stone wall to interrupt it. The wall was promptly thrown down. A wire fence met the same fate. Then legal action was brought. The Supreme Court held that the only public rights over a private beach are those of navigation, fishing, fowling, and swimming without touching the toes.[9] The decision was published in full in the local paper. The next morning General Ames beheld all of the women of the cottage colony en route across the beach to the post office, each one arrayed in a bathing suit and carrying a gun over one shoulder and a fishing rod on the other.

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[7] See the complete record of the case of East Boston Co. v. Commonwealth (203 Mass. 68) in the Social Law Library, or the papers in the case in the Land Court.

[8] For the text of this ordinance in the Body of Liberties of 1641 and, in its expanded form, in the Laws and Liberties of 1648, see *Bibliographical*

The result in both cases is that a law that had its origin in the protection of the rights of the citizen against the Crown has resulted in the practical exclusion today of the public, the great body of the citizens, from the foreshore in favor of the land owner who is often a mere summer visitor and not a citizen of the town at all. New needs, new conditions will bring new changes, by statute or by the development of the common law. As recently stated by Chief Justice Rugg in his reply to the Bar Memorial on Chief Justice Shaw, " The common law is always in a state of change. It is never finally settled. It must constantly be readapted to the shifting conditions presented by inventive genius, business sagacity, commercial adventure, social and humanitarian advancement, and progress in government." The development of our town and colonial forms of government, dictated largely by necessity, and the natural growth of the law of property among a people capable of self-government and self-development were often

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Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony (W. H. Whitmore, ed., Boston, 1890), 37; *Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts* (Max Farrand, ed., Cambridge, 1929), 35.

[9] Butler v. Atty. Gen., 195 Mass. 79.

against the purpose of the Crown, patent, and charter. As stated by Mr. Matthews, laws grew up, as Winthrop describes, as *pro re nata,* by custom here in derogation of the common law of England. It was an attempt to found and govern a great state for sixty years without the aid of law and the conserving influence of jurisprudence.[10]

At the time of the Revolutionary War our ancestors protested against unauthorized invasion of their rights as Englishmen. They really meant of their rights as English colonists. Till fifty years after the Revolution their fellow-subjects at home did not begin to attain to such rights as were claimed by the colonists. As Captain Frothingham has pointed out, the Revolutionary War, unlike any other great war, was fought not from racial hatred, or for aggrandizement, not to throw off a foreign yoke or a domestic tyrant, but to retain a form of society and of laws that the colonists had themselves created from the necessities of their situation under unprecedented conditions and in a new world, through the development of a hundred and fifty years of self-government.

Few of the ideas here presented are new. Many of them have been stated, though from an entirely differing viewpoint, in a paper read before this Society in 1930 by Mr. Grinnell. The fundamental thought is simply that of what Professor Morison in his *Growth of the American Republic* calls the solution by our colonial ancestors of the serious and original political problem, the ancient question between liberty and order. It was based on what he quotes as the wise advice of a Pilgrim father: " Let the government be as the materials be."

Remarks on the paper were made by Messrs. ENDICOTT, GRINNELL, and NUTTER.

At the invitation of the President, W. CAMERON FORBES spoke briefly and informally about recent events in the Far East.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated copies of letters in his autograph collection from Chief Justices Salmon P. Chase, Melville V. Fuller, and Morrison R. Waite.

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[10] *Massachusetts Law Quarterly,* XIII (May, 1928), 73 ff.

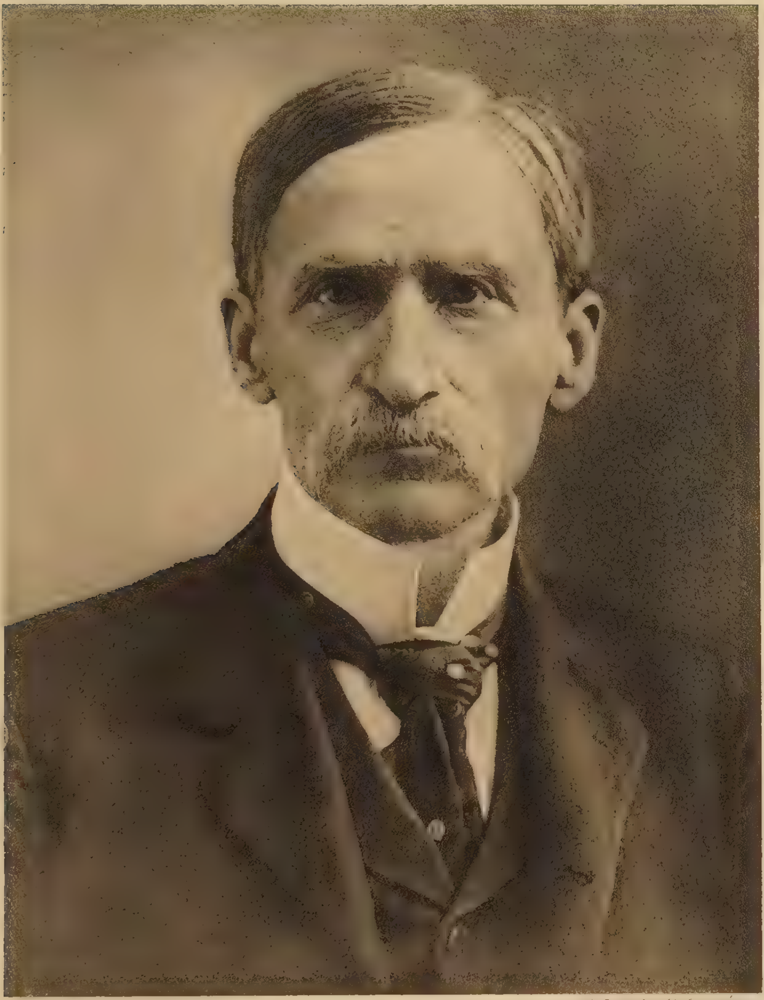
MORRIS SCHAFF · A MEMOIR

BY

BLISS PERRY

MORRIS SCHAFF'S first book, published when he was sixty-five, bore the odd title *Etna and Kirkersville.* This delightful little volume, never known to many readers and now out of print, pictured the founders of the township of Etna, Licking County, Ohio, situated on the once famous National Road, seventeen miles east of Columbus. Kirkersville was the adjoining town, a few miles east of Etna, and also on the National Road. It was on a farm in Etna that Morris Schaff was born, December 28, 1840. His father, "Squire" John Schaff, had taken part in the organization of Etna township in 1833, and served for twenty-one years as justice of the peace. He had emigrated to Ohio from western Pennsylvania. His wife, Charlotte Hartzell, was born in Virginia. The Schaffs were of German stock, originally from Schaffhausen on the upper Rhine. With other Protestant refugees from the Palatinate, they were brought to London by Queen Anne and assigned lands in the Mohawk valley. Quarrels with the Dutch settlers resulted, and John Schaff, the first of that name in America, was sent back to London to lodge complaints. Returning after two years, he learned that his family had moved to Maryland, and for three generations the Schaffs lived a hazardous existence on the frontiers of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Yet they treasured their old German prayer books, and Squire John Schaff, as his son records, could speak German, like many of the first settlers of both Etna and Kirkersville.

Morris Schaff — certainly one of the sweetest-natured men of his generation, and gifted with a fund of sentiment which in his later books he found difficult to restrain within conventional bounds — never wrote more happily than in the book describing his Ohio boyhood. It has the freshness of the early world: a passion for the fields and woods not yet wholly con-



Morris Schaff

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

quered by the plough and axe, and haunted by wild pigeons and wild turkeys; a keen eye for the humors of frontier life; a romantic, patriotic thrill in witnessing the stream of westward migration along the National Road. It is a simple-hearted idealization of a farm boy's life and of the work and play of a primitive community. Nothing could be in sharper contrast with the strain and bitterness and disillusion which was soon to characterize the pictures of small western towns drawn by American novelists.

John Schaff was a pillar of the United Brethren church and a staunch Democrat. In 1849, he bought a new farm a couple of miles nearer Kirkersville, and it was from Kirkersville that his son Morris received, in 1858, from Samuel S. Cox, congressman of the district, an appointment as cadet at West Point. It was in the days before competitive examinations. The boy's schooling had been limited, but he had had nearly a year at Otterbein College. His journey to West Point and his experiences there through four of the most stirring years of the Academy's history, are described in the best known of his books, *The Spirit of Old West Point*. The blue-eyed, light-haired little fellow made an excellent cadet. Although he seems not to have been an earnest mathematician, he ranked ninth in his class. He sat a horse well, was the champion broadswordsman, sang in the choir and acquired a lifelong preference for the Episcopal service, swapped endless stories with his southern roommate, with Custer and the other joyous spirits of " D " Company, and in short, like his favorite Dick Steele at Oxford, won " the love of the whole society."

The news of the firing on Fort Sumter brought sobering changes into the daily life of the cadets. The class of 1862 were at first directed to prepare for immediate graduation, but this order was revoked, and it was not until June, 1862, that they fell in for the last parade and were ordered to report in Washington for active duty. Schaff's commission as Second Lieutenant of Ordnance was dated June 17, and he was assigned to the arsenal at Fort Monroe. He became a First Lieutenant in March, 1863, and served in the Rappahannock campaign, April to June, as Assistant Chief of Ordnance of the Army of the Potomac; then, June to August, in the Pennsylvania campaign, having the duty of remaining at Gettysburg after the battle, to collect the arms abandoned by Lee's army; then, from August to November, in the Rapidan campaign, and in November with the Horse Artillery in the Mine Run operations. When the Richmond campaign opened in May, 1864, Lieutenant Schaff served as acting Aide-de-Camp to Major General Warren, and was brevetted Captain, May 6, 1864, " for Gallant and Meritorious service at the Battle of the Wilderness." A week later, Captain Schaff fought at Spottsylvania, and was then placed in charge of the Ordnance Depot for supplying the armies before Richmond. He had already been brought into close association with Generals Hooker, Meade, and Grant. His headquarters were at City Point. He supplied the explosives for the mine at Petersburg, and was present at the battle of the Crater, although not engaged.

A tragic accident put an end to Captain Schaff's responsibility for the Ordnance Depot. An infernal machine, planted by the enemy, destroyed the Depot, with heavy loss of life. A court of enquiry exonerated Schaff, but he was transferred to other Ordnance duty: first at Reading, Pennsylvania, then at Watertown Arsenal (January 3, 1865 to September 1, 1866), where he was stationed when his comrades of the Army of the Potomac received Lee's surrender. Captain Schaff remained in the U. S. Army until his resignation on December 31, 1871, serving at Mt. Vernon Arsenal, Alabama, at Watertown Arsenal again, and finally at Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois.

He was now thirty-one. He had made one of the happiest of marriages, on August, 8, 1868, to Alice Page, of Watertown, daughter of a prosperous importer and manufacturer of glass. Mr. Page's offices were in Boston, but much of his finest glass was made at Berkshire — a village a few miles north of Pittsfield — where there was a bed of exceptionally choice sand. In these Berkshire Glass Works of Page and Harding, Captain Schaff became Superintendent in 1872. He made his home in Pittsfield, and for some years all went well. The Captain had learned French thoroughly at West Point, and now found it useful in dealing with his Belgian glass-blowers. But the firm met with various difficulties and retired from business in 1894. Schaff had resigned a year earlier.

He was known as General Schaff by this time, having been appointed Brigadier General (Inspector-General) of the Massachusetts Militia in 1880, and serving three years. In 1882, he had served on the Board of Visitors to West Point. And now, in 1893, came an important change in his career. Few Governors of Massachusetts have made a more timely or a better appointment than Governor Russell, when he made General Schaff a member of the State Gas and Electric Light Commission. He was reappointed at three-year intervals by Governor after Governor, irrespective of politics, and served on the Commission twenty-six years — in fact until the Board was abolished in 1919, when its duties were assumed by the newly organized Department of Public Utilities. General Schaff was then in his seventy-ninth year.

Of the value of this service to the public there was never any question. General Schaff was known to be fearless, fair-minded, and incorruptibly honest. Judge Alonzo R. Weed, for many years one of his associates on the Board, kindly writes me:

> Electric companies were in their infancy when the General became a member of the Board, and the art of generating and distributing electricity for light and power was not above the primary class grade. He grew up (or old) with that marvelous development, and I think kept himself well abreast of its progress. Gas production and distribution were far better developed and standardized at that time. General Schaff read the technical journals persistently, and was well informed on such questions. He passed through practically all the phases of the twenty-year Boston gas war — not very sanguinary to be sure, but bitter just the same — and as you know, the General was not by nature a pacifist.

It was during General Schaff's term of office that the " Massachusetts Policy," applicable to public service corporations in rate-fixing cases, came into being. This highly important policy, designed to protect the interests of the consumer, was largely based upon proposals made by him, and its adoption was due in no small measure to his determined and persistent advocacy.

General Schaff kept his residence in Pittsfield for some years, usually spending his Sundays there. On week-day evenings he frequented the old University Club on Beacon Street, where his companionable qualities made him a favorite. In 1902, he removed to Jamaica Plain, and after 1911 he resided in Cambridge, although he often spent the summers on his farm in Southboro, near his children.

He was known to be an omnivorous reader, especially in the fields of history and biography, and an eloquent commemorative speaker, but it was not until 1905 that *Etna and Kirkersville* revealed his ability as a writer. Then he was invited by the *Atlantic Monthly* to prepare a series of articles on his experiences at the U. S. Military Academy. They appeared in 1907 under the title *The Spirit of Old West Point,* attracted wide attention, and were published in the autumn as a book. It was then more than forty years after the close of the Civil War, but much of the old bitterness still lingered. Yet no reader, Southerner or Northerner, could resist the sunny impartiality and affection with which General Schaff described his old comrades, whether from 1861 to 1865 they had served their State or their Nation. He painted both " the real West Point, and that over-arching spiritual West Point, in whose sky float all of her ideals." A dispassionate critic might possibly complain that the General was at times overemotional and mystical, and that, like Thackeray, he kept interrupting his story to sentimentalize and moralize. But no dispassionate critic could have written the book; and here, if ever, the style was the man.

General Schaff published three other volumes dealing with the Civil War. *The Battle of the Wilderness,* issued in 1910 after serial publication in the *Atlantic,* was at once a record of his own experience in the fighting, a picture of the officers and men in both armies, and a summary of the strategy and tactics of the campaign. The author revisited Virginia in order to refresh his extraordinary memory of the terrain. His story, though vivid in its details, is perhaps too crowded for the clearest perspective. He had a more simple task in his *Sunset of the Confederacy* (1912), which was limited to the week preceding Appomattox and is a moving and admirable narrative. *Jefferson Davis: His Life and Personality* (1922) was his last book, published when he was eighty-two. It was a chivalrous effort to picture the President of the Confederacy, to whom gross injustice had long been done; but the aged author was now incapable of making an influential contribution to history.

General Schaff received many honors: the presidency of the Alumni Association of West Point in 1912; the degree of LL.D. from Williams College in 1913, and of Litt.D. from Otterbein University in 1914. He was elected a Resident Member of this Society on February 9, 1922, and three of his papers appear in the *Proceedings*. His advanced age prevented his frequent attendance at our meetings.

He died at his home in Southboro, October 19, 1929. His wife survived him until January 24, 1931. They left three living children: Harrison H. Schaff, of Boston and Southboro, Mrs. Philip G. Carleton, of Cambridge, and Rodman Schaff, of Fitzwilliam, N. H. This brief record of General Schaff's life may fitly close with a sentence from the presentation address when he received his honorary degree from Williams College: " In war a warrior, in peace a peace-maker, General Schaff has with chivalrous generosity helped to heal the wounds which he had helped in the discharge of his duty to inflict — in his delicate ministry to injured souls a spiritual Knight of the Red Cross."

JUNE MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 9, 1932, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The report of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From George E. Cabot, six volumes of business records (1803–1844), of the firms of E. Bumstead & Co., Perkins & Co., and J. & T. H. Perkins, Canton, China, and Boston; also the waste-book (1829–1857) of Samuel Cabot, of Boston and Brookline.

From the First Church in Boston, several manuscripts and articles relating to the family of Mather Byles, first minister of the Hollis Street Church, and to the Reverend Mellish Irving Motte, first minister of the South Congregational Church (Dr. Edward Everett Hale's Church). The oldest of the pieces were acquired by the last mentioned church on the union with it of the Hollis Street Church; and later they were in possession of the donor, on the union with it of the South Congregational Church.

From Mrs. Roland Nickerson, of Boston, a volume containing deeds (1674–1832), mostly of property at Chatham, Mass.

From Miss L. G. Morse, of Medfield, Adams Family papers (1680–1860), relating to Medfield and vicinity.

From the estate of Mrs. Frederic Cunningham, two account books of Thomas W. Sumner, 1797–1807; Jesse Torrey's *Portraiture of Domestic Slavery* (1818); and Joseph Blake's Fourth of July Oration, Boston, 1792.

From Mrs. William H. Lyon, of Brookline, several biographical sermons of her late husband, the Reverend William H. Lyon.

From Edward Caldwell, of New York, a photostat of a letter from Jonathan Carver, Charlestown, N. H., November 15, 1759, to Major John Hawks.

From B. M. Ziegler, of Cambridge, two certificates of appointment by Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, to Amos Bostwick: as ensign of the third company of the Alarm List, Lebanon, March 21, 1777; and as captain of the same company, Hartford, December 16, 1780.

By purchase, a leaf from the records of the Impost Office, Boston, giving a list of vessels entering the harbor from August 1 to 13, 1716.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From President Endicott, a photograph of a portrait of Bismarck, by Lenbach, bought by Mr. Endicott when he was in Berlin in 1888, with Bismarck's signature, obtained at the same time from Count Herbert Bismarck, his son.

From the estate of Mrs. Frederic Cunningham, a volume of engravings of officers in the Civil War, published by J. C. Buttre, of New York, once owned by her late father, Amos A. Lawrence, and bearing his signature.

From Dr. Frederick H. Pratt, a photostat of the book-plate of Dr. Joseph J. Allison (Univ. of Penn. 1837), who died March 29, 1840, aged 25 years.

From Miss A. L. Blaisdell, a half-tone of the so-called Bedford Flag.

From Austin B. Keep, a ticket on the horse-drawn cars of the Metropolitan Rail Road, to Boston Highlands, found in a package of letters written in the early 1870's.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the acceptance of Resident Membership by DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE.

The President announced the death of JOHN BACH MCMASTER, Corresponding Member, on May 25, 1932.

Professor ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER read a paper on

A CRITICAL PERIOD IN AMERICAN RELIGION, 1875–1900

From early colonial times the life of American Christianity has consisted in its capacity for adaptability and change. Its history has been marked by recurrent conflicts between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, between fundamentalism and modernism, with every hard-won peace a truce and the battle line ever advancing to new fronts. However disturbing to defenders of the old-time religion, this ceaseless bending of creeds and practices to the changing needs of society has been the price of survival. Perhaps at no time in its American development has the path of Christianity been so sorely beset with pitfalls and perils as in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The validity of the Bible itself seemed at stake in the light of new pronouncements of science and scholarship. Darwinism, the emerging science of biblical criticism, the increasing knowledge and study of other great religions — such threats to orthodoxy could not be ignored, yet how were they to be met? But this was not all. In an age of rapid, not to say fearful, urban and industrial development, the church was fast losing its appeal for the wage-earning masses, though such folk asked emotional, not intellectual, satisfaction of their spiritual guides. Was Protestantism to be sequestered in the small towns and rural districts, or could it adjust itself to the requirements of megalopolis? These two great challenges to organized religion, the one to its system of thought, the other to its social program, form the main themes of the discussion that follows.

The religious controversy over biological evolution reached its most critical stage in the late 1870's, for by that time American scientists stood a solid phalanx in its support, and many of the thoughtful public had been won over by the persuasive writings of Spencer, Huxley, and Fiske. It no longer sufficed for theological disputants to castigate Darwinism with such epithets as "materialistic" and "atheistic." If evolution was the "bestial hypothesis" of man's origin, it was only too easy to retort in kind that the biblical account was the "mud-man theory" of creation. Reason must be appealed to as well as inherited belief.[1] An analysis of the turbid flood of argument which poured from the press during the eighties reveals a steady advance — or retreat — from a position of pure emotional obscurantism to one of concession and accommodation. Some found the way out by asserting that religion and science belonged to mutually exclusive spheres; that the Bible was a rule of conduct and a guide to faith, not a scientific cyclopedia.[2] Others held that the account in Genesis, when allegorically construed, really anticipated and supported Darwin's thesis.[3] Still others contended that genuine religion remained unaffected by what was, at most, a conflict between science and theology.[4]

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[1] Among the efforts to rationalize the antievolutionist position should be noted *Creation or Evolution?* (New York, 1887) by the well-known publicist and legal scholar George Ticknor Curtis, who found Darwin's reasoning "ingenious but delusive" (p. x). The antievolutionists made the most of the internal strife among naturalists, which, however, did not question the fact of evolution but rather the particular mode set forth by Darwin. See *Nation* (New York), XLIV. 121–123 (Feb. 10, 1887), and LX. 31 (Jan. 10, 1895).

[2] Henry Calderwood, *The Relations of Science and Religion* (New York,

Gradually, an increasing number of ministers, influenced by the example of Henry Ward Beecher in his Brooklyn pulpit and by Lyman Abbott's sermons and writings in the *Christian Union* (later the *Outlook*) and elsewhere, came to embrace evolution as a new and grander revelation of the mysterious way God moves his wonders to perform.[5] Mark Twain's facetious proposal, early in the eighties, of a monument to Adam before that great progenitor of mankind should be wholly supplanted by Darwin's simian was decidedly premature. But unmistakable evidence of a sweeping change of sentiment among thoughtful religionists appeared when, after another decade of discussion, the great New York Chautauqua gave over its platform in 1893 to a series of lectures by the well-known Scotch evolutionist Henry Drummond. "It is a sign of the times which no observer can neglect," commented the *Nation*.[6]

Like the doctrine of natural selection, textual criticism of the Bible also called into question the infallibility of the Scriptures. Imported from German university centers, the higher criticism, as it was known, subjected Holy Writ to rigorous historical analysis. According to the new findings,

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1881), esp. 298, 308; C. B. Warring, *Miracle, Law and Evolution* (New York, 1887), esp. 8; review of Arnold Guyot's *Creation* in *American Catholic Quarterly* (1884), IX. 374.

[3] S. B. Goodenow, "Primeval Man," *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1894), LI. esp. 159.

[4] T. T. Munger, "Religion's Gain from Science," *Forum* (1888), VI. 45–54.

[5] Beecher introduced evolution into his sermons as early as 1880. Lyman Abbott, *Henry Ward Beecher* (Boston, 1903), 317–324. The same point of view was conservatively avowed in W. W. McLane's *Evolution in Religion* (Boston, 1892), published by the Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, and more exultantly in *The New Era* (New York, 1893), 11–12, written by Josiah Strong, secretary of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States.

[6] A. B. Paine, *Mark Twain* (New York, 1912), II. 707–709; editorial in the *Nation*, LVII. 21 (July 13, 1893). The eulogies of Thomas Huxley at the time of his death in 1895 are also significant in this connection. See, for example, W. K. Brooks, "A Review of Huxley's Essays," *Forum* (1895), XX. 284–299; Richard Hutton, "Professor Huxley," *Forum* (1895), XX. 23–32; *Nation*, LXI. 5–6 (July 4, 1895).

the sixty-six books, far from being all of one piece and inspired throughout, comprised a storehouse of history, folklore, discourses, poetry, and prophecy brought together over a period of a thousand years.[7] Popular acceptance of the new point of view was somewhat facilitated by the appearance of a revised version of the King James Bible in 1881 and 1885, a laborious enterprise carried through by a group of English and American scholars.[8] So great was the public interest that two hundred thousand copies of the New Testament were sold in New York alone within less than a week, and the *Chicago Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* printed the text entire.

While ministers and churchgoers accustomed themselves to changed readings and often changed meanings of treasured passages, liberal theologians wrote books and articles to disseminate the teachings of the higher critics. President Orello Cone, of Buchtel College, for example, published in 1891 his *Gospel Criticism and Historical Christianity,* the ablest work in its field from an American pen. All was not smooth sailing, of course. Dwight L. Moody, the famous evangelist, venting contempt on those who found inconsistencies and contradictions in the Scriptures, shouted to vast audiences with all the force of his two hundred and eighty pounds: "The Bible was not made to understand."[9] Professor W. H. Green, of Princeton Seminary, stoutly defended the orthodox position in a notable debate with President Harper, of Chicago, and many a household and congregation continued to find solace in an unquestioning acceptance of the King James version. Yet the reception accorded Washington Gladden's *Who Wrote the Bible?,* published in 1891, indicates the broad appeal of the more advanced attitude. A summary and popularization of the newer studies, it not only enjoyed the largest sale of any of his widely read books, but became a manual for Bible classes and Young Men's Christian Associations.[10] Sober reflection was convincing even many of the earlier objectors that, if critical analysis stripped the Bible of its vesture of infallibility, it revealed it as a work of literary, spiritual, and ethical power, a veritable book among books.[11]

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[7] George Harris, *A Century's Change in Religion* (Boston, 1914), chap. iv; C. A. Briggs, *Whither?* (New York, 1889), 277–285; A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* (New York, 1896), II. chap xx.

[8] The first installment, in 1881, consisted of the New Testament. Philip Schaff was chairman of the American revisers. D. S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff* (New York, 1897), 354–363, 382–388; anon., "The New and Old Versions," *Nation,* XXXII. 401–402 (June 9, 1881).

[9] E. J. Goodspeed, *A Full History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey in Great Britain and America* (Ashland, Ohio, 1877), 315.

The crumbling of orthodoxy was furthered by certain by-products of American missionary enterprise in the Orient. Thousands of Christian workers, brought into contact with the great faiths of Asia, learned that Christianity and religion were not coextensive, that all good was not monopolized by their own system of belief. At the same time the work of secular scholars in the realms of mythology, folklore, psychology and anthropology suggested points of departure for an understanding of religious phenomena. James Freeman Clarke's sympathetic portrayal of *Ten Great Religions* made such an impression upon the public that in the fifteen years after 1871 it passed through twenty-one editions. Comparative religion became not only a preoccupation of scholars but a new measuring rod for Christianity. As dramatic evidence of the widened horizon, a World's Parliament of Religions, the first of its kind in history, was convened during the Columbian Exposition of 1893. More than one hundred and fifty thousand people attended its sessions. While all was not harmony, the animating spirit of the great assemblage was expressed in the words of Malachi, which served as its motto: "Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us?"[12] In the light of fuller knowledge the old misunderstanding and intolerance once accorded non-Christian faiths was beginning to wane.

If these new intellectual currents little touched the average mind, they deeply affected the thinking of more intelligent readers. In 1881, the American Institute of Christian Philosophy was formed in New York state for the purpose of producing and distributing literature upon the relations of science and the Bible. Magazines, both religious and secular, gave generous space to appraisals of the new learning. Even more significant was the discussion of theological issues in certain notable works of fiction. The best sellers of the year 1888 were Margaret Deland's *John Ward, Preacher,* described by a contemporary as "a profound outcry against the intolerance of the creeds," and Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere,* an English novel of similar import which sold more copies in America than in the author's own country.[13] Here and there theological schools introduced courses dealing with the relations of science and religion and with the study of comparative religion.[14]

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[10] Washington Gladden, *Recollections* (Boston, 1909), 320–321.

[11] Lyman Abbott, *Reminiscences* (Boston, 1915), 460–462; C. W. Shields, "Does the Bible Contain Scientific Errors?," *Century* (1892), XLV. 126–134; C. A. Briggs, "Works of the Imagination in the Old Testament," *North American Review* (1897), CLXIV. 356–373.

[12] F. H. Stead, "The Story of the World's Parliament of Religions," *American Review of Reviews* (1894), IX. 299–310.

Traditionalism, however, maintained a stubborn front where it could. In 1878, the geologist Alexander Winchell was dismissed from the Methodist-controlled Vanderbilt University, with the exultant pronouncement of the Tennessee Methodist Conference — anticipating the state of mind behind the Dayton "monkey trial" of 1925 — that "our university alone has had the courage to lay its young but vigorous hand upon the mane of untamed Speculation and say, 'We will have no more of this.'"[15] Not to be outdone in good works, the Southern Baptist Seminary at Louisville followed Vanderbilt's example within a year by forcing Professor C. H. Toy's resignation because of his attempts to interpret the Old Testament from the viewpoint of modern science. Five years later Dr. James Woodrow was driven from his post in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, for avowing the truth of evolution; and in 1891, W. J. Alexander was dropped from the chair of philosophy at the state university because of unorthodox views regarding the divinity of Christ.[16]

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[13] Anon., "The Books of 1888," *Publishers' Weekly,* XXXV. 205, 208 (Feb. 9, 1889); anon., "The Influence of the Religious Novel," *Nation,* XLVII. 329–330 (Oct. 25, 1888); anon., "Theology in Fiction," *Atlantic Monthly* (1888), LXII. 699. Sarah B. Elliott's novel *The Felmeres,* published in 1879, was of the same *genre,* as was also the widely discussed *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896), by Harold Frederic.

[14] United States Commissioner of Education, *Report for 1889–90,* II. 942–943.

[15] White, *Warfare of Science with Theology,* I. 313–316. Winchell's views are set forth in *The Doctrine of Evolution* (New York, 1874) and *Adamites and Pre-Adamites* (Syracuse, 1878).

Such bigotry, however, was not confined to the South or to three denominations. In 1882, Dr. E. P. Gould was obliged to resign from Newton Theological Institution (Baptist) in Massachusetts as a result of doctrinal differences with the president.[17] The next year the Reverend R. Heber Newton of All Souls' Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City, was charged with heresy at the instance of Bishop H. C. Potter and other divines, the case later being allowed to drop.[18] In 1886, a fire that for several years had been smoldering at Andover Theological Seminary (Congregational) in Massachusetts burst into flame when the Board of Visitors tried five professors for theological liberalism and declared one of them guilty.[19]

Even more rancorous than the "Andover controversy" was the storm that rose in 1891 within Presbyterian ranks over the transfer of Professor Charles A. Briggs, a distinguished exponent of the higher criticism and long an ornament of Union Theological Seminary, to the new chair of biblical theology. More than seventy presbyteries protested the appointment. Although the New York presbytery recommended that in the interests of "the peace . . . of the Church" no action be taken, the General Assembly in 1893 suspended Briggs from the ministry for heresy. The peace of the church was indeed involved. In Albany a clergyman resigned because of the decision, while Professor H. P. Smith was suspended from Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati for supporting Briggs's views.[20]

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[16] G. F. Moore, "An Appreciation of Professor Toy," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* XXXVI. 3–5; White, *Warfare of Science with Theology,* I. 316–318; F. B. Simkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Duke University, *Publications,* Durham, 1926), 142, 144.

[17] Editorial, *Nation,* XXXV. 277 (Oct. 5, 1882).

[18] Editorial, *Nation,* XXXVIII. 179 (Feb. 28, 1884). An Episcopal clergyman, the Reverend Howard MacQueary of Canton, Ohio, was tried for heresy in 1890. His views are developed in his book *The Evolution of Man and Christianity* (New York, 1890). *Publishers' Weekly,* XXXIX. 152 (Jan. 24, 1891).

[19] The professors were J. W. Churchill, George Harris, E. Y. Hincks, W. J. Tucker, and E. C. Smyth, the last for some reason being the only one adjudged guilty. The case was taken before the state Supreme Court and in 1893 a decision was handed down against the Board. *Arguments on Behalf of the Complainants in the Andover Case* (Boston, 1887); W. J. Tucker, *My Generation* (Boston, 1919), chap. vii.

The harm to the cause of religion inflicted by such incidents was greater than that to the cause of science and learning. Yet the wayward religious tendencies of the times help explain the fears of the pious that, once old moorings were cut, the people would drift into uncharted seas. Untold thousands listened receptively to the eloquent and pungent discourses of Robert G. Ingersoll, the "notorious infidel"; many a village Jaques won his reputation for bold speculation by filching the doughty Colonel's iconoclastic shafts. Himself a minister's son, in lifelong revolt against his father's extreme Calvinism, Ingersoll was an agnostic, not an atheist: "I do not deny. I do not know — but I do not believe."[21] A relentless foe of dogmatism and illiberalism, he inveighed against Old Testament terrors and New Testament miracles, finding good in all the great religious systems and extolling science as "the only true religion, . . . the only Savior of the world." Starting from much the same position, Dr. Felix Adler, like Ingersoll a clergyman's son, though of the Jewish faith, rejected Ingersoll's negative attitude and sought to erect ethical purpose as the vital principle of living without reference to any kind of theological doctrine.[22] With this as his aim he founded in 1876 the Society for Ethical Culture which presently attracted small bands of intellectuals, usually of Hebrew extraction, in the great cities of the East and of the Middle West.

Whatever Ethical Culture lacked in mysticism was supplied in full measure by another sect which sought disciples during these years. Originated by Helena P. Blavatsky, an obese

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[20] The incident caused Union Seminary to sever its affiliation with the General Assembly, and Briggs continued in his professorship, subsequently becoming an Episcopal clergyman. Philip Schaff, "Other Heresy Trials and the Briggs Case," *Forum* (1892), XII. 621–633; *Nation,* LVI. 412, 414–415 (June 8, 1893).

[21] For a summary of his views, see R. G. Ingersoll, "Why Am I an Agnostic?," *North American Review* (1889), CXLIX. 741–749; (1890), CL. 330–338.

[22] His work *Creed and Deed* (New York, 1877) sets forth his view that the essence of religion is "fervent devotion to the highest moral ends." See also his essay, "Modern Scepticism and Ethical Culture," *Forum* (1893), XVI. 379–387.

Russian woman of somewhat unsavory antecedents, Theosophy was a curious blend of spiritualism and certain occult doctrines derived from the Brahmanic and Vedic literatures of India.[23] The Theosophical Society, formed in New York in 1875, was to be the spearhead of the new movement, but, converts remaining few, Madame Blavatsky three years later transferred her colorful activities to India and Europe. Meantime the cult managed to maintain a tenuous existence in America and was temporarily stirred to a flurry of activity in the 1890's by the arrival of numerous swamis at the time of the World's Fair.

If these new religions lacked warmth of appeal, their plight was shared to some extent by the older, Protestant sects whose ministers, immersed in intellectual controversy, often failed to satisfy deeper spiritual needs.[24] Even more harmful was the failure of the church to adjust itself to the unprecedented conditions created by rapid urban and industrial growth.[25] American Protestantism, the product of a rural, middle-class society, faced a range of problems for which it had neither experience nor aptitude. In the cities the building of church edifices lagged behind the advance of population while the shifting of residential districts left once prosperous houses of worship stranded and abandoned on the bleak shores of factory and slum neighborhoods. In the twenty years preceding 1888 seventeen Protestant churches moved out of the district below Fourteenth Street, New York, though two hundred thousand more people crowded into it.[26] In the decade after 1878 twenty-two thousand residents in the thirteenth ward of Boston were without a single Protestant church, and it was said that in the heart of Chicago sixty thousand people had no church, either Protestant or Catholic. It was generally true of large cities that those parts which needed most religious attention got least.

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[23] For her exposition of the tenets of Theosophy, see *Isis Unveiled* (New York, 1877) and *The Secret Doctrine* (London, 1888). Its history is traced by adherents of the cult in *The Theosophical Movement, 1875–1925* (New York, 1925).

[24] [J. B. Harrison], *Certain Dangerous Tendencies in American Life* (Boston, 1880), 206–213; E. H. Hedge, *The Church in Modern Society* (n.p, 1882), 266–267; C. F. Thwing, "Young Men and the Preaching They Want," *Century* (1895), XLIX. 637–639.

[25] Awareness of this failure is expressed in books like Washington Gladden, *Applied Christianity* (Boston, 1886), 146–179; S. L. Loomis, *Modern Cities and Their Religious Problems* (New York, 1887), esp. chap. iii; Strong, *New Era,* chap. x; and W. T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago!* (Chicago, 1894), 389–405; as well as in an abundant periodical literature, including O. F. Adams, "Aristocratic Drift of American Protestantism," *North American Review* (1886), CXLII. 194–199; S. M. Morse, "The Church and the Working Man," *Forum* (1889), VI. 653–661; T. B. Wakeman, "Our Unchurched Millions," *Arena* (1890), II. 604–613; and C. A. Briggs, "The Alienation of Church and People," *Forum* (1893–1894), XVI. esp. 375–377.

When better accommodations existed, the working class commonly regarded the church — with its fine upholstery, stained-glass windows and expensive choirs — as an institution where ill-clad worshipers were unwelcome and where the Nazarene himself would have been snubbed.[27] As someone has observed, in religion nothing fails like success. The pulpit, increasingly beholden to contributions from the rich, ordinarily ignored or condoned the terrible injustices from which the wage-earning multitude were suffering. In one instance, reported by Professor Ely, when the bakers' union petitioned five hundred clergymen of New York and Brooklyn to preach sermons against compulsory Sunday labor, all but half a dozen ignored the appeal.[28] Even popular sects like the Baptists abandoned their contempt for wealth. In 1890, the Indiana state Baptist convention "thankfully recognized the rich blessing of the Great Head of the Church in the recent gift of Brother John D. Rockefeller to the Baptist Seminary in Chicago."[29] To laborites, religion seemed a sort of capitalistic soothing-syrup. Samuel Gompers bluntly charged that the intellect and talent of the ministry had been suborned by the plutocratic oppressors of the poor.[30]

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[26] Data in regard to the distribution of churches in urban centers are summarized in Loomis, *Modern Cities,* 7–9, 88–89, and Strong, *New Era,* 197–201.

[27] The total amount paid for music by three hundred and fifty churches in New York City in 1876 was estimated at $590,000. *Arthur's Illustrated Home Magazine* (Philadelphia, 1876), XLIV. 290.

[28] R. T. Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity* (rev. edn., New York, 1889), 44–45. In at least one case on record, that of a Lutheran congregation in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, in February, 1894, trade unionists were excluded from the church on the ground that membership in a labor organization violated the law of God. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago!,* 394–395*n.*

[29] R. H. Johnson, "American Baptists in the Age of Big Business," *Journal of Religion,* XI. esp. 72.

[30] H. F. Perry, "The Workingman's Alienation from the Church," *American Journal of Sociology* (1898–1899), IV. esp. 622. See also J. P. Coyle, "The Churches and Labor Unions," *Forum* (1892), XIII. 765–770.

While few church bodies, like Trinity Church in New York City, actually owned slum properties, too many congregations imbibed their Sabbath teachings at the hands of preachers such as the one Kipling heard in Chicago in 1891.[31] "With a voice of silver and with imagery borrowed from the auction-room," the minister exultantly portrayed

> a heaven on the lines of the Palmer House (but with all the gilding real gold, and all the plate-glass diamond), and set in the centre of it a loud-voiced, argumentative, very shrewd creation that he called God. One sentence . . . caught my delighted ear. It was apropos of some question of the Judgment, and ran: — "No! I tell you God doesn't do business that way."

"Go into an ordinary church on Sunday morning," declared a Protestant clergyman in 1887, "and you see lawyers, physicians, merchants, and business men with their families . . . but the workingman and his household are not there." [32] Of the older faiths the Roman Catholic and the Jewish alone knew how to attract and hold the laborer and the immigrant newcomer.[33] Evangelistic endeavors might temporarily bridge the chasm in the case of Protestants; but even such ardent harvesters of souls as Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey found their chief work among laggard members of existing congregations and did little to reach the unchurched masses.[34] The Catholic Church, on the other hand, reared its edifices where humanity was densest, and thronged its pews three or four times each Sunday with worshipers whose hands and clothing plainly betrayed their humble station.

Another token of alienation from the church appeared in the growing secularization of the Sabbath. This, too, was largely a city phenomenon, for in rural communities, and notably in the South, the people continued to regard the day as one set aside for religious observance and rest.[35] In urban centers, on the other hand, the pressure of life turned the toiling masses to thoughts of pleasure on their one free day, while, to satisfy their desire, thousands of their fellows needs must operate trains and street cars and provide the means of recreation.[36] The altered attitude owed much to the practices of immigrant groups unfamiliar with the strait-laced American Lord's Day — the Germans with their Continental Sabbath, the Irish and other aliens with their Catholic Sunday, and the Jews who observed Saturday as their holy day. "Where is the city in which the Sabbath day is not losing ground?" asked one sad voice. "To the mass of the workingmen Sunday . . . is a day for labor meetings, for excursions, for saloons, beer-gardens, base-ball games and carousals.[37]

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[31] Rudyard Kipling, *American Notes* (Boston, 1899), 97–98. For the public exposure of Trinity's connection with slum properties, see R. S. Baker, "The Case against Trinity," *American Magazine* (1909), LXVIII. 3–16.

[32] Loomis, *Modern Cities*, 82.

[33] *Ibid.*, 86–88; B. J. McQuaid, "The Decay of Protestantism," *North American Review* (1883), CXXXVI. 135–152.

[34] Gamaliel Bradford, *D. L. Moody* (Garden City, 1927), 115–118.

[35] W. R. Crafts, "Impressions of a Transcontinental Tour," *Our Day*

The change in Sabbath habits had little relation to Sabbath legislation. Such laws existed in almost every state and were usually very strict, forbidding all labor except works of necessity and charity and, in many cases, banning also travel and nearly every kind of amusement.[38] As late as 1885 Vermont and South Carolina required church attendance on Sunday, and in Pennsylvania the stay-at-home was liable to the penalty of sitting in the stocks. But if rural majorities in the legislatures insisted on retaining the laws, they seemed strangely indifferent to lax law enforcement in the cities. Indeed, certain strongly urban states like New York (1883) and Massachusetts (1887) markedly relaxed their statutes; and in California in 1883, after a thorough public discussion of the issue, the legislature repealed all the Sabbath blue laws.[39] The running of passenger trains was a particular

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(Boston, 1889), IV. 543; James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (London, 1888), III. 488; B. J. Ramage, "Sunday Legislation," *Sewanee Review* (1895), IV. 121.

[36] J. H. Ward, "The New Sunday," *Atlantic Monthly* (1881), XLVII. 526–538; C. W. Clark, "The Day of Rest," *ibid.* (1889), LXIV. 366–375. For the Catholic attitude, see anon., "The Catholic Sunday and the Puritan Sabbath," *Catholic World* (1876), XXIII. 550–565.

[37] Loomis, *Modern Cities,* 104.

[38] Bryce, *American Commonwealth,* III. 488–489; W. F. Crafts, *The Sabbath for Man* (New York, 1885), 111; J. G. Woerner, "Sunday and Sunday Laws," *American Law Review* (1884), XVIII. 778–800.

[39] *Laws of New York for 1883,* chap. ccclviii; *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts for 1887,* chap. cccxci; W. A. Blakely, Ed., *American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation* (New York, 1891), 275*n.*

affront to sabbatarians who, however, saw each year an increasing number on the tracks.[40]

The portentous spread of Sabbath desecration brought a revival of militant efforts to restore its sanctity. In 1884, the W. C. T. U. established a department of Sabbath observance, and four years later the American Sabbath Union, formed by several evangelical churches, began organizing local branches to arouse opinion. In addition, the International Sabbath Association and the Sunday League of America were in the field. But even such bodies reflected a changed attitude on the subject. Their main plea was less a religious than a humanitarian one: Sabbath breaking was condemned not so much as an offense against God as against man.[41] In other words, a rational regard for a secular day of rest was supplanting the old idea of a day exclusively for religious consecration. For this reason their efforts often won support from powerful labor groups like the Knights of Labor, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the American Federation of Labor.

It was a union of these forces which bombarded Congress from 1887 to 1889 with memorials, said to represent fourteen million people, for a cessation of dispensable Sunday labor in interstate commerce, in the postal and military services, and also in the territories and the District of Columbia. The desired measure was introduced by Senator H. W. Blair on May 21, 1888, hearings were held, but the bill mysteriously never came to a vote.[42] On the matter of Sabbath recreation, however, laborites parted company with the professional sabbatarians. The question of opening the World's Fair on Sunday proved the occasion for a pitched battle. The management vacillated and, when finally it opened the gates but with incomplete exhibits, the attendance was so poor that after a few weeks they were shut again.[43]

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[40] Massachusetts is typical of how this change was effected. In 1881, an act gave the state railway commissioners discretion to allow the Sunday running of through-trains. In 1887, the word "through" was struck out. Meantime, in 1885, the commissioners stated that over two hundred trains were running illegally. *Acts and Resolves of Mass. for 1881,* chap. cxix, sec. 1; *for 1887,* chap. cccxci, sec. 3; C. D. Wright, "Sunday Labor," Mass. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Sixteenth Annual Report* (1885), 34.

[41] See, for example, W. R. Crafts, "Valid Grounds for Sabbath Observance," *Our Day* (1888), II. 262–275.

[42] "Notes of a Hearing . . . on the Petitions . . . ," *Miscellaneous Senate Documents,* no. 108, 50 Cong., 1 sess.; "Sunday Rest Bill," *Miscel. Senate Docs.,* no. 43, 50 Cong., 2 sess.; *Our Day* (1889), III. 51–53, 192, 310.

Whether or not a more vibrant religious message would have kept more people within bounds on the Lord's Day, the older Protestant churches, as we have seen, were not prepared to give it. To help the common man rekindle the altar fires of his faith two new religions, however, made their appearance. One was a British importation, the other an authentic American creation. The Salvation Army had been organized in London by William Booth in an effort to adapt the Methodist revivalistic technique to the needs of the city wilderness. Extended to America in 1879, it grew by leaps and bounds in the next two decades.[44] Its uniformed bands, parading the down-town districts with bass drum and trombone, gathered knots of the curious at the street corners and preached to "rumdom, slumdom and bumdom" the exciting gospel of repentance and reform. After 1889, the Army added social service to its evangelism. By means of its employment bureaus, "slum brigades" to work with tenement-house families, cheap lodgings for vagrants, and rescue homes for fallen women, it carried on an essential work of Christian service.[45]

The rise of Christian Science is inseparably bound up with the life and personality of its founder, Mrs. Mary Baker Glover Patterson Eddy.[46] Of New England Puritan descent and a prey from childhood to ill health and recurrent hysteria, she had dabbled in mesmerism, spiritualism, and hydropathy until she found relief from a distressing spinal malady at the hands of P. P. Quimby, a mental healer of Portland, Maine. Upon his death in 1866 she presently set up as a practitioner in her own right. At first an avowed Quimbyite, using one of his manuscripts as the fount of her teachings, she gradually evolved a system which she came to regard as wholly her own and which she put into print in 1875 under the title *Science and Health*.[47] "Disease is caused by mind alone," and matter is an illusion — this was the essence of the newly proclaimed Christian Science. "You can prevent or cure scrofula, hereditary disease, etc., in just the ratio you expel from mind a belief in the transmission of disease" by working in harmony with the Eternal Mind as revealed through Jesus Christ.[48]

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[43] W. R. Crafts, "Sunday Closing of the Columbian World's Fair," *Our Day* (1891), VIII. 259–267; "Jesus, the Church, and the World's Fair," *Arena* (1892), VI. 250–260; Elizabeth C. Stanton, "Sunday at the World's Fair," *North American Review* (1892), CLIV. 254–256; J. W. Chadwick, "Why the Fair Must Be Open on Sunday," *Forum* (1892), XIV. 541–550; *Nation*, LVII. 39 (July 20, 1893).

[44] F. W. Farrar, "The Salvation Army," *Harper's Magazine* (1891), LXXXII. 897–906; C. A. Briggs, "The Salvation Army," *North American Review* (1894), CLIX. 697–710.

[45] A schism within the ranks led in 1896 to the establishment of the Volunteers of America which had less military autocracy in its form of organization but was otherwise devoted to a similar mission. Anon., "Ballington Booth and the Salvation Army," *Public Opinion* (1896), XX. 304–305.

[46] Two recent biographies are E. F. Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy* (rev. edn., New York, 1930), a critical study, and L. P. Powell, *Mary Baker Eddy* (New York, 1930), a work commended by Mrs. Eddy's followers.

The founder gathered about her a small band of adherents in Lynn, Massachusetts, consisting mostly of factory workers and other artisans, "their hands stained with the leather and tools of the day's occupation."[49] She also provided for the training of healers by setting up the Massachusetts Metaphysical College in 1881, with herself as the faculty. Converts coming too slowly to suit her, she next changed her base of operations to Boston eight miles away. Though the period of struggle was not yet over, the removal to a large population center proved the turning point. Attacked by foes both within and without the church and harried by delusions of persecution, this frail, spectacled, ill-educated woman, already past sixty, proceeded to build up a solid support in Boston and to spread her doctrines afar. As a philosophy Christian Science would probably have had little appeal, but as a system of therapeutics it assured nerve-racked urban dwellers of the immediate cure of their bodies as well as the ultimate cure of their souls.

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[47] There were many later editions and revisions. Though in retrospect Mrs. Eddy denied any indebtedness to Quimby, Powell in *Mary Baker Eddy*, 103, admits he played an important part in shaping her thinking. Incidentally, the exact term, Christian Science, had occasionally been used by Quimby. P. P. Quimby, *The Quimby Manuscripts* (H. W. Dresser, Ed., 2d edn., New York, 1921), 388. Unadulterated Quimbyism became the basis of the New Thought movement which began to emerge toward the end of the century.

[48] Moreover, "Healing the sick through mind instead of matter, enables us to heal the absent as well as the present." Edn. of 1875, 334, 348, 398. Conversely, vindictive persons, through malicious animal magnetism ("M.A.M."), can produce disease or misfortune in others — a doctrine which first appeared in the edition of 1878.

[49] Sibyl Wilbur (O'Brien), *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy* (New York, 1907), 198; see also 155–160, 199–201, 223–224, 227.

By 1890, there were over two hundred Christian Science groups with nearly nine thousand members, a majority of them in the larger cities of the Middle West. The number of local bodies doubled in the next decade while the membership perhaps quadrupled.[50] Meanwhile, as Mrs. Eddy became increasingly well-to-do and many of her practitioners acquired economic security, the cult sloughed off its working-class origins, directing its chief appeal to members of other denominations at higher income levels. This transition to a religion of the comfortable may be said to have been completed in 1895 when the First Church of Christ, Scientist, built at a cost of two hundred thousand dollars, opened in Boston as the "Mother Church" of the faith.[51]

Unlike the Salvation Army, the Christian Scientists did not develop social work as one of their interests, since poverty, like disease, was regarded as an illusion of mortal mind. Meantime, however, leaders in some of the older Protestant sects were awakening to a sense of responsibility for the world about them. Those most active in the effort to liberalize religious thought were usually also at the forefront of the effort to socialize religious practice. Notable among them were Lyman Abbott, Beecher's successor at the Plymouth Church in 1888; his neighbor on Manhattan, R. Heber Newton; and Francis G. Peabody, who from 1881 to 1886 was Parkman Professor of Theology, and from the latter year occupied the chair of Christian Morals at the Harvard Divinity School. Particularly influential were Josiah Strong, general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance from 1886, author of an eloquent book on social Christianity, *Our Country* (1885), which sold a half-million copies in twenty years,

[50] *U. S. Eleventh Census* (1890), XVI. 297–298; *Christian Science Journal*, (1900), XVIII. 202. From a scrutiny of the advertisements in the *Journal* it appears that the number of practitioners rose from fourteen in April, 1883, to two hundred in April, 1890, and to nine hundred and sixty-three in April, 1896.

[51] *Christian Science Journal* (1894), XII. 90–93, 451–454; *Boston Herald*, Jan. 7, 1895. Edward Eggleston's novel *The Faith Doctor* (New York, 1891) satirized the growing enthusiasm for Christian Science among the socially ambitious of New York.

and Washington Gladden, Congregational minister in Columbus, Ohio, whose voice and example made him perhaps the great outstanding leader.[52] The more liberal theological schools responded by introducing courses in economics and sociology, and even in some cases, as at Andover Seminary and the Chicago Theological Seminary, encouraging their students to get practical experience in social work. In the last years of the century it was possible to say that the "theological seminary of today . . . is a totally different institution from that of a generation ago." [53]

At the same time efforts began to be made by Protestant bodies to minister to the religious and practical needs of immigrants when they landed in the great Atlantic ports. In 1883, the interdenominational American Home Missionary Society organized German, Scandinavian, and Slavic departments for this purpose. Of single sects the Lutherans in particular vied with the Catholics and the Jews in watching over the alien newcomer.[54] More significant was the steady tendency of Protestant churches in down-town districts to develop "institutional" features, that is, conduct organized philanthropic and educational work among the poor and unchurched.[55]

Thus, St. George's Episcopal Church in New York, the People's Temple (Congregational) in Denver, and Russell H.

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[52] Besides discussing modern social problems from the pulpit, all these men aired their views in magazines and books. Professor R. T. Ely, though not a cleric, also wielded great influence, especially through his volume *Social Aspects of Christianity*.

[53] The Chicago Seminary, one of the most progressive, offered courses on the labor movement, ethics of the family, penology, charity organization, child saving, city evangelization, and municipal reform. John Tunis, "Social Science in the Theological Seminaries," *Lend a Hand* (1896), XVI. 3–10; anon., "Sociology and the Church," *Nation*, LIII. 114 (Aug. 13, 1891).

[54] Helen M. Sweeney, "Handling the Immigrant," *Catholic World* (1896), LXIII. 497–508. Early in the eighties Jewish charitable agencies began to look after the needs of their Russian co-religionists; and when the strain upon their resources proved too great, Baron de Hirsch, in 1890, established a fund of $2,400,000 for this and allied uses. E. J. James and others, *The Immigrant Jew in America* (New York, 1906), 64–66, 79, 84–85.

[55] C. S. Mills, "The Institutional Church," *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1892), XLIX. 453–470; G. W. Cooke, "The Institutional Church," *New England Magazine* (1896), XIV. 645–660; Josiah Strong, *Religious Movements for Social Betterment* (H. B. Adams, Ed., *Monographs on American Social Economics,* XIV, New York, 1900), 15–34.

Conwell's Baptist Temple in Philadelphia began in the eighties to provide reading rooms, gymnasiums, social clubs, day nurseries, sewing classes, and manual-training courses which, along with religious instruction, were available throughout the week to all comers. By 1894, the number of institutional churches was sufficiently large to justify the organization of an Open and Institutional Church League on an intercity and interdenominational basis. The success of the new methods was attested by phenomenal increases in religious membership.[56] St. George's Episcopal Church, which had but seventy-five communicants in 1882 when it started institutional work, numbered over four thousand in 1897; Berkeley Temple (Congregational) in Boston grew in seven years from three hundred to eleven hundred; and the Ninth Street Baptist Church of Cincinnati added nearly nine hundred members in four years. It was reported in 1900 that over a period of six years Congregational churches employing institutional methods had increased six times as fast as those which did not do so.[57]

To give the new social tendencies a wider backing various organizations were formed, one of the most influential being that among the Episcopal clergy known as the Church Organization for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (1887). Two years later some of the more radical religionists of Boston, inspired by the Reverend W. D. P. Bliss of Grace Church (Episcopal), founded the Society of Christian Socialists in order "to awaken members of the Christian churches to the fact that the teachings of Jesus Christ lead directly to some specific form or forms of Socialism." [58] Though the movement did not prosper widely, the Congregationalists and Baptists in the early nineties formed national agencies to direct attention to social and economic problems,[59] and two interdenominational societies, the Christian Social Union (1891) and the American Institute of Christian Sociology (1894), gave further impetus to the cause. In the latter year, too, the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, largely as a result of Josiah Strong's efforts, turned definitely to a social program.[60]

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[56] G. W. Mead, *Modern Methods of Church Work* (New York, 1897), 337–339; Strong, *New Era,* 245.

[57] Strong, *Religious Movements,* 31–33.

[58] *The Dawn* (Boston, 1889), I. no. 1, 3. R. Heber Newton became president of the New York branch. The strength of the movement is difficult to determine. Though in January, 1890, its organ *The Dawn* asserted that at least twenty-one California clergymen had declared for Christian Socialism, five years later *The Dawn,* lacking adequate financial support, turned Episcopalian.

[59] The labor committee appointed by the National Council of the Con-

These attempts to socialize Christian thought and practice, of course, represented the efforts of energetic minorities. "We were few and we shouted in the wilderness," a pioneer of the social gospel later wrote of this time.[61] Yet that a rich harvest awaited beyond the turn of the century was plainly indicated by the extraordinary interest excited among the lay public by the appearance of *In His Steps,* a book written by the Reverend C. M. Sheldon, of Topeka, in 1896. It told the story of a congregation which resolved to live for a year, regardless of consequences, in accordance with the teachings of Jesus. Its wider message was inescapable: "If the church members were all doing as Jesus would do, could it remain true that armies of men would walk the streets for jobs, and hundreds of them curse the church, and thousands of them find in the saloon their best friend?"[62] Within a year sixteen different publishers were issuing the book to meet a demand that showed no sign of appeasement.

Since early colonial times clergymen had often lifted their voices at critical public junctures, but never before had religious ethics been so sharply challenged by the practices of the business order, or the ministry so apparently helpless before the economic masters of society. Yet, despite Gompers' sweeping denunciation of churchmen, individuals stood forth

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gregational Church in 1891; and the undenominational Brotherhood of the Kingdom, organized by the Baptists in 1892.

[60] As further evidence of the socializing trend, the United Society of Christian Endeavor, composed of young people, began to take an active interest in civic and social reform after 1893. J. W. Baer, "The Work of Christian Endeavor Societies in Behalf of Better Citizenship," National Conference for Good Government, *Proceedings for 1895,* 517–523.

[61] Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order* (New York, 1912), 9.

[62] Edition of 1899 (Street & Smith, New York), 261. In 1925, it was estimated that over eight million copies had been sold in the United States and twelve million more in the British Empire. The author received little financial return because of a defective copyright. C. M. Sheldon, *His Life Story* (New York, 1925), chap. iv.

who, not content with " making faces at the devil from behind the pulpit " [63] or with treating symptoms rather than the disease itself, strove to cope with the deeper forces responsible for the conditions. Few went so far as Bliss when he became a Master Workman of the Knights of Labor and candidate for lieutenant governor on the Massachusetts Labor ticket; nor were many willing to risk the obloquy which befell the Methodist pastor, W. H. Cawardine of Pullman, Illinois, when he flayed the Pullman corporation for precipitating the strike of 1894.[64]

Washington Gladden, on the other hand, showed how actively a minister might concern himself with industrial relations without forfeiting the confidence of even a well-to-do congregation. During the Hocking Valley coal strike of 1884 he preached the " right and necessity of labor organizations " to a congregation which included high officers of the corporation involved. Two years later, while a fierce street-car strike raged in Cleveland, he journeyed thither from Columbus and spoke to a great meeting of employers and employees on " Is It Peace or War? ", again declaring the right of wage-earners to organize. A little later he headed a committee of Ohio Congregationalists to investigate employment conditions in the state in an effort to promote better understanding between capital and labor. He saw the solution of the difficulties in an " industrial partnership " in which the toilers would receive " a fixed share of the profits of production." [65]

The attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy toward the labor problem was greatly influenced by the course of Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. Thoroughly American in outlook and deeply sympathetic with the workingmen who composed the great bulk of his church, he made an eloquent plea to Rome in 1886 which saved the Knights of Labor from papal condemnation and ultimately secured the reversal of an edict against the organization in Canada.[66] He also resisted the recommendation of Archbishop Corrigan of New York that Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* be put upon the Index, again winning his point in Rome.[67] Of other Catholic ecclesiastics Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul was notable for the pacificatory part he took in two great railway strikes in 1894 in the Northwest.[68] Catholic liberalism received high sanction in 1891 from the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in which the pope, while denouncing socialism, defended the dignity of labor and declared that the problem could be solved only through the application of religious ethics.

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[63] Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago!*, 269.

[64] More typical of the pulpit's attitude toward the strike is Z. S. Holbrook, "The American Republic and the Debs Insurrection," *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1895), LII. 135–152, 209–231.

[65] Gladden, *Recollections*, 291–293, 300–305; same author, *Applied Christianity*, 1–37, 102–145. For the Reverend C. H. Parkhurst's effective battle against Tammany and organized vice, see his *Our Fight with Tammany* (New York, 1895).

Despite the many difficulties, theological and practical, which beset the path of religion, the last two decades of the century witnessed a substantial gain in church membership. Protestant communicants increased from ten million to nearly eighteen; the Roman Catholic population from well over six million to more than ten; the number of Jews from less than a quarter million to approximately a million. It was a striking testimonial to the vitality of organized religion that the growth was proportionately greater than the general advance of population, though, as was to be expected, less than the rate of increase of the urban wage-earning class.[69] Of the Protestant communicants the Methodist bodies represented a third of the total throughout the period, followed in order by the Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Congregationalists. At all times, however, the Catholics outnumbered any Protestant group, being nearly twice as strong as the Methodists.

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[66] A. S. Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons* (New York, 1922), I. chaps. xviii–xx.

[67] In 1887, Archbishop Corrigan removed Father Edward McGlynn from his pastorate in New York City because of activity on behalf of Henry George's candidacy for mayor. When Dr. McGlynn declined to go to Rome to make submission to the pope, he was excommunicated. He was, however, reinstated as a priest in 1892. There was the closely similar case of Father R. L. Burtsell, also a follower of George. F. J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1927), III. chap. xxix; Will, *Cardinal Gibbons*, I. chap. xxi; J. R. Commons and others, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1918), II. 453–461.

[68] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia* (1894), XXXIV. 699.

[69] The religious statistics of the period, unhappily, have to be used with great caution. The statements in the text must therefore be regarded as only rough approximations. The principal sources of information are Philip Schaff, "Progress of Christianity in the United States," *Princeton Review* (1879), LV. esp. 217–219; Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, III. 476, giving figures for 1887; H. K. Carroll, *Report on Statistics of Churches* (*U. S. Eleventh Census*, XVI.); H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States* (Philip Schaff and others, Eds., *The American Church History Series*, I. New York, 1893); Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States* (rev. edn., New York, 1895), pt. iii; David Sulzberger, "Growth of Jewish Population in the United States," American Jewish Historical Society,

The geographic distribution of the sects remained substantially as before. The East continued to be the seat of Catholicism, Congregationalism, and Episcopalianism, with a strong infusion of Presbyterianism, while the Methodists and Baptists, numerous everywhere, dominated the religious life of the South. In the Middle West all faiths flourished — Chicago was the most Catholic of American cities — and in that section, too, the Lutherans had their principal stronghold. The most conspicuous religious feature of the Great West was the Mormon community in Utah. As might be expected, the great Scandinavian influx shot up the numbers of Lutherans, while it was the anti-Semitic persecutions in Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Roumania that made the Jewish church for the first time an important American religion.[70]

Roman Catholicism, however, garnered the richest harvest from among the immigrant newcomers, notably those from Ireland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and French Canada.[71] The heightened importance of the American church was signally recognized by the creation of a pontifical university in Washington, the appointment of an American cardinal, and, in 1893, the sending of an apostolic delegate to Washington.[72] On the other hand, many Americans, particularly in the Middle West, viewed with mounting alarm the rapid accretion of Catholic power. They took amiss the agitation to secure public funds for parochial schools and regarded even the labor encyclical of 1891 as a

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Publications, no. 6 (1897), 144–145, 149; Daniel Dorchester, "The Evangelical Churches at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," *Christian Advocate,* LXXVI. 52–53 (Jan. 10, 1901).

[70] Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States* (Columbia University *Studies,* LIX. no. 4), pt. i, chap. iv; pt. ii.

[71] Gerald Shaughnessy, *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (New York, 1925), 162–172.

[72] The first American cardinal, John McCloskey, was appointed in 1875; James Gibbons, his successor, was elevated in 1886.

sinister move by the Vatican to gain American working-class support.

As in the 1830's and 1840's, the fear and misunderstanding took the form of organized bigotry, embodied this time principally in the American Protective Association, a secret oath-bound order founded in 1887 by H. F. Bowers, a sixty-year-old lawyer of Clinton, Iowa.[73] Cradled in the heart of agricultural America, the anti-Catholic animus was vaguely mingled with the long-standing rural antagonism toward the great cities where, of course, the citadels of Romanism were to be found. The A. P. A. gained adherents slowly at first, having only seventy thousand members in 1893. Then, spurred by fear of immigrant competition for jobs during the hard times and a sudden flaming resentment on the part of urban dwellers against Irish machine politicians, the movement had a mushroom growth in the cities, probably commanding a million members in 1896.[74]

All the familiar phenomena of the earlier Know-Nothing movement were reproduced. The members of the order swore not to vote for or employ Catholics. " Escaped nuns " and " converted priests " told their harrowing tales to any who would listen. Forged documents were circulated to expose the designs of Rome against free America, one of them, an alleged papal encyclical, ordering the faithful to " exterminate all heretics " at the time of the feast of Ignatius Loyola (July 31) in 1893.[75] In a similar spirit stories were whispered of the gathering of arms in the basements of Catholic churches; and in at least one instance, that of the Toledo council of the A. P. A., a quantity of Winchester rifles was purchased as a measure of self-defense — a fact revealed by the dealer's suit for nonpayment.[76] At Dallas, Keokuk, and elsewhere, mob outrages occurred, the riot in East Boston on July 4, 1895, causing the death of one man and the injury of forty others.[77]

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[73] H. J. Desmond, *The A. P. A. Movement* (Washington, 1912).

[74] In Chicago, in 1894, the mayor, chief of police, fire chief, city attorney, a number of judges, forty-five aldermen, nine out of ten policemen, four fifths of the fire department, and two thirds of the school teachers were said to be Catholics. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago!*, 265. It was alleged that the municipal offices of New York, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, and other important cities were also largely under Catholic control. W. H. J. Traynor, " The Aims and Methods of the A. P. A." *North American Review* (1894), CLIX. 69. Traynor, the national president, claimed a membership of two and a half million for the A. P. A.

[75] Gladden, " The Anti-Catholic Crusade," *Century* (1894), XLVII. 789–795; T. J. Jenkins, " The A. P. A. Conspirators," *Catholic World* (1893), LVII. 685–693.

As the movement turned to political action, its stronghold was shown to be a zone extending through northern Ohio, eastern Michigan, and northern and central Illinois into the southern half of Iowa, northern Missouri, and eastern Kansas and Nebraska, an area originally peopled largely by religionists of New England Puritan background.[78] The anti-Catholic groups held the balance of power in many local elections, controlled the Ohio Legislature, and helped pile up a triumphant majority for William McKinley in 1893 when he ran for governor.[79] By 1896, however, free silver and Bryanism made the Catholic menace seem the veriest specter. Both major parties snubbed the A. P. A., and the movement withered as suddenly as it had grown. By bringing to the defense of Catholicism and fair play such respected figures as Gladden, Roosevelt, and Senator Hoar, the church issued from the conflict in a stronger position before the public than when the attack began.[80] Within a few years it could be written: "Old feuds between Protestant and Catholic have ceased to be as important as their united battles against moral decay."[81] Organized religion had made great strides in the two decades, not the least of which was an enhanced appreciation of the common spiritual ideals for which all faiths stood.

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[76] Anon., "The Purchase of Guns by the A. P. A.," *Public Opinion* (1893–1894), XVI. 621.

[77] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 16, 1894; "Echoes of the Boston Riot," *Public Opinion* (1895), XIX. 201–202.

[78] The movement also possessed strength in Massachusetts and Rhode Island and in parts of the Great West. Desmond, *A. P. A. Movement*, chaps. iii, vii.

[79] McKinley kept his peace while his Democratic opponent denounced the A. P. A. As late as October, 1894, Governor McKinley, when asked by a heckler, "What is the matter with the A. P. A.?," replied blandly, "The question with us is: What is the matter with the country?" "The A. P. A. in Politics," *Public Opinion* (1894–1895), XVII. 615; Desmond, *A. P. A. Movement*, 34.

[80] Gladden, *Recollections*, 359–365; Theodore Roosevelt, "What Americanism Means," *Forum* (1894), XVII. 196; G. F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (New York, 1903), II. 278–293.

[81] H. D. Sedgwick, Jr., "The United States and Rome," *Atlantic Monthly* (1899), LXXXIV. 445–458.

The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE commented on Professor SCHLESINGER's paper as follows:

I have been much interested in the admirable outline which Professor Schlesinger has presented of the influences which brought about profound changes in religious thought in America in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Some of those influences considerably antedate the period with which he has dealt, and certain individuals well known here in Boston helped to promote them. He has spoken of certain preachers who in the eighteen-eighties accepted the theory of evolution. The first minister in America, so far as I am aware, who undertook to harmonize religion with the doctrine of evolution was the Reverend Minot J. Savage, minister of Unity Church in Boston from 1874 to 1896. Even his fellow-Unitarians hereabout regarded him as radical, but he spoke to large congregations, and his weekly sermons were printed and widely distributed all over the country. They were read by thousands, and by other ministers, though often furtively. His following, however, was largely personal, and his church disappeared after he went to New York. And there was William C. Gannett, son of Channing's associate and successor in the Federal Street Church, who in the seventies and eighties put into the form of two or three lovely hymns the evolutionary thought of religion.

In the matter of Biblical criticism, the path was first blazed here in America by Theodore Parker, whose translation of de Wette's *Critical and Historical Introduction to the Old Testament* was published in 1843. I suppose that date may be taken to mark practically the first acquaintance of American scholars with the modern interpretation of the Bible.

Professor Schlesinger spoke of James Freeman Clarke's epoch-making book, *Ten Great Religions,* as the first step here in the study of Comparative Religion. Dr. Clarke's book was published while he was a lecturer in the Harvard Divinity School. Either in his lectures or in those of Professor C. C. Everett, beginning in 1869, was offered the first instruction in Comparative Religion given in any Christian theological school, either in Europe or America. But far back of those lectures, I suspect, lay the friendly commercial intercourse of merchants from Boston and Salem with Parsee, Hindu, Buddhist, or Confucian merchants in Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, and Canton, beginning about 1800. Yankee captains, who could report that these eastern traders were quite as honorable in business matters as many a New England deacon, were naturally disinclined to listen to pulpit condemnation of the "heathen," and undoubtedly had an influence in liberalizing the religious outlook of the New England seaports.

And behind the rise of "institutional churches" in the eighties and nineties, with their activities for the less-favored classes, lay the work of earlier pioneers. In 1826, the Reverend Joseph Tuckerman began his ministry-at-large in Boston, which he continued until his death in 1840. His reports to the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches laid down in the simplest manner the fundamental principles of that kind of work which we now call "social service." Professor Schlesinger has referred to Professor Peabody. His courses in Social Ethics, begun at the Harvard Divinity School in 1880, were the first systematic instruction in the subject at any theological school or university, though a brief single course of lectures had been given by another at Andover the preceding year. Mr. Peabody's lectures stimulated scores of young men to enter the then new profession of social service, and his book, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* was equally stimulating to hundreds of ministers.

I think that all of these influences served to prepare the ground for the more observable changes in American religious thought which Professor Schlesinger has recorded as taking place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Mr. NORCROSS presented copies of letters and papers in his collection from three colonial governors of Massachusetts: John Winthrop, Joseph Dudley, and Thomas Hutchinson.

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